THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
A HISTORY FOR THE PEOPLE

BY THE VERY REV.
H. D. M. SPENCE D. D.
DEAN OF GLOUCESTER

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The Church of England

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ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

(From the picture by Van Dyck at Lambeth Palace. Reproduced by special permission of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.)

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BY THE
VERY REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D.
Dean of Gloucester

Spence-Jones

VOL. IV.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED
LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK & MELBOURNE
1898
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ERRATA.

Vol. I., p. 206, col. 1, 9th line, *for* Eanfleda *read* Elfleda.

Vol. II., p. 371, col. 1, Note, line 20, instead of "Rosary, or manual of prayer referred to," *read* the full title of work, "The Rosary Meditated with our Holy Father the Pope."

Vol. III., p. 49, the name of the artist should be Laslett J. Pott, instead of H. G. Glindoni.

The Church of England

CHAPTER LXII.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH UNDER JAMES I.

Religious Relations of England, Scotland, and Ireland at the Accession of James I.—Hopes of the Puritans—Disappointed by the Anti-Puritan feeling of the King—The Hampton Court Conference—Rebuff to the Puritan Party—The Authorised Version of the Bible—Convocation passes Canons regulating Public Worship—Clergy required to Subscribe to Three Articles—Archbishop Bancroft enforces Conformity—Succession of Abbot to the Archbishopric—Death of King James.

WE need not dwell long on the great political changes which passed over England on the peaceful accession of James Stuart of Scotland, the son of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley, to the throne of Elizabeth. His claims to the crown were indisputable; and he was welcomed in England, if not with enthusiasm, yet with a well-nigh universal acceptance. The details of English history are too well known to call for anything more than a bare summary. Scotland and Ireland were now united with their old hereditary foe, England. In matters of religion, however, these two great divisions of the Empire were curiously divided from England.

In Ireland, ever since the far-back days of Henry II.—the Plantagenet—the Englishman had been more or less the ruling power in the island; but the Irish all along had resented, and at times had fiercely and stubbornly resisted, the authority of the invaders, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the power of the English in Ireland had declined rather than advanced. But during the sixteenth century, especially under the strong rule of Elizabeth, the subjugation of the island had become more and more a reality; and directly after the accession of James I. the proudest of the national Irish princes formally acknowledged the English king as the sovereign lord. But Ireland then, as now, clung fast to the old mediæval forms of Christianity, and, with the exception of certain districts, was faithful to its old allegiance to the Papacy. Peculiar circumstances led up to this marked preference for the ancient rites and

ceremonies, and to the determination of the Irish to hold fast to the Roman obedience. It was not the tyranny of Rome which the people of Ireland detested, but the domination of the English, so long the hereditary foes of their old tribal princes. And the English sovereigns, the Tudors, Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, whose lieutenants had been so active and, on the whole, so successful in bringing about the final subjugation of Ireland to England, were closely associated, in the minds of the Irish people, with Protestantism. The papal power, which England had thrown off for ever, became thus especially dear to Ireland; hence is largely due the hereditary attachment of the Irish nation to Roman Catholicism.

Scotland, on the other hand, was intensely Protestant. It has been remarked with justice that nowhere in Europe had the popular mind become generally alienated from the Roman Catholic church so rapidly as in Scotland. No doubt this was largely owing to the restless work and burning enthusiasm of one of their own nation, John Knox, who through his commanding intellect and passionate earnestness was able to inspire his countrymen with something of his own fiery spirit of indignation against the errors and tyranny of Rome. In Scotland alone, among the countries affected by the Reformation, we see the sovereign (Mary, queen of Scots), who put herself, in the matter of religion, in opposition to the will of her people, deposed and even imprisoned. The more thoughtful and conservative form which the Reformation took in England was all coloured with reverential regard for the past. Scotland, as inspired by Knox, swept away in one wide net the good and the bad, the wheat and the tares. With the Scots the Reformation meant destruction. Upon the ruins of the old mediæval church they built up a communion which looked to Calvin and his Genevan school for their masters in theology.

Such being the state of things in the realm, now united under one sovereign, the accession to the English throne of James Stuart of Scotland as James I., kindled many hopes and stirred up fresh aspirations among the Puritan party. The great queen, who in her heart was known to detest Puritanism, who leaned towards mediævalism, who loved well many of the old rites and ceremonies of the church of the old learning; whose ideal primate was Whitgift, and whose views were largely expressed by Hooker, and a little later by Andrewes, had passed away at last, after a reign of unprecedented length and power and glory, and the crown of England, with its vast and undefined powers, which had been on the whole steadily exercised to crush Puritanism, now rested on the brows of a Scottish king brought up in an atmosphere of exaggerated Puritanism, among a people into whose hearts the preaching and teaching of John Knox had sunk deep. In the Scotland of James Stuart, Puritanism had even assumed the form of Presbyterianism—a form of church government utterly alien to the Church of England. Well, indeed, might the English Puritans, at the accession of a Scottish king, hope for toleration, if not for encouragement.

But king James had learned, during his

years of Scottish kingship, positively to *hate* Presbyterianism. The Scottish presbyters had insulted and terrified him, and before he became king of England he had learned to detest the ecclesiastical polity so dear to Scotland, and included in his intense dislike everything embraced under the Puritan name. No sooner had he assumed the crown of the now extinct Tudor dynasty, but he at once freed himself from those hateful Presbyterian associations which had so long darkened and embittered his life in Scotland, and which he could not help connecting with the dark tragedy of the life of his mother, Mary Stuart, the ill-fated queen of Scots; adopting with ardour the Episcopal government, the doctrine and ritual of the Church of England. The zeal of James I. for Anglicanism was even intolerant—as is often the zeal of a new convert. The Puritan disappointment was very great, and, as we shall see, bore in time disastrous fruits.

James I. succeeded Elizabeth in the spring of 1603. Before his coronation, some 800 English clergymen presented to him what is termed the Millenary petition, which prayed for a reform of the stern and somewhat arbitrary church courts, for the removal of what they deemed superstitious usages from the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, and for other less important changes. The immediate result was the summoning by the king of the assembly known as the Hampton Court Conference. This conference met very early in 1604 at Hampton Court, where the king was residing. The conference was attended by a certain number of bishops and divines of the Church of England, and by certain chosen representatives of the Puritan party. The more prominent Anglicans were the aged archbishop Whitgift; Bancroft, bishop of London (of whom more anon); Lancelot Andrewes (at that time dean of Westminster), the most profound scholar and theologian of the English church, of whom we have already spoken; and the deans of St. Paul's, Chester, Worcester, and Windsor. Of these, Overall, of St. Paul's, is the best known, owing to his able expositions of the sacraments and the church catechism, so familiar to every member of the church. Dr. Field (afterwards dean of Gloucester), author of the famous treatise on the church, and others, are less known. The Puritans were represented by the most learned and moderate of their party. Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Sparkes, from Oxford, and Mr. Chatterton and Mr. Knewstubbs, from Cambridge, appeared as the spokesmen of the more moderate of the signatories of the "Millenary" petition.

But the most prominent member of the conference, and the one who throughout took with the king the leading part in the discussions, was Richard Bancroft, the bishop of London, who very shortly was to succeed archbishop Whitgift in the primacy. This eminent man was then in his sixtieth year. Born in 1544, he had spent a studious youth at Cambridge, where he became a tutor of Jesus college. Attracting the attention of the famous Elizabethan bishop, Cox of Ely, he became his chaplain, and we hear of him as a famous preacher both in his university and in London, where he became a prebendary first of St. Paul's, then of West-

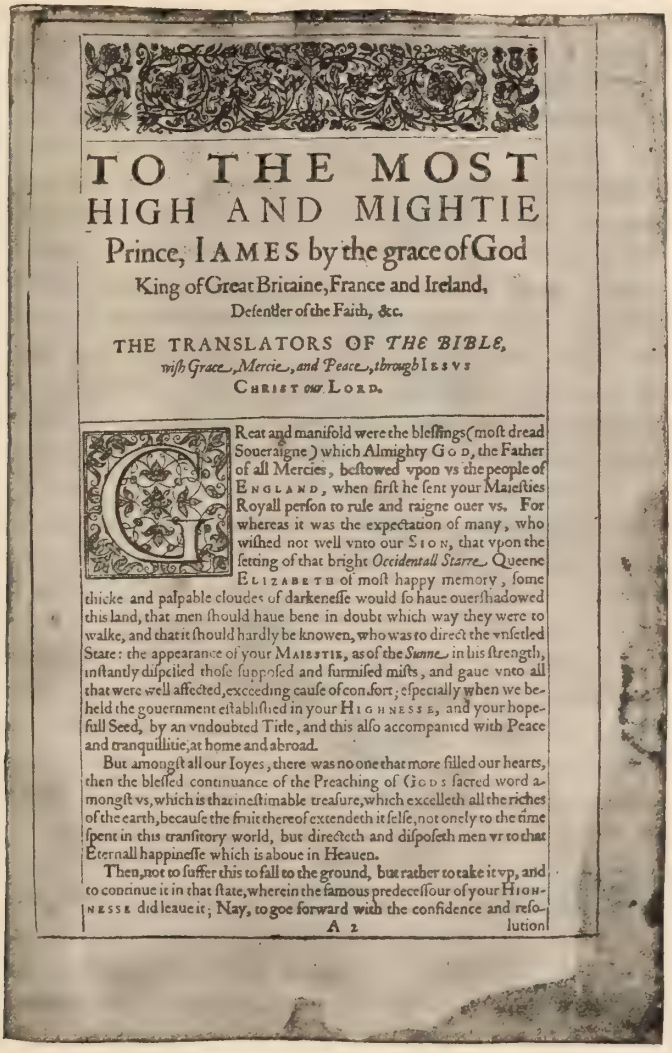
minster. In the controversies with the extreme reformers during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, Bancroft bore a prominent part, and was notorious for his animosity to the Puritan claims and pretensions. Of episcopacy and its divine authority he was an ardent supporter. Archbishop Whitgift used him as his most trusted supporter. It was not, however, until 1597 that he was raised to the episcopate, as bishop of the important see of London. At the Hampton Court Conference, where the rapidly failing health of Whitgift prevented his taking any active part in the proceedings, Bancroft virtually took his place. The old archbishop died a few weeks later, and in the autumn of the same year (1604) Bancroft, as was expected, succeeded him in the primacy.

In the Hampton Court Conference, the Puritan representatives were treated with only scant courtesy, the king,* who took a prominent part in the proceedings, having already determined that no concessions were to be made to the adversaries of the established church. The conference ended

RICHARD BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(From a portrait at Jesus College, Cambridge.)

* One of his sayings in the course of the debates is memorable: "If this be all they" (the Puritans) "have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land or else do worse."

with a promise on the part of the Puritan representatives to be quiet and obedient, "now they knew it to be the king's mind bishops and privy council was appointed to carry them into effect. Care was taken to call these alterations by the



TO THE MOST
HIGH AND MIGHTIE
Prince, IAMES by the grace of God
King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

THE TRANSLATORS OF *THE BIBLE*,
wish Grace, Mercie, and Peace, through IESVS
CHRIST *our* LORD.

GReat and manifold were the blessings (most dread Soueraigne) which Almighty GOD, the Father of all Mercies, bestowed vpon vs the people of ENGLAND, when first he sent your Maiesties Royall person to rule and raigne ouer vs. For whereas it was the expectation of many, who wished not well vnto our SION, that vpon the setting of that bright *Occidentall Starre*, Queene ELIZABETH of most happy memory, some thicke and palpable cloudes of darkenesse would so haue ouershadowed this land, that men should haue bene in doubt which way they were to walke, and that it should hardly be knowen, who was to direct the vnsetled State: the appearance of your MAIESTIE, as of the *Sunne* in his strength, instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists, and gaue vnto all that were well affected, exceeding cause of comfort; especially when we beheld the gouernment established in your HIGHNESSE, and your hopefull Seed, by an vndoubted Title, and this also accompanied with Peace and tranquillitie, at home and abroad.

But amongst all our Ioyes, there was no one that more filled our hearts, then the blessed continuance of the Preaching of GODS sacred word amongst vs, which is that inestimable treasure, which excelleth all the riches of the earth, because the fruit thereof extendeth it selfe, not onely to the time spent in this transitory world, but directeth and disposeth men vr to that Eternall happinesse which is aboue in Heauen.

Then, not to suffer this to fall to the ground, but rather to take it vp, and to continue it in that state, wherein the famous predecessour of your HIGHNESSE did leaue it; Nay, to goe forward with the confidence and reso-

A 2 lution

DEDICATION TO KING JAMES OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION.
(*British Museum.*)

to have it so." Certain alterations of no great importance were, however, agreed to by the king and bishops at the conference, and a small committee of the name of "explanations," to bring them under the provisions in Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. The alterations received the sanction of Convocation, and the amended

book was provided for the use of the parish churches.

The more noteworthy changes and additions in the Prayer-Book were as follows. A prayer for the queen and other members of the royal family was placed after the prayer for the king, and a corresponding petition was inserted in the litany. Thanksgivings and prayers for particular occasions, such as for rain, for fair weather, for plenty, for peace and victory, and for deliverance from the plague, were inserted. Some alterations were made in the office of private baptism. And the important concluding portion upon the sacraments was added to the catechism. This last is generally attributed to Overall, dean of St. Paul's, the prolocutor of Convocation.

A work of the highest importance was undertaken at this juncture. This was a new English translation, or rather a revision of the existing English version, of the holy Scriptures. The translators acknowledged that the Hampton Court Conference had been the starting-point of it, and the acknowledgment gives an importance to this Conference which its more direct work would fail to bestow upon it; for unquestionably the "Authorised Version," completed by king James's translators, is one of the glories of the Church of England.

As early as 1604, when Bancroft was still bishop of London, king James I. addressed a letter to him informing him that he had selected fifty-four divines for the work of a new translation of the Bible. This was no doubt in consequence of the recent resolution of the Hampton Court Conference, but it was not before the year 1606 that the great work was really begun. Of the fifty-four translators or revisers originally named, only forty-seven appear in the king's list: seven may have died in the interval, or declined to act. The selection on the whole appears to have been a wise and equitable one. Andrewes, Saravia, Overall, Barlow dean of Chester, who wrote the account of the Hampton Court Conference, and Montague, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, and of Winchester, represented the "higher" party in the church; Reynolds, Chatterton, and Lively, the Hebrew professor at Cambridge for thirty years, that of the Puritans. One name of great fame as a profound student of the Scriptures, alas! is absent from the list: that of Hugh Broughton, the greatest Hebrew scholar of the age. His exclusion is attributed to the dislike with which he was regarded by Whitgift, and Whitgift's dear friend and successor Bancroft. This eminent scholar, however, seems to have been a man of ungovernable temper, and one who was unlikely to work in harmony with a large and mixed company. Still his exclusion is deeply regrettable. The idea of the work was originally his. In a letter to Cecil (as early as 1595) he had urged upon Elizabeth's minister this very plan of a joint translation. It was this Broughton, in his translation of some of the Hebrew Scripture, who alone among English translators adopted "*the Eternal*" as the equivalent for Jehovah, as in the French and other foreign versions; recognising the strange error of the adoption of "Jehovah" as the equivalent of the awful name, which, as Hebrew scholars too well know, is lost.

The primary and fundamental rule laid

down for the guidance of the company in their important work was expressed in the following terms: "The ordinary Bible read in church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered, as the truth of the original will permit." * There was, however, this subsequent provision: "These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: Tyndale's, Mathew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch, and Geneva." The first of these rules, which was substantially the same as that laid down at the revision of the Great Bible in the reign of Elizabeth, was strictly observed. The other rule was but partially followed. The translators (of king James) made much use of the Genevan version, and but little of the renderings of the other versions named in the rule, when those versions differed from the Bishops' Bible. There are traces, however, of the influence of the Rheims version, made by scholars from the Latin vulgate, but by competent scholars conversant with the original. †

We possess few, if any, details respecting the progress of the great work. "Nothing," says dean Plumptre in his exhaustive article on the Authorised Version, "is more striking than the silence with which the version which was to be the inheritance of the English people for at least two centuries and a half was ushered into the world. Here and there only we get glimpses of scholars coming from their country livings to their old college haunts to work diligently at the task assigned to them." For two years and three-quarters the work went on, the task being assigned to six separate companies—two for the New Testament, and four for the Old Testament and Apocrypha. They used to meet at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster. A final supervision of the whole was entrusted to certain selected members, six in all. The final correction and the composition of the arguments of the several books was given to Bilson, bishop of Winchester, and to Dr. Miles Smith, the latter of whom wrote the dedication and the preface, in which occur the strange adulatory epithets showered upon king James I. which so many have read with mingled feelings of astonishment and regret. The scholar king is termed "that sanctified person, enriched with singular and extraordinary graces, that had appeared as the sun in his strength."

This version, known in succeeding ages as *the Authorised Version*, appeared in 1611. Five successive editions were published in three years, but for a long time the exceeding popularity of the Geneva version was undiminished. This is evident from the fact of there having appeared not less than thirteen reprints of the Geneva Bible, in whole or in part, between 1611 and 1617—the Puritans, as has been well observed, and many others, missing the notes which accompanied the Geneva edition. In the year 1656, in the Commonwealth, serious proposals were made for another revision, and the Grand Committee of Religion in the House of Commons addressed themselves to a consideration of the question. But the project came to naught; the Restoration put an end, perhaps happily, to the proposal; and, until the revision in our own days,

* On the history of the "Bishops' Bible," and the earlier versions, see vol. iii., pp. 154, 369.

† See preface to Revised Version of 1881.

the Authorised Version has remained untouched.

The general accuracy of the work of the revisers of king James I., and the surpassing beauty of the language and phraseology of the English Authorised Version, has been very generally acknowledged. Not a few of the great masters of English literature have in succession borne their testimony to the excellence and to the purity of its style. So, to take two or three examples, Walton, the famous editor of the Polyglot, writes of it thus: "Inter omnes eminet." Addison tells us how it ennobles the coldness of modern language with the glowing phrases of the Hebrew, and Swift acknowledges "that the translators of the Bible were masters of an English style far fitter for that work than any we see in our present writings." "The language of the Authorised Version," writes dean Plumptre, "has intertwined itself with the controversies, the devotions, and the literature of the English people. It has gone wherever they have gone, over the face of the whole earth. The more solemn and tender of individual memories are for the most part associated with it. Men leaving the Church of England for the Church of Rome, turn regretfully with a yearning look at that noble 'well of English undefiled' which they are about to exchange for the uncouth monstrosities of Rheims and Douay."

But it must be ever borne in mind that while this, the noblest of modern versions of the Book of Life, was the work of many hands and several generations, all these versions—we are speaking especially of the New Testament—were either substantially reproductions of William Tyndale's original translation in its first shape, or *revisions* of versions almost entirely based on it.*

Early in 1604 king James met his first Parliament, and the first difference of opinion between the Crown and the Commons, which ultimately had such disastrous results—as set out in the next chapter—was manifest. The king was desirous to bring about a close union between Scotland and England. The Commons saw grave difficulties in complying with James's wishes on this point, and the question was deferred for the present. Our own present interest, however, is concerned with the doings of Convocation, which met, of course, simultaneously with the first Parliament of James I. Convocation claimed the right, and its claim was not questioned, of making canons binding on the clergy, though not on the laity; and it now enforced upon the clergy that uniformity of ceremonies which the king desired. Bancroft, bishop of London—soon to be primate—was the moving spirit in this important Convocation. Various articles, injunctions, and synodical acts had been passed in the reigns of Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth. These were carefully collected by Bancroft, and in the eleventh session of this Convocation he placed them, in the shape of a "Book of Canons," in the hands of the prolocutor of the lower House.† A petition from the

* *Cf.* Hook: "Archbishops," vol. x., chap. xxviii.

† Compare generally for further details Dean Plumptre's exhaustive article on the Authorised Version in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible"; the preface to the revised version of the New Testament (1881); Dr. Hook: "Archbishops," vol. x.; and Green: "History," chap. iii., sect. 1.

THE RETURN OF THE *MAYFLOWER* FROM AMERICA.

(From the picture by A. W. Bayes, by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves and Co., 6, Pall Mall.)

Puritans for the further reformation of the book of Common Prayer was received, but little attention was paid to it.

In these "Canons" it was declared that whosoever affirmed that the Church of England, notwithstanding the reformation it had undergone, was not a true and apostolical church, teaching and maintaining the doctrines of the apostles, should be excommunicated *ipso facto*. Likewise, *ipso facto* excommunication was pronounced to be incurred by those who disparaged the form of godly worship established in the book of Common Prayer, or who pronounced the rites and ceremonies of the English church to be superstitious. The Common Prayer was to be said and sung distinctly and reverently upon the days appointed to be kept holy; and the ceremonies were to be observed in such place of every church as the bishop of the diocese, or the ecclesiastical ordinary of the place, thought meet for the purpose. No man was to appear in church with his head covered during divine service, unless he had some infirmity. All persons present at divine service, were reverently, at the time appointed, to kneel on their knees when the general Confession, Litany, and other prayers were read; and they were to stand up at the saying of the Creed according to the rules prescribed in the book of Common Prayer. When the name of the Lord Jesus was pronounced, due and lowly reverence was to be done by all persons present. In all cathedral and collegiate churches, the Holy Communion was to be administered upon the principal feast days, and the bishop, dean, or canon in residence, as the principal minister when he officiated was to use a decent cope,* and to be assisted by a gospeller and epistoler agreeably, according to the advertisement published in the seventh year of Elizabeth. All members of the cathedral body, including the petty canons and the singing men, were to receive the communion four times yearly at least.

As these canons never received the sanction of Parliament, it has on more than one occasion been decided by the judges that they do not bind the laity. "We are all of opinion," said Lord Hardwicke, "that the Canons of 1604 do not bind, *proprio vigore*, the laity. I say *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority, for there are many provisions contained in these canons which are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England received and allowed here, which, in that respect, and by virtue of such ancient allowance, will bind the laity."

The canons made on this occasion by the Convocation of Canterbury were, by the king's letters patent, made binding also on York. Before the close of that same year, 1604, Bancroft became archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Whitgift. Acting in conjunction with the king's wish, a formal subscription to three articles out of these canons was required of the clergy, no person being allowed to hold any living, to preach, or to catechise, until he had signed the three articles in question. The articles were taken from the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh canons, and were as follows :—

* It is perhaps regrettable that this canon has been suffered to fall into disuse: but its introduction now, in the opinion of the ordinaries generally, would be by many misunderstood. The canon, however, is perfectly definite.

(I.) The supremacy of the king in matters spiritual and temporal.

(II.) That the book of Common Prayer contained nothing contrary to the word of God, and that he (the signatory) agreed to use that book, and that book only in public prayer and administration of the sacraments.

(III.) That the Thirty-nine Articles are agreeable to the word of God.

Subscription to these canons was rigidly enforced, and after the prorogation, some three hundred clergymen of the Puritan party belonging to the Church of England, refusing to sign, were driven into open nonconformity. Some of them fled to Holland, and to other Protestant centres on the Continent. The comparative ease with which this harsh measure was carried out is strong evidence that the existing state of things in the Church of England was generally acceptable to the people; but viewed in the light of subsequent history,* its wisdom has been called in question. Many of the three hundred thus expelled from their positions were devoted, earnest men; and a broader, more loving spirit of toleration doubtless might have retained the large majority in the fold of the Anglican church. This feeling was very general in the early years of king James's reign. Many thoughtful men considered that this harsh expulsion was injurious to the cause of religion, and alas! subsequent events only too surely confirmed these views. The hostility thus evoked, of the nobler Puritans to the Anglican church, grew in intensity as the years rolled on, and the lesson of charitable toleration and wider comprehensiveness has only been learned in later times by the wiser Anglican teachers.

For six years, under Bancroft's somewhat rigid and unbending rule, the work of enforcing conformity went on. The Book of Canons, the work of the Convocation which sat until the dissolution of Parliament in 1610, ratified by the king, became the constituted canon law of the church. Before the close of that year Bancroft passed to his rest. In spite of many errors in judgment, the archbishop was an earnest and devoted man, and deserves a gentler estimate than that formed by some historians and writers. He was an intense believer in law and order; and his undoubtedly harsh measures to enforce a rigid conformity, were dictated by his earnest wish to see the church absolutely at one in all points of ritual and observance. His mistake was that he failed to distinguish between what was fundamental, and what might have been wisely left undetermined.

A letter to his suffragans, written before his death in 1610, shows us how earnest

* One of the most immediate and conspicuous results was the Puritan settlement in North America. A company of these exiles took refuge in Leyden; but preferring a country life, some years later (in 1620) they chartered the celebrated *Mayflower*, and in her sailed from England to found, after terrible hardships, the colony of Plymouth in Massachusetts. The well-known picture reproduced on page 9 represents the little colony watching with strained eyes the fading vision of the vessel which had brought them from Europe, leaving them alone in a strange land. Other small bands of similarly-minded Puritans from time to time joined them, and in 1630 about a thousand under John Winthrop found their way across the seas to the "New England" home where they might worship as they pleased, free from ceremonial which they hated, with their own simple religious exercises. Thus it came to pass through the severity of Bancroft, that Puritan Nonconformity has so dominated the religion of this vast and influential portion of the Anglo-Saxon race.

he was in endeavouring to remedy abuses which then existed. Pluralities among the higher ranks of the clergy were frequent. He inquired in this letter to his suffragans into the number of ministers in each diocese who had two benefices, kept in repair. He called, too, for a strict account of "collections" made. Some curious remarks appear, too, in this letter as to the luxury displayed by the higher clergy and their families, finding fault with the richness of dress affected by deans,

GEORGE ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*From the original in the collection of the Earl of Verulam.*)

and he asked whether each one had a preaching minister to supply his absence. If he had not, the grievance was to be immediately remedied. He stated that his majesty's charge was that the bishops should require the prebendaries to be present at their benefices, and there to preach every Sunday. Orders were also given that parsonage houses were to be "nay by some archdeacons and inferior ministers." *

Bancroft was succeeded in the primacy by George Abbot, the bishop of London, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1610. His appointment was at once a surprise and disappointment to the church.

* See Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. x., chap. xxix.

holy give strength to the former examinations, and give us an light to the further treason it selfe. Now therefore wee are to get either a newe sute of witnesses, upon remembrance, I perswade my selfe will make some more startled then that the sinnes of the Amorites are full, and God will have all out. These things so neerely touche your Mats. that it may not bee given over till the bee learned to the bottome that if men have ill deserved, they may have their reward, if they bee innocent, their fame may bee cleered. I humbly pray your Mats. till our newe witnesses come us to take no further knowledge, upon a sent letter to the L. Treasurer to give a touche, that your Mats. pleasure is, that Sr Iohn Yorkes matter should diligently bee looked into, and that all things from this time forward to folow, should bee caried with as much secrecy as the cause will require. Your Mats. shall not needs to doubt mee, but that I will keepe all on foote, being assisted as I am with your learned Counsell and I trust that by that time that your Mats. shall returne either, things will growe to some more evidence. I feare there is a darke of more witten-bearted persons, upon pleasure notwithstanding to some otherwise. But that God of heaven who sitteth in heaven, and dispendeth all Annointed upon earth will have the secrets to bee revealed. I speake formerly of a wicked clarke acted at Sr Iohn Yorkes, and a knight informed your Mats. that there was no such things. I therefore now sende the Examinations of some persons, that were present at it, and wee have many things more to strengthen it. And praying God Almighty to discover and confounde all your Mats. enemies, and praying the same Lorde evermore to blesse you and yours, I most humbly remaine

Lambith ffinnes
25. 1611.

Your Mats. most bounden
Servant and Chaplain.
G: Cant:

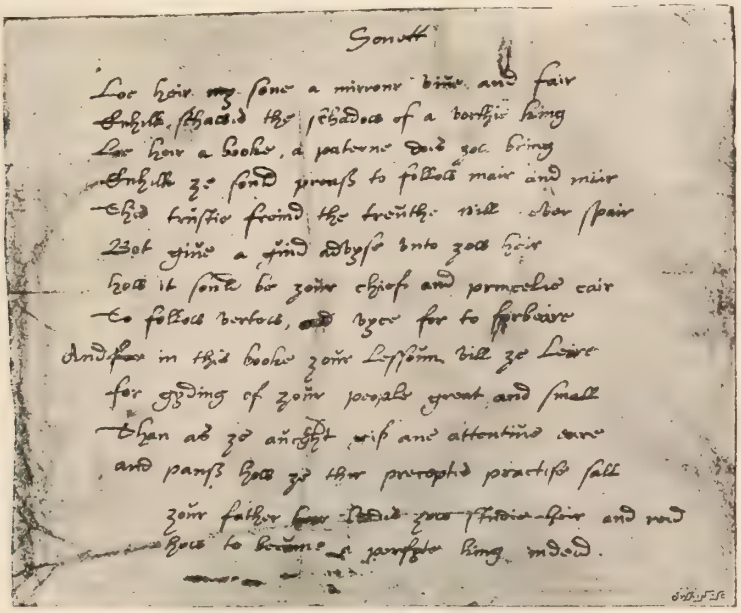
END OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP ABBOT TO KING JAMES I., REFERRING TO THE EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES IN CONNECTION WITH THE TRIAL OF THE GUNPOWDER CONSPIRATORS. (*British Museum.*)

For the six years following the Hampton Court Conference the policy of Bancroft had been quietly but firmly exercised in the direction of enforcing conformity. Many of the clergy who had declined to sign the articles of the canons of the convocation of 1604 had been ejected from their cures; others had been won over. What is generally known as the High Anglican system seemed gaining ground steadily. Under Bancroft's firm but stern and harsh rule there were, on the whole, years of general progress and advancement in the church. On his death the bishops and majority of the Church of England desired and expected that Lancelot Andrewes, at that time bishop of Ely, would have been nominated to the primacy We have dwelt at some length upon the work and character of that good and great divine. Round his person had gathered a general admiration and reverence which no other living man could attract. He lived, all men acknowledged, in an atmosphere of holiness. Learned and devout, an indefatigable scholar, and a most eloquent preacher, he was a favourite of the king, who ever listened gladly to his fervid and winning sermons. Why, on the death of archbishop Bancroft, was Andrewes passed over? Clarendon, later, deeply regrets that the choice of the king did not fall upon this beloved divine, believing that Andrewes as archbishop would have turned back the rising tide of Puritanism.

George Abbot, the new primate, was a man of a different school of thought. After a brilliant Oxford career, and attaining considerable fame as a preacher, he was elected master of University College, and for a time was the most influential of the teachers in that great seat of learning at this period. He was the steady opponent of Laud, who, although still a young man, was fast rising into notoriety and deserved fame. Abbot's sympathies were with the Puritans; his views were Calvinistic; but, like many of the nobler Puritans of his time, he accepted episcopacy as the true and primitive basis of church government, and was loyal to the Church of England. Before Elizabeth's death he had been advanced to the deanery of Winchester. King James in 1609 nominated him to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, and in 1610 he was translated to London. Some historians suppose that Abbot owed his promotion to Scottish interest. He had been previously much mixed up in Scottish matters, and had served for a time as secretary to the earl of Dunbar, the treasurer of the northern kingdom. More likely it was owing to the personal influence exercised by Henry, prince of Wales, a youth of high promise, of whom we read that "he was slow of speech, persistent in his questions, patient in listening, and strong in understanding." That prince Henry was favourably inclined to Puritanism seems undoubted; and that by the Puritans his early and premature death, owing to a typhoid fever, was deeply mourned, is acknowledged. Abbot was with him when he was dying, and apparently was much attached to the young heir to the Stuart throne.

The death of prince Henry was a fatal blow to the Puritan party and to the influence of Abbot, who, although he was an earnest and conscientious man, deeply

pious, and loyal to what he deemed the truest interests of his church, was never a favourite of the king, who treated him with respect and kindness, but never seems to have been largely influenced by him. From the year 1615 the king bestowed his confidence upon a new favourite, Villiers, afterwards duke of



KING JAMES'S DEDICATION OF HIS BASILICON DORON TO HIS SON PRINCE HENRY.

Buckingham. Buckingham became the trusted confidant of Charles, the king's second son; and Buckingham and Charles gradually passed in church matters under the sway of Abbot's life-long rival, Laud.

Whatever power Abbot possessed, virtually departed from him after a most unfortunate incident in Bramzil park, a seat of lord Zouch. In the course of a stag hunt the archbishop discharged an arrow at a buck, which, unhappily, pierced the arm of a keeper and severed an artery. The keeper bled to death, and the question immediately arose whether the prelate, by having blood on his hands, had become incapable of discharging the duties of his great office. The question was warmly disputed; and though in the end the archbishop was allowed to retain his office, his influence in the church was practically gone. He acted as primate until his death in 1633, but the real power in the Church of England belonged to another, whose life and work we must presently relate at length.

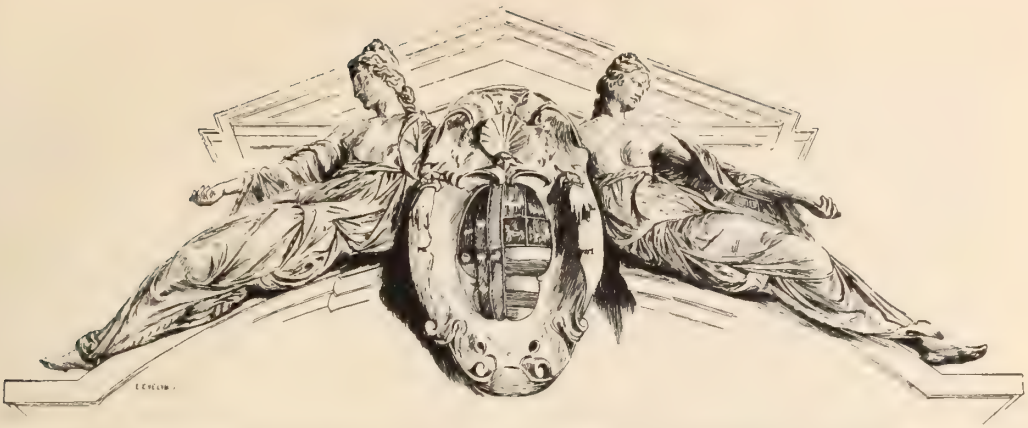
King James I. died at the comparatively early age of fifty-six, worn out with the heavy cares of a somewhat troubled life, in which he had been but indifferently successful. His flatterers had persuaded him, only too easily, that he was the wisest of sovereigns; but, as we shall presently see, all his favourite projects had ended

in failure. The influence of England on the continent of Europe, so great when Elizabeth died, was a thing of the past. At home his exaggerated views of the royal prerogative had already made a fatal breach between himself and his Parliament, that was widening every year. He left behind him no army and no fleet on which reliance could be placed. The financial position of the crown was deplorably dependent entirely upon the goodwill of the House of Commons; a goodwill which the arbitrary policy of the sovereign and his hated favourite Buckingham had turned into distrust and opposition. Yet James, although not the wise ruler he fancied himself to be, nor the British Solomon his courtiers loved to style him even after his death, had earnestly striven according to his light to do his best both at home and abroad. His failure is attributable partly to his exaggerated views as to the privileges of the kingly office, partly to his inability to understand the temper of England, partly to his unfortunate selection of friends and confidants.

When told that his end was at hand, he received the tidings with serene courage. "I am satisfied," he said, "and I pray you to assist me to make ready to go hence to Christ, whose mercies I call for, and I hope to find them." He wished to see bishop Andrewes at the last, but Andrewes was then too ill to visit the dying monarch, who passed away calmly, after making a confession of his faith in the presence of his son and his courtiers.

JAMES I.

(From the mezzotint by J. Smith, after the portrait by Van Dyck.)



PEDIMENT OF TOMB, AND ARMS OF GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE EARLY STUARTS, THE CHURCH, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR ABSOLUTISM.

Causes of the Gradual Increase of Royal Power in England—Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—The All-powerful Influence of Elizabeth—James Combines Exaggerated Views of his Prerogative with Inferiority in Personal Character—Similar Ideas held by Charles I.—The Church Supports the Views of the King—Results of this Alliance—Pecuniary Troubles of James—His Foreign Policy—French Marriage of Charles I.—Open Quarrel between King and Parliament—The Petition of Rights—Discontent of the Puritan Party—Death in the Tower of Sir John Eliot—Eleven years without a Parliament under Laud and Strafford—Illegal Extortion—Oppression by the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—Attempts to Impose Episcopacy upon Scotland, and First and Second Bishop's Wars—The King Summons the Long Parliament—Impeachment of Strafford and Laud, and Suppression of the Despotic Courts—Anti-Episcopal Measures—Troubles in Ireland—The Grand Remonstrance—The King's Attempt to Arrest the Puritan Leaders—Flight from London before the Storm.

BEFORE entering upon what is commonly known as the Laudian period in Anglican history, a short study on the views entertained of the royal prerogative by the first two Stuart sovereigns, will throw light upon the position of the church in the years immediately succeeding the death of the first Stuart king.

We have already seen that after the close of the wars of "the Roses," the power of the crown in England was enormously increased. The numbers of the great nobles were greatly reduced in the course of these bloody, restless, seemingly purposeless campaigns. Their possessions, too, were vastly diminished owing to confiscation by one or other of the alternating dominating powers in the state. The strong government of the Yorkist Edward IV., and the far stronger rule of the Tudors who followed him, completed the work of the long Roses' wars. Edward IV., Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, were confronted by no powerful lawless nobility, and the Commons were, during the reigns of these mighty sovereigns, as yet too weak and ill-

organised to offer any real resistance to the will of their crowned masters. Thus the vast personal influence exercised in church matters by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, in whose times "church matters" occupied a prominent position in politics, is largely accounted for. "The chief field in which the crown during these reigns encroached upon the nation was in matters of judicature. The struggle against the nobles and the struggle against the Papacy each left its mark on the judicial system, in a court which judged without the intervention of a jury. The first, the struggle against the nobles, produced the Court of Star Chamber; the second, the struggle against the Papacy, produced the Court of High Commission."*

Of these two famous courts, which obtained in the near future such an unenviable notoriety, the first, the Court of "Star Chamber," was erected early in Henry VII.'s reign, and consisted of certain specified members of the Privy Council and of two judges. It was empowered to punish with fine or imprisonment all who were guilty of interfering with justice by force or intrigue.† It might condemn a man to the pillory, and cut off his ears. In the early days of its existence this powerful and irresponsible court had done good service in punishing rich and powerful offenders whom juries would have been afraid to convict. But as time went on, such a court, completely under the influence of the crown, became a most dangerous instrument of oppression, and one that might be, and was, frequently used against the liberties of the people.

The second, the Court of "High Commission," has been well described as a kind of ecclesiastical Star Chamber. It was founded by queen Elizabeth, mainly in right of her claim to exercise the supreme governorship over the church. It was composed of clergy and laymen appointed solely by the queen, and it had powers to fine and imprison, and also to degrade and suspend clergymen from their functions. Created in the first instance to be used against the spread of Roman Catholic opinions, it was chiefly put in force under Elizabeth against the Puritans.

These two courts were most powerful engines of tyranny, and were among the principal causes of grievance in the troubles of the middle of the seventeenth century. Both these royal courts were abolished by Act of Parliament in 1641, immediately after the execution of Charles I.'s minister, lord Strafford.*

Henry VII. and Henry VIII. were kings in a very different sense even from their great ancestors Edward I. and Edward III. Confronted by no great power in the state, they were practically absolute sovereigns. Under the boy king Edward VI. and his sister Mary the enormous power of the crown was temporarily diminished, the extreme youth of the first, and the religion, which was *not* the religion of the nation, of the second of these sovereigns, preventing

* Gardiner: "The Puritan Revolution," chap. i., section ii.

† Its name was derived from the chamber at Westminster where the court sat, the roof of which was decorated with stars. Others have derived the name of the chamber from the Jewish bonds or "starres" which had once been kept in it.

* *Cf.* S. R. Gardiner: "History of England" (Courts of "Star Chamber" and "High Commission")

them from exercising the vast power and influence of their immediate predecessors or successors. But under Elizabeth the royal power rose to the highest point ever reached in England. Under the great Tudor queen "royalty had come to be regarded as the centre of the national life. The personal flattery with which Elizabeth was regarded, was but the extravagant echo of the wiser judgment of her contemporaries."* And this singular position of an almost absolute power was maintained during her long reign by the queen almost undisputed and unchallenged; for her consummate wisdom, guided by her wise and far-seeing ministers, taught her, with all her arbitrary acts, ever to seem to sympathise with her subjects. Although absolute, Elizabeth was intensely English, and this the people felt; so that she was ever passionately loved as well as feared.

It will be remembered that in the story of the settlement of the church, we have ever pointedly associated the queen in all the most important ecclesiastical acts and proceedings. Nothing was done, no prelate was appointed in the church, no religious formulary was put forth, without her acquiescence. Parker was *her* archbishop; Whitgift was *her* confidant and favourite friend; Jewel and Hooker, Cox and Guest, and even Andrewes, were the chosen associates of her faithful ministers and advisers. The hand of Elizabeth was indeed felt throughout that momentous period of the making of the reformed Church of England.

James I., the first Stuart sovereign, mounted the throne possessed with all the views and ideas of kingship entertained by the Tudor monarchs, Henry VIII. and his daughter Elizabeth, even in an exaggerated form. But, different from Elizabeth, James Stuart was never in real sympathy with his English subjects. In the first place he was a Scotsman—a prince, in spite of his pure, undoubted descent from the kings of England, born and bred in a country which had been ever more or less in antagonism to England. Different from Elizabeth, James I., with all his astuteness and wishfulness to do what was right and just, never gained the heart of that mighty people over whom he was called to reign. He never succeeded in evoking anything of that enthusiasm for his person which constituted Elizabeth's strength.

Then, also, king James was singularly unfortunate in his selection of friends and ministers. In the state, by his side, speaking words of advice and counsel, there never stood a great Cecil or a Walsingham; in the church, never a Parker or even a Whitgift. His greatest prelate, Lancelot Andrewes, the profound scholar and eloquent preacher whose work and influence we have already dwelt upon, he never entirely trusted; and when the moment came that he might have placed him in the chair of Augustine, he put him aside for the inferior and unpopular Abbot. The great soldiers and sailors of the Elizabethan era had passed away, or were forgotten by James. Sir Walter Raleigh, "the one great warrior of the Elizabethan time who still lingered on," had been suffered to languish in captivity for long years in the Tower under some obscure suspicion of treason, and in the end closed his brilliant and romantic career, victim of

* Gardiner: "The Puritan Revolution."

an unjust charge, on the scaffold. The foremost personages of king James's court —Robert Carr, earl of Somerset ; George Villiers, duke of Buckingham ; the archbishops Bancroft and Abbot—were poor representatives indeed of that splendid group of statesmen and ecclesiastics which adorned and gave strength to the magnificent court of the great Tudor queen.

The centre of this court of mediocrities, James I., was himself a curious mixture of littleness and greatness. He was a deep scholar and student, of broad reading, shrewd, and naturally possessed of considerable abilities. But, unlike his predecessor Elizabeth, he was singularly incapable of judging men, and his choice of ministers, civil and ecclesiastical, was, as a rule, unfortunate. His presence lacked majesty, and even dignity, and, in common with the other princes of the ill-fated Stuart dynasty, he ever failed to excite any popular enthusiasm or devotion. His conceit was boundless, and he deemed himself the wisest and most far-seeing of monarchs, the greatest master of kingcraft that ever lived; while the judgment of his contemporaries, a judgment endorsed by posterity, is well though cynically expressed by king Henry IV. of France, who termed him "the wisest fool in Christendom." But he cherished the most exaggerated views of the rights and prerogatives of a king, views which, when pressed still further by his son and successor Charles I., precipitated the death-struggle between the people of England and the crown.

CHARLES I.
(*From the portrait by Van Dyck.*)

This conception of the divine right of kings, this persuasion that the monarch was free from all control by law, free from all responsibility to anything but his own royal will, had grown gradually since the close of the wars of the Roses. Under Henry VIII. the conception of the monarchy was that it was absolutely independent of all foreign, and especially of papal, influence or interference. But the Tudor sovereigns Henry VIII. and his daughter Elizabeth, arbitrary though their government was, were wise enough generally in all their more important measures to see how needful it was to have with them the heart of the majority of the people. Henry VIII. throughout his long career, by the majority of his subjects was feared rather than disliked ; and Elizabeth's great power consisted in her being "the representative of the people in the highest sense. With all her faults, she

sympathised with the people over whom she ruled. "My good people," she once said, "if they did not rest assured of some special love towards them, would not readily yield me such good obedience."

THE STAR CHAMBER.

Her Stuart successors utterly failed to see this. Their view of royalty comes out in the words of James I. used in 1616: "A thing regal and proper to a king is to keep every course within its true bounds. . . . As for the absolute prerogative of the crown, that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is it lawful to be disputed. It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; good Christians content themselves with His will revealed in His word. So it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or to say that a king cannot do this or that; but he should rest in that which is the king's will revealed in his law."* He even declared it to be treason to affirm that the king was under the law.

James I. was followed by his son Charles I., "a lonely, silent man," as he has been termed, "who kept at a distance all who were not of the immediate circle of his

* Gardiner: "Puritan Revolution," section ii.

privileged attendants," and who knew little of the mind of the large majority of his subjects. Charles Stuart, too, was a scholar ; but, different from his father, his manner was stately and impressive, and his moral character irreproachable. He possessed the gallantry and chivalry of his long line of royal and illustrious ancestors ; but he was obstinate, imperious, and

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.
(*After the portrait by Van Dyck.*)

ignorant of the spirit of his age. His gravest errors, however, sprang from that strange conception of the boundless rights, privileges, and prerogatives of an absolute king, a conception which he inherited from his father. In Charles Stuart this strange idea was even exaggerated.

He, too, was unfortunate in his choice of advisers. Buckingham, his first minister, was vain, frivolous, self-seeking, self-deceiving. He considered himself at once a statesman and a soldier : in both these parts, while occupying the highest positions to which a subject can aspire, he conspicuously failed. Buckingham's successors in the king's confidence, Wentworth (Lord Strafford) and Laud, the primate, were unmistakably able men and loyal servants ; but their very ability was to Charles an additional danger, since they both believed with real earnestness in the fatal error of the Stuart house respecting the awful prerogative of the crown.

The conception of Charles I. respecting his kingly power is best exemplified in his own words. As early as 1626, addressing the Commons, whom he had summoned on the occasion of their denouncing the corruption and incompetence of his minister and favourite Buckingham, he said : "Remember that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution ; and therefore, as I find the fruits of them to be good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." Some three years later, in 1629, he repeated his haughty threat to the Commons. "If you do not your duty," said the king, "mine would then order me to use those other means which God has put into mine hand." Nor were the royal threats merely a vain menace. He dissolved the Parliament, and for eleven long years chose to reign, to levy taxes, to wage war, to execute justice through subservient and arbitrary courts, without the advice and consent of the estates of the realm ; Parliament, by the will of the autocratic king, being suspended from 1629 to 1640.

Unfortunately the hierarchy of the Church of England generally supported the king in this exaggerated estimate of his rights, and sorely that great church had to rue its grave mistake. It, too, was

submerged in the catastrophe which followed in the later years of Charles's reign, and was seemingly destroyed; but it possessed a real life which even the fatal errors and mistakes of that sad age could not effectually harm. In the darkest hours of its misfortunes it never lost its influence over the minds of the people; and we shall see how, apparently dead, with extraordinary rapidity it revived again, stronger and more influential than ever. It was too deeply rooted in the heart of the English nation for any "Puritan" or "Independent" reaction or revolution seriously and permanently to affect it.

That the Church of England allied itself with the cause of absolutism in the state in the period which preceded the great rebellion, is indisputable, and that Laud brought the great influence of the church to bear on the ruin of civil freedom cannot be denied. It was a grave error, and one bitterly expiated. But grave as was the primate's error, it should not be exaggerated. When a rash preacher like Dr. Manwaring, who in 1527, on the occasion of a forced loan being levied by the crown, preached before the king on the duty of passive obedience, openly stating in his sermon that the king needed no Parliamentary warrant for taxation, and that to resist his will was to incur damnation, *Laud remonstrated*, and advised that the sermon should not be printed, urging that there were things in the discourse which he said would be very distasteful to the people. The king was, however, resolute; and the unhappy book which contained the argument of Manwaring, against Laud's wish was licensed and printed.

The real mind of Laud and the grave representation of the English clergy in the matter of the royal prerogative is fairly represented in the canon passed in the convocation of 1640 under the title of "Concerning Regal Power."* In it kings were declared to be responsible to God for the right government of the church, and to possess the sole right to summon councils. Subjects were warned, by quotations from the New Testament, not to bear arms against their lawful sovereign. The opinions of the martyrs of old and of the fathers were even adduced. It was also pronounced to be the duty of subjects to supply the king's necessities, and of kings to protect their subjects' goods. The divine character† of the office of the king, consecrated by the church, was specially insisted on.

This short sketch of the great error of the first two Stuarts in their conception of their royal rights and duties to their people, and of the share which the Church of England bore in the support of this disastrous conception, will be sufficient introduction to a very brief summary of the results. The character of James need

* The seventeen canons passed in the convocation under the influence of Laud in 1640 were published in quarto, under the authority of the Great Seal, and are entitled "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical," and are accompanied by a royal proclamation. The one "Concerning Regal Power" is the first of these.

† Laud indubitably considered that the crown was the chosen instrument of Providence for the salvation of the country, and that the sovereigns anointed with the consecrated oil [*cf.* 33 Edward III., "reges sacro oleo uncti spiritualis jurisdictionis sunt capaces"] were endowed with divine powers, both in church and state (see Simpkinson: "Life of Laud").

not be further emphasised. Scholar and pedant, well meaning, but utterly incapable either of carrying out himself his own confused and tortuous plans, or of choosing fit and capable persons to conduct the machinery of his government; yet at the same time vain and inordinately conceited of his abilities as a ruler, and convinced, too, that his authority as a king knew no limit, it is not strange that the history of his reign is a history of successive failures in every department both of church and state.

During the earlier years of his reign the chief minister of the crown was Sir Robert Cecil, the son of the great lord Burleigh. The king on his accession found Cecil secretary of state. He gave the Elizabethan minister his confidence, and in 1605 created him earl of Salisbury, and appointed him lord treasurer. Without possessing the talents of his father, Robert Cecil to a certain extent endeavoured to maintain the traditional policy of the late reign, and laboured to prevent a serious breach between the king and the Parliament. Unfortunately for James, the earl died in 1611, and henceforth the king's advisers were his weak and foolish favourites: Robert Carr, whom he created earl of Somerset, and after Carr's well-merited disgrace, George Villiers, who was successively created earl, then marquis, and in the end duke of Buckingham, and who remained in power until James's death.

Money troubles very soon perplexed the king. Extravagance and lavish generosity to Scottish favourites exhausted the treasure, and a large deficit was the consequence. A Parliament was summoned in 1610, and the statesmanship of Salisbury arranged a device by means of which the king's difficulties might be settled. A bargain was made with Parliament, called the "great contract," the king covenanting to abandon certain obnoxious privileges, and promising not to levy any impositions without a Parliamentary grant, the Parliament on their side agreeing to grant him a large annual income. But fresh disputes arose, and James, in anger, dissolved this his first Parliament in 1611. The same year Salisbury died. Another attempt was made in 1614 to enter into a fresh bargain with a new Parliament, but the negotiations fell through, and once more Parliament was dissolved. This short-lived Parliament, which granted no supplies and passed no act, was called, in consequence, the "addled Parliament."

In his foreign policy James was equally unsuccessful. He was desirous to marry his children into influential houses on the continent. In 1613 he gave his daughter Elizabeth to Frederick V., elector palatine, who was the chief of the German Calvinists. This alliance was an unfortunate one, and involved England eventually in a costly and useless foreign war. Frederick was chosen in 1618 by the Protestant nobles of Bohemia as their king; the crown, however, he was not suffered long to wear, for in 1620 he was defeated hopelessly near Prague, and the result was that he lost his new kingdom and his ancestral dominions in the Palatinate. This marriage was popular in England, for Frederick was looked upon as the champion of the Protestant cause in Germany, and the third Parliament summoned by James was willing to support the king and a

war to restore the elector-king to his lost dominions.

But another royal marriage planned

dently was kindly disposed, and would willingly lighten the burdens which pressed heavily upon them. It seems a

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.
(*From the portrait by Van Dyck.*)

by James was intensely disliked in England. From the beginning of his reign James's conduct towards the English Romanists showed symptoms of favour towards the unpopular party. He evi-

strange feeling to have actuated a Puritan-trained prince like James; but we have seen that Puritanism was distasteful to him, and possibly some memories of his dead mother were always present with him.

Mary Stuart had ever been an earnest Romanist, and to the end the Roman Catholic party in England had been her devoted and enthusiastic friends, and not a few had died for her. The discovery of the Gunpowder Plot had for a time interfered with James's kindly views, and the Romanist was more than ever hated in England after the tragic scenes which closed the episode of the wild and wicked scheme of Catesby and his friends. Yet in 1611 the question of a Spanish alliance was entertained in the Whitehall Court.

Various reasons influenced James. A close alliance with Spain would, he thought, enormously contribute to his power on the continent of Europe. He dreamed, too, of the material advantages which he would derive from such a connection, supposing, not unnaturally, that large sums of money would be easily obtained from the boundless resources of Spain. We have already alluded to his constant and ever-increasing money difficulties. So for long years the English king clung to his idea of a Spanish marriage for his son and heir. Death, however, interfered with his project. His eldest son, prince Henry, whom he intended to marry to a Spanish Infanta, died in 1612, and his second son, Charles, was as yet too young; but the project of wedding his son and heir to a Spanish princess was never abandoned. The negotiations continued over several years. Spain's consent was only reluctantly obtained, at the price of many important concessions. All the penal laws in force against Roman Catholics in England were to be repealed; complete liberty of worship in their own private houses for Roman Catholics was insisted on; the children of the prince and princess were to be educated in the old faith; a Romish household for the Infanta was to be provided. With a strange and fatal obstinacy, James clung to this curious policy, in which Buckingham steadily supported him. At last, in 1623, Charles and Buckingham set out on their romantic journey to Madrid to woo the princess in person. In spite of all, however, the negotiations in Madrid came to nothing, and Charles returned to England without his promised bride.

It seemed as though another chance was offered to the doomed Stuarts, when the Spanish marriage project was finally broken off by Spain; but the chance was lost, for James in the following year made proposals on behalf of his son Charles to the king of France, Louis XIII., for the hand of his sister, Henrietta Maria, a daughter of Henry IV. of Navarre, who had abjured Protestantism. The French king at once consented, and 1524 saw a Roman Catholic princess wedded to the heir of the English crown.

The marriage, as may well be conceived, was viewed in England by well-nigh all parties with the deepest dismay. Nothing in that reign of James I., which was throughout a preparation for the Great Rebellion, gave such dire offence to the nation as this strange desire of the Stuart king to ally his heir to the daughter of a Romanist sovereign. It was far more than a mere question of theology. England had become, under the magnificent Tudor queen, the centre of the Protestant powers of Europe. What was to be looked for in the future when the throne was shared by a Roman Catholic princess,

whose children would probably become, if not Roman Catholics,* at least more than friendly to that form of religion which England had abjured, and which, with its memories of the past, it thoroughly feared and disliked. Well has it been remarked that the unfortunate marriage plans of James I. for his heir "awoke again the old Protestant resistance, and gave new life to Puritanism." † Not a little of the antipathy aroused in England against the house of Stuart was stirred up in the first place by James I. deliberately setting himself in antagonism to the deep-rooted hatred and dread of the English people for Roman Catholicism and all that Roman Catholicism involved.

The accession of Charles I. caused no break in the continuity of the policy of the government. The same minister, Buckingham, perhaps with even increased power, continued to stand alone by the throne. The same views as to the irresponsibility of the king to the nation or national representatives entertained by James I., were held by his son, the second Stuart monarch, in even yet more exaggerated form. The ecclesiastical affairs connected with England gradually passed into the hands of bishop Laud, who was alike the intimate friend and adviser of both the king and the favourite.

The fierce disputes between the king and the House of Commons, which culminated in the civil war of 1642, began already in the first Parliament of Charles, in 1625. England was at war with Spain, and money was sorely needed to carry on the contest. A totally inadequate sum was voted by the "Houses," a deep distrust of the all-powerful Buckingham, the king's chief adviser, being almost universal. The king, however, resolutely refused to part with his friend, and, after an unavailing adjournment to Oxford, the first Parliament was dissolved. A second Parliament, which met the same year, was in the same mood, and Buckingham was formally impeached. The king remained unmoved, and another dissolution followed, without any supplies having been voted.

The foremost man in the Commons was Sir John Eliot, who was reputed to be the ablest orator of that time. In the struggle between the king, contending for absolutism, and the Parliament aiming at Parliamentary liberty, during the earlier years of the unhappy reign, Eliot occupied the position in the great contest afterwards filled by Hampden and Pym. He belonged to a distinguished family in the west of England, and, in addition to his great gift of oratory, and a well-deserved reputation for learning and culture, was famous as a bold and successful sailor. His character stood deservedly high, and his earnestness and acknowledged ability marked him out as a leader in the life and death contest which had begun to rage between the king and the representatives of the national will. A fair example of the temper of the Commons of England exists in the words reported to have been used by Eliot in speaking of the all-powerful Buckingham. He termed the

* Of the two sovereigns of England, the children of that marriage, Charles II. died—it is now generally believed—a Romanist, and James II., for the sake of Rome, was driven into a hopeless exile. The fears of 1511 to 1524 were amply justified.

† Gardiner.

favourite "Sejanus," the well-known, detested minister of the infamous tyrant, the Roman emperor Tiberius. "If he is Sejanus," said king Charles when the words were repeated to him, "then surely I must be playing the part of Tiberius." But no remonstrances had any effect. The king was resolute in his ideas of his supreme kingly power, and he remained loyal to his unpopular though faithful minister. In the meantime the horizon grew darker. A quarrel with France, and a consequent war, made money more and more necessary. Abroad, too, the English arms were generally unsuccessful. This increased, naturally, the popular discontent. The sinews of war were imperatively needed, and, after a futile attempt to obtain a free gift from the nation in lieu of the money refused by the "Houses," a third Parliament was summoned in 1628.

Long and anxious debates followed, and the famous "Petition of Rights" was presented to the crown by the Commons. The demands embodied in the "Petition of Rights" must be conceded, before any money could be voted. Reluctantly Charles consented to the more important of these, notably a promise never again, without the will of the "Houses," to raise money by any illegal means, such as by a forced loan. In the end the king yielded, and the great "Petition" became the law of the land; a law, however, practically disregarded by Charles during his eleven years of personal or absolute government. But more was needed before any real reconciliation could be established between the king and the popular House. The ecclesiastical policy of Laud, who was fast growing into prominence as a favoured counsellor of the king, had exasperated the powerful Puritan party; and many changes, which must be dwelt on presently at greater length, were now demanded in the church as well as in the state. Above all, Buckingham must be dismissed. At this juncture a tragic event happened which for a brief season appeared to promise a healthier state of things, than that which for the past three years had existed between the king and the Commons. Buckingham, the all-powerful favourite, was assassinated by a wild fanatic named Felton, and his rule, which had endured for so long during the reign of father and son, was thus rudely and abruptly brought to an end. This terrible crime was committed in the August of 1628.

Early in the following year, 1629, Parliament met again. The great obstacle to reconciliation between Charles and the popular assembly had been removed, apparently, by the death of Buckingham. But deeper questions really remained behind. The Stuart view of the royal prerogative was unchanged. Buckingham or no Buckingham, Charles was determined to rule unchecked. No "Petition of Rights" should bind him. A curious question precipitated the disastrous contest. For a long period the practice of the Commons had been to vote for each sovereign during life a permanent source of income, in certain duties on exports and imports, duties known as tonnage and poundage. These had never been voted in Charles's reign, owing to the continued disputes between him and the "Houses." But Charles insisted on his right, inherited

from his ancestors, apart from any vote, to levy these dues. Upon this nice point a fresh dispute commenced.

A still graver and more heart-searching question arose. We have spoken before, and shall have occasion to speak again, of the spirit of religious fervour which lived and worked in the England of Elizabeth and the two first Stuart kings. It was due, of course, to the Reformation, and to all that the Reformation had brought along in its wake; to the awakened spirit of inquiry, to the fervid speech and the burning writings of the great men who guided the mighty movement. Partly, also, it was due to the very opposition it excited. The defenders of the old learning, who lived mostly in an ideal past, they too studied and wrote and lived and spoke, with an earnestness and a fervour which had been unknown for many a long year, years almost counted by centuries. The men of the new learning, the true children of the Reformation, had indeed need to burnish their weapons of controversy to meet these formidable foes, awakened from a torpor which too closely had resembled death. Above all, it was

SIR JOHN ELIOT.
(From the portrait at Port Eliot.)

due to the influence of the at last universally read Bible, the Bible purified by Erasmus and translated by Tyndale. In no country had this spirit permeated all sorts and conditions of men as it had in England. "Theology rules them," said the learned scholar and profound observer Grotius in 1605, early in James I.'s reign.

And over Protestantism, and the "New Learning" in general, a sombre cloud seemed to be gathering during the latter years of James I., and the earlier reign of Charles I. In Germany, the first home of the Reformation, matters had gone ill with Lutheran and Calvinist alike. The defeat and fall of the elector Frederick had come as a shock to Protestants of all lands. The dominant German power for a time was now the Roman Catholic house of Austria. In France, too, the Huguenot cause seemed a dying one. And in England also the zeal of Laud, too often misunderstood, excited not only among the Puritans, but among many faithful sons of the church, an ill-concealed dread, a dread largely owing to that great prelate's friendship with the hated Buckingham, and the position of intimacy and confidence which he held with king Charles. Everything Laud did, in the eyes of the advocates of Parliamentary liberty, was coloured with Laud's sympathy for Charles, and Charles's grave errors. His many and splendid efforts to raise the tone of church feeling, and to dignify and reduce to ecclesiastical order her services, in the eyes of men even like the patriotic and devoted Eliot, were regarded as part and parcel of the schemes of Buckingham and Charles to bring the English nation and her church under the uncontrolled domination of the crown and its officials.

Thus, in addition to other grievances, was raised in that Parliament of 1625 the cry that Charles and Laud were drawing nearer and ever nearer the dreaded Rome, which was indeed growing more powerful every year; that they were introducing into the Church of England at once Roman ceremonial and Roman doctrine. That such was not the case is little to the point. The religious question even overshadowed the money question, and the closing scenes of the Parliament of 1628–1629 were extraordinarily embittered by the theological points of discussion. "The Gospel," said Eliot in one of his moving and eloquent speeches, "is that truth in which the kingdom has been happy through a long and rare prosperity. This ground, therefore, let us lay for a foundation of our building, that that truth, not with words, but with actions, we will maintain." Well knew the "House" that dissolution by the royal will was close at hand; but with barred doors the Commons of England were determined to record their solemn protests. "By successive resolutions, they declared whomsoever should bring in innovations in religion (thus setting religious points in the forefront of their grievances), or whatsoever minister endorsed the levy of subsidies not granted in Parliament, a capital enemy to the kingdom; and every subject voluntarily complying with illegal acts and demands, a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy of the same."*

Thus the Parliament of 1629 broke up, and it was years before any Parliament met again in England. Upon the

* Green: "History of England," chap. viii., sect. iii.

leaders in the great struggle Charles wreaked his sad vengeance. Some were arrested. Fines and imprisonment were inflicted. Most made their submission. A few resisted to the end, and among these was the greatest of them all, Sir John Eliot. This first, and perhaps the noblest of the champions of Parliamentary independence, was thrown into the Tower. He declined to make any submission to the king. The intrepid sailor, the country gentleman, accustomed to the sea breezes of the west, to a life of freedom and manly exercises, soon pined away in the gloomy chamber of the storied prison-house of England, and died, after a close captivity of some three and a half years. Few have ever better earned the proud martyr's title, for he gave up his noble life for the liberties of his country. When the end drew near, the patriot statesman sent for a painter to preserve his likeness, all worn and changed by the long weary captivity. It was a strange thought, this wish to hand down to his descendants the outcome of his noble efforts for England. Vindictive to the last, the king refused to give up the body to his children, who would have laid the remains of the great patriot among his fathers in his loved western country. "Let him be buried," said Charles, "where he died." The Tower of London throws its grim shadow upon no more sacred spot than upon Eliot's grave.

And now for eleven long years no Parliament was summoned by king Charles. Associated with the king, who during this lengthened period ruled England according to the Stuart views, which placed absolute irresponsible power, if the Crown chose to exercise it, in the hands of the anointed sovereign, were two statesmen whose names, execrated by some, are the object of a strange adulation to others: Wentworth, better known as earl of Strafford, the title subsequently conferred upon him; and Laud, bishop of London, better known as archbishop of Canterbury. The latter was one of the purest and most earnest of men, a great ecclesiastic, a great church restorer and church organiser, one who under other circumstances would have left behind him undisputed an honoured name among the great divines and prelates who have been famous in the Church of England; but who, from his unhappy connection with the tyranny and mistakes of Charles Stuart, because he played —O the pity of it!—in an unhappy era the part of statesman as well as that of a great churchman, has fatally dimmed the lustre of a great reputation.

The story of Laud's life and work, belonging as it does to the Church of England, will have to be related with detail. Strafford belongs rather to another history than ours, and may be dismissed here with a few words. Wentworth, earl of Strafford, the famous minister of Charles I., the intimate friend of Laud, and his adviser in state matters, the minister in whose busy brain were conceived all the more important measures devised and carried out during the long period of Charles's reign when he ruled England without a Parliament, is thus described by a famous word-painter: "Wentworth, Lord Strafford, who ever names him without thinking of those harsh, dark features, ennobled by their expression into more than the majesty of an antique Jupiter; of that brow, that eye, that cheek, that lip, where-

in, as in a chronicle, are written the events of many stormy and disastrous years, high enterprise accomplished, frightful dangers braved, power unsparingly exercised, suffering unshrinkingly borne; of that fixed look, so full of anxiety, of deep thought, of dauntless resolution, which seems at once to forebode and to defy a terrible fate, as it lowers upon us from the living canvas of Vandyke?"*

In Strafford the second Stuart sovereign found a minister willing and capable of carrying out his views of royal government. He aimed at making Charles an absolute monarch, at putting the personal liberty of the whole people at the disposal of the crown; and the far-seeing minister discerned that to carry out these views one instrument was imperatively necessary —a trained standing army. In Ireland, where for several years he reigned as viceroy, he succeeded in establishing such a rule; and that he eventually failed in England was rather owing to the vacillating spirit of Charles, than to any lack of will or courage or skill on his own part.

During the first years of his government without a Parliament, Charles was fortunate in his choice of a lord treasurer. Weston was an able statesman and a skilled financier. He reduced the expenditure at home, which during the long supremacy of Buckingham had been lavish and extravagant. He promoted a policy of peace with foreign nations. Peace was made at once with France, and in the following year (1630) with Spain, and for a lengthened period England ceased to interfere with or to exercise any influence in foreign politics. By various devices, more or less illegal, he succeeded in replenishing an exhausted treasury. The policy of peace inaugurated by this wise minister largely contributed to the commercial prosperity of the kingdom. While the continent of Europe was divided and harassed by desolating wars, England, at war with no nation, played the part of the universal carrier, and English ships became almost the sole vehicles for the growing commerce of the whole world.

This curious prosperity, which affected all sorts and conditions of men, no doubt largely contributed to the long duration of the period of arbitrary rule—some eleven years. And although the gravest discontent was excited by many acts of the government, notably the illegal exactions and the judicial proceedings of the courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, there was no real resistance to the royal will until, owing to the grave aspect assumed by affairs in Scotland, the "Long" Parliament was summoned late in the year 1640. Then the long-smouldering indignation of the nation resulted in the formal impeachment of the two ministers, who were held mainly responsible for the long series of tyrannical and illegal acts of Charles; Wentworth, earl of Strafford, and archbishop Laud. Some brief details of especial importance respecting these eleven years of absolute government will be helpful to us, when we come to consider the position and work of the Church of England at this period.

In finance, grave complications would necessarily arise when no popular House was summoned to grant the necessary supplies for carrying on the government. Between 1629 and 1635 Weston was lord

* Macaulay's essay, "Hampden."

treasurer. His prudent and economic administration, and his policy of peace, and the commercial prosperity which was the immediate result of his policy, was

THOMAS WENTWORTH, FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.
(*From the portrait by Van Dyck.*)

enormously helpful to the king. Yet, in spite of all care and prudence, many illegal devices had to be resorted to for supplying the needs of the royal exchequer. Curious and obsolete customs were revived as a means to extort money. Knighthood was forced on landed proprietors of estates of a certain value ; supposed encroachments on crown lands on the part of neighbouring proprietors were heavily fined ; new houses in London were enormously taxed on pain of forfeiture ; monopolies were revived on a large scale ; and vast sums of money were exacted from companies. Wine,

soap, salt, and all manner of articles of daily consumption thus fell, owing to these iniquitous arrangements, into the hands of monopolists. Customs duties were rigidly exacted at all the ports of the realm. All classes and orders were more or less harassed by these proceedings. In 1635, however, Weston died, and after this even less care was paid to the legal character of the taxes and impositions raised. With strange imprudence, archbishop Laud, who occupied the second place in the king's confidence, induced his royal master to raise Juxon, bishop of London, to the high office. "No churchman," wrote Laud, with a sad infatuation, believing such an appointment at such an anxious time would be an honour and an advantage to the church, "had it since Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him (Juxon) to carry it so that the church may have honour and the state service and content by it. And now if the church will not hold up themselves, under God I can do no more."

The dread experiment of absolutism in England went on, the clouds round the throne growing ever darker. During the years 1635–1638 the question of the "ship money" tax specially agitated England. "Ship money" was an ancient tax levied upon the seaboard counties only, to provide a fleet in time of war. In the urgent stress and need of resources, the ministers of Charles directed that writs should be issued of ship-money along the towns of the coast, in order that vessels of war might be equipped, although the country was in a state of profound peace. The next step went even further: the writs were sent into the inland counties. Never before had England heard of such a thing. Not even when the mighty Armada was threatening the island shores, had such a writ been sent into the inland counties. The irritation and anger at this strange and iniquitous tax was widespread.

A gentleman of Buckinghamshire named Hampden, gifted with conspicuous ability and of rare singleness of purpose, of whom we shall hear again, when the sad Civil War began, stood forth as the champion of the people in this iniquitous matter of the "ship money." In 1638 the Exchequer Chamber, but only by a bare majority of the judges, pronounced against the bold and patriotic Englishman. But the long-drawn-out and bitter dispute on this question had effectually aroused the country to see in what danger were her most cherished privileges. They "had forced into light the real character of the royal Charles."

Laud and Strafford at this time were virtually supreme at the royal council board. Strafford, although in Ireland, was the real mainspring of all the royal measures. The intimacy between Laud and Strafford was deep, and apparently based upon mutual esteem and friendship. And Juxon, bishop of London, Laud's intimate friend, was lord treasurer. These things must not be forgotten when, as our story progresses, we relate the growth of animosity among the Puritans against the Church of England. The bitter enmity was grounded on other causes, and even on graver ones, than merely a dislike to church order and ancient ceremonies. The church under Laud committed a fatal error when it meddled with these civil matters, and, as must be confessed, ranged

itself, in the persons of its leaders, on the side of illegality and wrong.

While these financial questions, and the methods of solving them adopted by Strafford and archbishop Laud, were daily widening the breach between the king and people, the doings of the arbitrary Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission were exerting a yet more fatal influence in the same direction. The Star Chamber, being mainly composed of the Privy Council, was virtually under the influence of the Crown. The court of High Commission was likewise made up of royal nominees. Under the personal government of Charles I. the great but somewhat indefinite powers of these courts were augmented. Through the mischievous instrumentality of these formidable tribunals, the king and his council were enabled to impose enormous fines; to imprison, pillage, and mutilate persons of any rank who had set themselves in opposition to the royal will. Against their decision there was absolutely no appeal. Even Clarendon, the royalist writer, perhaps with some exaggeration, tells us later that there was hardly a man of note in the realm who had not some personal experience of the oppressive measures of these courts. Some of the sentences passed and executed upon popular favourites, notably, the cruel treatment of William Prynne, a learned lawyer, whose writings had alarmed and disturbed the king and his advisers, excited a wide and general indignation in every part of the kingdom. The Star Chamber sentenced Prynne, for no other offence than this, to stand at the pillory, to lose his ears, to be dismissed from the Bar, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

It was, however, the treatment which Scotland underwent at the hands of the arbitrary government of the king, that immediately brought about events ultimately issuing in the great rebellion. The Scots, as a people, were Puritans, and in Scotland Puritanism had generally adopted the Calvinistic doctrines and Calvinistic discipline, known as Presbyterianism. King James, as we have seen, intensely disliked Presbyterianism. In England he gave it no countenance, and in his native country he determined, as far as he could, to discredit it and to undermine its influence among the people. But it required a greater than James Stuart, hereditary king of Scotland though he was, to effect such a change among his stern and fervently religious countrymen. Among them, in 1610, he planted Episcopacy. But in the Scotland of the seventeenth century, permeated as it was with the Calvinist Knox's passionate teaching, Episcopacy was an exotic, and took no root among the people.

In the hour of the seeming triumph of absolutism in England, Charles and Laud determined to stamp out Presbyterianism in Scotland. Canons, under the authority of the king, were issued, placing the government of the Scottish church in the hands of its bishops; and, what was more obnoxious still to the Presbyterians of the northern kingdom, a new liturgy, differing only in a few particulars from the English Service Book (the Book of Common Prayer), was drawn up for Scotland. This was first used in 1637, in Edinburgh, and became the occasion of a wild

riot. The discontent with these religious innovations became general throughout Scotland. In a few weeks four committees —popularly known as "the Tables"— assumed important powers. The religious question was in the forefront of their assumptions, but they dealt with other matters as well. The "National Covenant," which had been drawn up years before, in the days when Mary Stuart was plotting with Rome, was almost universally signed. The "Covenant" pledged the signatories to resist all contrary errors and corruptions to the utmost of their power all the days of their life, the said errors and corruptions being understood now to signify the innovations introduced by Charles and Laud. It was virtually a Scottish revolution.

Charles temporised, and sent a courtly noble, the Marquis of Hamilton, to meet the leaders of the revolt. A general assembly met at Glasgow, and demanded that the Book of Common Prayer should be withdrawn, and the new canons should be at once put aside; that the Court of High Commission should be abolished, and a free Parliament summoned. The king at first yielded; then withdrew his consent, and at once prepared for war with his stubborn Northern subjects. In the year 1639 the first Bishop's War, as it has been termed broke out. Charles's army was poorly equipped, and half-hearted besides. The feeling that Scotland was really fighting the cause of liberty in England, was generally felt even among Charles's forces. The Scottish troops, on the other hand, were largely composed of veteran soldiers who had fought and bled in the foreign wars which had so long been desolating Germany and the Continent. Fighting such an army with the inferior English levies, was felt by Charles's advisers a hopeless matter, and a pacification was agreed upon, reluctantly enough, at Berwick-upon-Tweed.

Thus ignominiously for Charles, the first Bishop's War terminated. But the king determined soon to renew the contest. Wentworth (lord Strafford) was recalled from Ireland. Recognising the hopelessness of the king's position, the great minister advised the calling once more of a Parliament. Thus, after an interval of just eleven years, once again the "Houses" met at Westminster. But the temper of Parliament was bitterly opposed to Charles and his government. Imperatively they demanded an immediate consideration of the many grievances of England, and in the forefront they placed a requirement that all idea of a war with Scotland should be abandoned. Charles at once refused; and after a session of only twenty-three days, this Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, was dissolved. This was in the April of 1640.

Events now succeeded each other in startling rapidity, and the end was near. Once again Charles, now accompanied by Strafford, marched northwards, hoping for a victory over the Scotch. This expedition is known as the second Bishop's War. Much of the programme of the first Bishop's War was repeated; Strafford quickly discerning that with the English forces at his disposal, no victory could be hoped for. Agreeing to pay the expenses of the Scottish campaign, by means of what in modern phraseology is

TRIAL OF LORD STRAFFORD.

(From the picture by Wm. Fiske in the Municipal Art Gallery, Salford.)

termed a war indemnity, a temporary peace was made.

One more wild effort to rule on the old lines of absolutism was made by Charles and Strafford. The king summoned a great council of peers at York, hoping that thus he might procure supplies. But the peers declined to support their sovereign in his unconstitutional proceedings, and advised him at once to summon a Parliament. There was no other course left. Scotland and the north of England were in open armed revolt, and the heart of England was apparently hopelessly alienated. Again "the Houses" were summoned; and in November, 1640, met that famous assembly which, for good and evil, sat so many years in session—the assembly known in history as the Long Parliament.

Very stern were the early measures of that renowned assembly. In a few months the edifice of absolute government so carefully built up by Charles and his ministers, was shattered, and the master-builders humbled to the dust. Strafford, the principal adviser and instrument in the king's eleven years' personal government, was at once impeached, and committed to the Tower. Laud, who was regarded as only second in guilt to Strafford, followed his friend to the same gloomy fortress, from which so few have ever emerged again as free men. Other and less prominent ministers fled the country. Early in 1641, with little delay, measures were passed dealing summarily with the principal grievances of the country. Ship-money was declared illegal. A statute was passed which stopped the crown from ever taxing the people in any form without the consent of the Parliament. The civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Courts of Star Chamber and of the High Commission was abolished. As the result of a Committee of Religion, a bill was even framed for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords. Before the March of 1641 had run its course, Strafford stood on his trial to answer for his many misdeeds against the liberties of England.

For fifteen days the terrible trial went on. Its scene was Westminster Hall, and the whole of the House of Commons was present, the king and queen looking on and listening to their great servant defending himself with matchless temper and skill. It was difficult, perhaps impossible, to bring home the charge of treason to the fallen minister. So the enemies of the great minister of absolutism brought in a Bill of Attainder; eventually this passed both Houses; and to his undying shame king Charles consented to his own servant's death. Was it cowardice, or a momentary overwhelming conviction that his course had been an unrighteous one, that induced him to give up his most faithful friend? No one can say; and in truth, Charles Stuart's character is, after all, a strange and sad enigma.

Strafford died as many other great ones have died — guilty and innocent — in front of the grim state Prison House of England, with extraordinary fortitude. When told of the vast crowds assembled to see him die, he replied: "I know how to look death in the face, and the people too. I thank God I am no more afraid of death; but I put off my doublet as gladly now as I ever did when I went to bed."

We may glance very rapidly through the events of the last year before the Civil War. For the present, Laud was not dealt with, but was left in close confinement in the Tower. In July, 1641, through the efforts of the Long Parliament, the war indemnity was paid to the Scottish army, and a treaty with Scotland was signed. The crying grievances had now been redressed. Strafford, the minister of absolutism, lay in his blood-stained shroud; Laud the archbishop, his coadjutor in the royal tyranny, was a close prisoner; the less prominent ministers were in exile. All power to impose taxes or to levy customs duties was for ever taken from the crown, save with the consent of the Commons. The famous courts which had been the too-faithful instruments of the personal government of Charles, had been done away with. Only the ecclesiastical innovations, as the Puritan House of Commons deemed them, remained to be inquired into. Laud had fallen, but Laud's suffragans were still the rulers of the Church of England. The majority in that stern Puritan House, in spite of vehement opposition in the Lords, brought forward a "root and branch" bill, as it was termed, for the *entire abolition of bishops* in the church.

Such a measure provoked, as may well be conceived, serious opposition. Noble and patriotic men like Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), Verney, and others who thought like Falkland, while dreading absolutism, were not prepared to destroy the church, although the church seemed allied to the royal cause and all that the royal cause had signified in late years. The king entrusted offices of state to these moderate men of the Parliament which had accomplished such sweeping reforms; and for a moment it seemed as though things might be peaceably arranged, and a more constitutional government firmly established without trenching on the immemorial prerogatives of the kings of England; but, alas! no one could trust Charles Stuart.

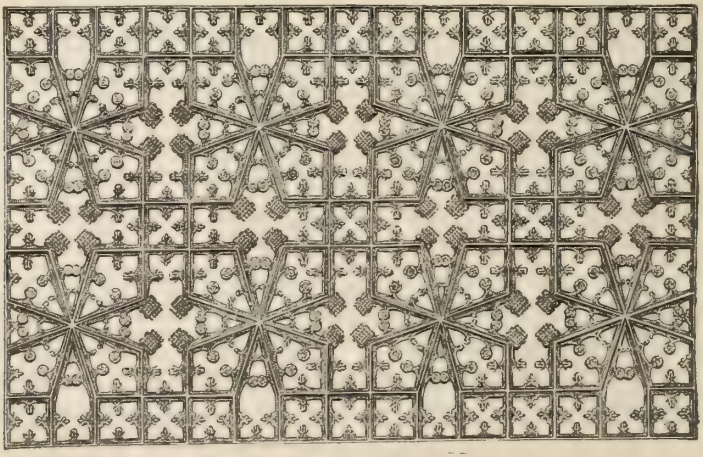
In the November of that sad year, came the news of a terrible rising in Ireland. Strafford had ruled with a strong though cruel hand; the result of his fall was a fierce rising among the Celtic inhabitants of the unhappy island. Murder, plunder, and rapine did their dread work among the English colonists. Terrible stories of awful cruelties perpetrated by the Irish insurgents appalled all England. As many as 30,000 men, women and children (the number has been probably exaggerated) were said to have fallen victims to the Irish fury. Imperatively needed was a strong army from England to put down this desolating insurrection. But the English Parliament so deeply mistrusted Charles, that they dared not raise an armed force under the authority of the crown. Would not such an armed force be too surely used against the Commons, and serve as an instrument eventually to restore the royal tyranny? There was, however, a party which shrank from this mistrust—a party composed of men like Falkland and Hyde, who longed for peace, and would still have worked with the king. These, although they were bitterly opposed to the old absolutism of Strafford, constituted what may be fairly termed a royalist party.

In the Commons there was a lengthy and impassioned debate. The Puritans, under

the guidance of Pym, laid before the House "the Grand Remonstrance," which has been well termed "a vote of want of confidence" in the king. It recounted from the Puritan point of view the story of the errors of the past eleven years and demanded certain grave and drastic reforms, especially the appointment of ministers responsible to Parliament, and the consideration of ecclesiastical difficulties by an assembly of divines nominated by the Parliament. The Royalists in the House protested strongly against it. But a small majority carried their point. The Grand Remonstrance was eventually printed and presented to the king, who sullenly received it.

Early in the following year, 1642, Charles determined on a fatal step. He impeached before the House of Lords, Pym, Hampden, and three others of the more prominent Puritan leaders, alleging that they had been guilty of treason, having entered into communication with the Scots during the late troubles. The Commons, however, demurred to their arrest. The king at once, in defiance of the ancient privileges of Parliament, accompanied with an armed band of followers, in person went down to the House to fetch the traitors, as he termed them; but the threatened members, fearing for their liberty if not for their lives, hearing of his intention, had taken refuge in the City of London. The senseless outrage of Charles, in thus attempting to terrify the House with armed men, excited wide and general indignation. London refused to give up the accused members, and the king, now sensible of the storm he had raised, and alarmed for his personal safety, left Whitehall; only to return to it as a prisoner after the end of the fatal war. In August of the same year, 1642, the royal standard was hoisted at Nottingham; and royalists were bidden to rally round it, and to aid the king in bringing to a sense of their duty a rebellious Parliament. The great Civil War had begun.*

* Compare Gardiner: "Puritan Revolution," chap. vi., sec. iv. v.



CEILING OF THE STAR CHAMBER.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S LIBRARY, EAST QUADRANGLE, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

CHAPTER LXIV.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

Permanence of Laud's Influence—Sketch of His Early Life—Reforms as Dean of Gloucester—James I. and Laud's first Bishopric—Controversy with the Jesuit Fisher—Growing Favour with Charles I.—Zeal for the Royal Prerogative, and its Reasons in Church Policy—Absolutist Measures as Adviser of the Crown, and their Calamitous Effect on Popular Opinion—His Ecclesiastical Policy—Diversities in Practice—The Stamp of Laud's Work in producing a Uniform Standard—Succeeds to the Primacy in 1633—Irregularities found during his first Visitation—Persistent Measures for securing Greater Uniformity and Reverence in the Church Services—Church Restoration—St. Paul's—The Puritan Dislike for Stateliness in Building or Worship—Timeliness of Laud's Work—His Services to Oxford—And to the Church at large—The Convocation of 1640—The Laudian Canons—Impeachment of Laud and Strafford—Their final Farewell—Trial and Execution of the Archbishop—Reaction in his favour—Laud and the Roman Church—Breadth of his Views—Final Influence on the King.

IN the History of the Church of England during the momentous period we have been briefly sketching, the work and influence of one great man must be dwelt upon at some length. During the last nine or ten years of the reign of James I., and still more in the days of his successor Charles I., the figure of William Laud occupies the principal position in the picture. All other figures on the canvas are subordinate to his. To find a parallel to the place filled by this great

churchman, we must go back to the far-past days of Dunstan, Lanfranc, Anselm, or Becket. Nor has his surpassing influence been limited to his own day and time; much of his work has endured to ours. Bitterly opposed, often misunderstood, vilified perhaps more than any great churchman in the records of Christianity, dying in the end, after a long and weary captivity, the death of a traitor, to which his successful enemies consigned him, amidst the ruins of a fallen church, his whole life-work was apparently a disastrous failure. But the strange turn of the wheel of fortune, after a few short years, restored the church over which he had presided, and which he loved so well, to its ancient place in the hearts of the English people; and this restored Church of England bore the imprint which Laud had stamped upon it.

It has been the fashion with some of our most brilliant and popular historians to vilify Laud's memory and to belittle his doings. He stands out in the canvas of these great historical word-painters a mean and shabby figure. With Carlyle, for instance, Laud and his friend bishop Neile, of Winchester, were "a frightfully ceremonial pair of bishops, the fountain they of innumerable tendencies to papistry, and the old clothes of Babylon." Again he writes of him when with Charles I. in Edinburgh, thus: "The chapel at Holyrood House was fitted up with every equipment, textile and metallic, and little bishop Laud in person performed the service in a way to illuminate the benighted natives, as was hoped; show them how an artist could do it." Little pity showed Carlyle to the fallen archbishop: "What a Christmas of that old London, of that old year! On the 6th February following, Episcopacy will be voted down, with blaze of bonfires and ringing of all the bells, very audible to poor old Dr. Laud over in the Tower yonder." And of the end of the famous archbishop he thus writes: "The Presbyterian system is now getting fast into action. On the 20th May, 1647, the Synod of London, with one prolocutor or moderator, met in St. Paul's. . . . . Poor old Laud is condemned of treason, and beheaded, years ago [Laud suffered in 1645], the Scots after Marston fight pressing heavy on him; Prynne, too, being very ungrateful. That performance of the service to the Hyperborean population in so exquisite a way [at Holyrood, referred to above] has cost the artist dear. He died very gently; his last scene much the best for himself and for us." *

Another of our famous masters in history, who in his way enjoys a wider popularity even than Carlyle, describes Laud as "by nature rash, irritable, quick to feel for his own dignity, slow to sympathise with the sufferings of others, and prone to the error common in superstitious men of mistaking his own peevish and malignant moods for emotions of pious zeal." † The same historian in another place thus pictures the great primate: "Charles I. had two counsellors, who seconded him, or went behind him, in intolerance and lawless violence; the one (Laud) a superstitious driveller, as honest as a vile temper would

* "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches": Introduction (1629–1633), and part ii. (1641) and part iii. (1647).

† Lord Macaulay: "History of England," chap. i.

suffer him to be. Never were faces more strikingly characteristic of the individuals to whom they belonged than those of Laud and Strafford, as they still remain portrayed by the most skilful hand (Vandyke's) of that age. The mean forehead, the pinched features, the peering eyes of the prelate, suit admirably with his disposition. They mark him out as a lower kind of St. Dominic, differing from the fierce and gloomy enthusiast who founded the Inquisition, as we may imagine the familiar imp of a spiteful witch to differ from an archangel of darkness. When we read his grace's judgments . . . we feel a movement of indignation. We turn to his diary, and we are at once as cool as contempt can make us. . . . Here was a man to have the superintendence of the opinions of a great nation." *

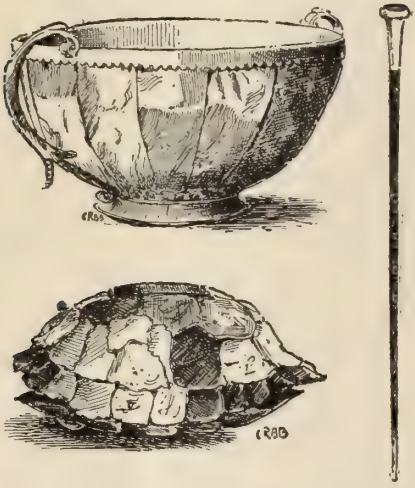
The famous archbishop of Charles I., who closed his work-filled life on the scaffold beneath the shadow of the Tower in 1645, was born in 1573, when Elizabeth was at the height of her glory. He belonged to a respectable well-to-do family of traders in the historic town of Reading. A brilliant, scholarly boy, a painstaking, industrious Oxford student, he passed through the various grades of a scholar's life, till we find him a tutor and lecturer of the college (St. John's) of which he subsequently became president, and with which his name will be for ever associated.

When Laud became a teacher at Oxford the prevailing theology of the university was Calvinistic, and the most influential of the Calvinists was Dr. George Abbot, master of University College and vice-chancellor. Abbot and his party endeavoured to trace the visible and true church through such obscure sects as the Berengarians, the Albigenses, Wicliffites, and Hussites, down to Calvin; sects which, exaggerating the original doctrines of their founders, had constantly lapsed into grave errors in doctrine and practice. Laud, on the other hand, taught that the Church of England had lived from the earliest times one consecutive life, through its succession of bishops derived from British and Roman sources. In the Calvinistic teaching current in the days when Laud startled the university with his lectures, the sacraments held a comparatively subordinate place, and the divine origin of the episcopacy, if not openly denied, was ignored. In his theses for the degree of B.D. in 1604, the young theologian of St. John's maintained two positions which awakened great attention and aroused considerable opposition: the first, that baptism was necessary to salvation; and the second, that there could be no true church without diocesan bishops. If the latter position were accepted, the churches of Calvin and Knox would be necessarily regarded as lacking what was absolutely needful for a true church. Laud's theology was supported by the great learning and intense earnestness of the teacher, and he was supplied besides with the powerful weapons lately forged by Hooker in his great work, weapons which were being used with rare force and power by Andrewes and the men of his school.

He excited naturally intense opposition, and Abbot became his life-long enemy. A grave mistake of Laud's in 1605, when

* Essay on Lord Nugent's "Memorials of Hampden."

he consented to perform the marriage ceremony between lord Mountjoy, earl of Devonshire, to whom he was chaplain, and the divorced Lady Rich, discredited him for a season; and for some five years he lived in retirement, serving country livings, away from any important centre. In this period of his life he attracted the attention of Neile, then



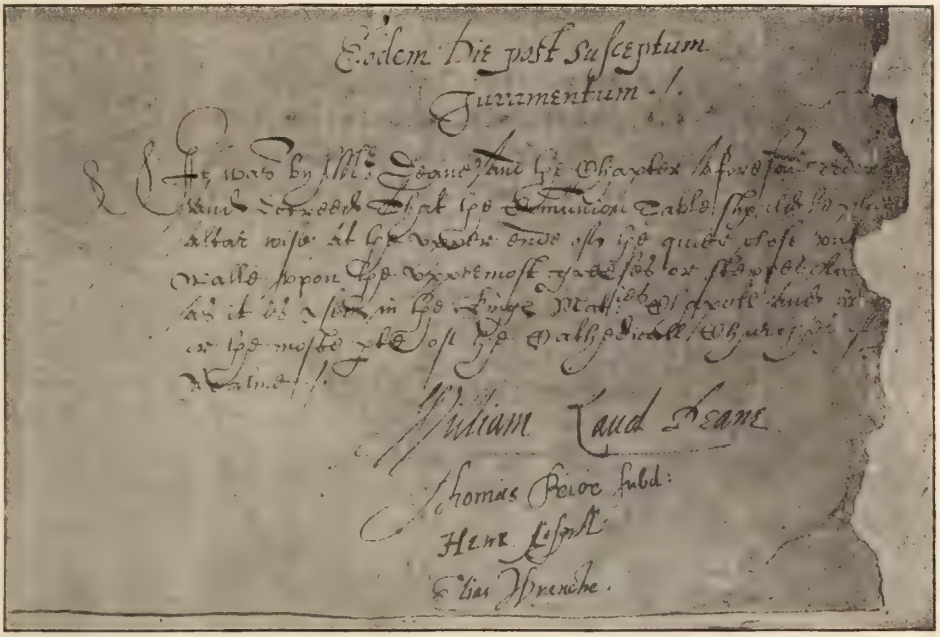
ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S CAUDLE CUP, WALKING STICK, AND THE SHELL OF HIS TORTOISE.

bishop of Rochester, who introduced him to king James I., before whom he preached, and on whom he produced a favourable impression, for the king never lost sight of him again. In 1611, not without considerable opposition, he was elected to the presidency of his college, St. John's, and returning to Oxford, he became a great power in the University. His own college, under his rule, was enlarged, the numbers of its students increased; as an administrator his reputation stood high.

In this quiet period of his life, we may reasonably conclude, were matured his theories of church government and discipline, and, above all, of ritual observance. The want of order and reverence, the absence of uniformity in ritual and ceremonies, in so many English churches, deeply impressed Laud, and to remedy this state of things became the desire of his life. Those who admire much in his earnest character, who recognise his unselfish longing to promote the glory of God, who are sensible of his single-hearted desire to make the Church of England a fitting shrine of Christian truth, to render her services beautiful and reverential, winning and comforting, will mourn indeed that circumstances, strange and unexpected, should have drawn him aside from the path he had well and wisely chosen for himself—the path of a church reformer, doing the work he was so admirably fitted to carry out—into the thorny and confused pathway of seventeenth century politics, where he found work he was eminently unfitted to carry out.

Laud's successful Oxford career, and his known views upon church order and discipline, so lacking in the days of king James I., determined the king to advance him, to place him in a more conspicuous position than the one he occupied as the head of the Oxford College, and where his energies in the work of introducing order and reverence in divine service, in ritual and in practice, would find a larger and more conspicuous field. So in 1616 James I. appointed him to the vacant deanery of Gloucester. The great cathedral over which Laud was now called upon to preside was a conspicuous instance of the slovenly, careless way in

which, owing to various influences, church worship was performed even in the most stately houses of prayer. In a letter written by him, shortly after his appointment, to Dr. Miles Smith, the bishop of Gloucester, we see what was in the king's mind when he made the appointment. and took as good order (as in so short a space I could) both for the repair of some parts of the edifice of the church, and for redress of other things amiss. Among the rest, not rashly and of myself, but by a chapter act, I removed the communion table from the middle of



CHAPTER ACT ORDERING THE COMMUNION TABLE OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL TO BE MOVED FROM THE MIDDLE END OF THE CHOIR TO THE UPPER END, SIGNED BY LAUD WHEN DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.
(*From Records in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.*)

"His majesty," wrote the dean, "was graciously pleased to tell me he was informed that there was scarce ever a church in England so ill-governed and so much out of order; and withal required me in general to reform and set in order what I found amiss. Hereupon at my being at Gloucester I acquainted the chapter with that which his majesty had said to me and required at my hands; the quire to the upper end, the place appointed to it both by the injunctions of the church and by the practice of all the king's majesty's chapels, and all other cathedral churches in the kingdom which I have seen."

This act of Laud immediately upon his appointment, had gravely displeased the bishop, who, although a profound Hebrew scholar and one of the translators of the

Bible, was a strict Calvinist, and belonged to the more rigid body of the Puritan party. The bishop had said that if the dean persisted in his proceedings in the cathedral, he would never again enter the church. It is said he adhered steadily to this determination, to the day of his death in 1624.

Besides removing the communion table and placing it at the east end of the choir, against the wall, Laud urged upon the prebendaries and other officers of the church to adopt the practice of making a reverent obeisance on entering the choir. This latter was a favourite practice of Laud's, and one that gave great offence to the Puritans when he pressed it generally throughout the kingdom. There was in Gloucester a considerable party at first opposed to the Laudian innovations; but all opposition seems soon to have died away, and during his six years' tenure of the office of dean, the city and the officers of the church, with the exception of the bishop, generally acquiesced in his wishes that an orderly and reverent service might be maintained in the cathedral church.

With king James, Laud's influence grew more marked, and we find him among the king's principal advisers in his attempts to bring the Presbyterian Scottish Church to a conformity with the Church of England. Their attempts, however, were not favourably received, and late in the reign of king Charles, when they were renewed, were—as we have already seen—among the principal cause sof the Scottish troubles.

In 1621 the dean of Gloucester was consecrated bishop of St. David's. Laud relates the circumstances of his new appointment in his diary: "The king," he says, "spoke graciously concerning my long service. He was pleased to say he had given me nothing but Gloucester, which he well knew was a shell without a kernel, and on June 29 (1621) he gave me the grant of the bishopric of St. David's."

From this time Laud was much at court, and his intimacy with and influence over Buckingham, the all-powerful favourite, began. With Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) he also became acquainted, and laid the foundation of that future friendship with the doomed Stuart king, which ended so fatally for both sovereign and for subject. A curious and suggestive story connected with Laud's first bishopric is told by bishop Hacket, who dwells upon James's reluctance to make Laud a bishop. Dr. Williams, then lord keeper, the dean of Westminster, was advanced to the see of Lincoln. It was expected that Laud, the dean of Gloucester, would succeed him at Westminster. Williams, an ambitious and, with all his great abilities, a self-seeking man, who was no friend to Laud, urged that the dean of Gloucester might have the distant and uninfluential see of St. David's, probably desiring that he himself might be allowed to retain the Westminster deanery in addition to his other pieces of preferment. The king, fearing the impracticable nature of Laud, objected; but at length yielded to the arguments urged upon him. "Take him to you," said king James, "but on my soul you will repent it." If Hacket's story be true, James's strange words show an almost prophetic insight into the far

future not altogether improbable in the curiously composite character of the first Stuart monarch, a character made up of great wisdom and great folly. "It may be that James, though he saw Laud's fitness for presiding over the public services of such a church as Westminster, and appreciated to the full his learning, devotion to the throne, and his hatred of Puritanism, was yet well aware that he was singularly unfitted by nature for an office which, like that of a bishop, demanded no ordinary temper and discretion." *

Not long after his consecration to the see of St. David's, Laud was engaged in a public controversy with the Jesuit, Fisher, who was the chosen champion in England of that indefatigable society of Roman missionaries. Fisher, whose real name was Percy, had obtained considerable influence in England, notably over some very distinguished personages at court. Conferences were held between the Jesuits and certain English scholar divines, of whom Laud was the principal. The questions debated included the adoration of images, the invocation of saints, the adoration of the sacrament, the administration in one kind only, the doctrine of Purgatory, and prayer being offered in a tongue not understood by the people. The king himself was present during part of these conferences, in 1622. Later, Laud published his account of the third and most important of their disputings under the title of "A Relation of the Conference between William Lawd, the lord bishop of St. David's, now lord archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher, the Jesuit; by the command of King James, of ever blessed memorie, 1639."

The book thus setting forth the arguments of Laud and the doctrinal questions at issue between the Churches of Rome and England, was a most learned and exhaustive compilation. It was considered at the time to be the weightiest book on the subject, and it still maintains its high reputation in controversial literature. It has been dwelt on here with some emphasis, as showing that the later formidable attacks on Laud as a Romaniser were baseless. The great churchman undoubtedly valued ritual, and forms and ceremonies in worship, which he loved to trace to a remote antiquity. He believed in their use as a powerful agent on the human mind; and some, no doubt, would view with suspicion certain of the forms and ceremonies he restored or re-introduced into the worship of the Church of England, as having a superstitious Romeward tendency. But that he was a loyal and consistent defender of the Church of England, and emphatically no Romaniser, his book against Fisher, which is still with us, is an ample proof.

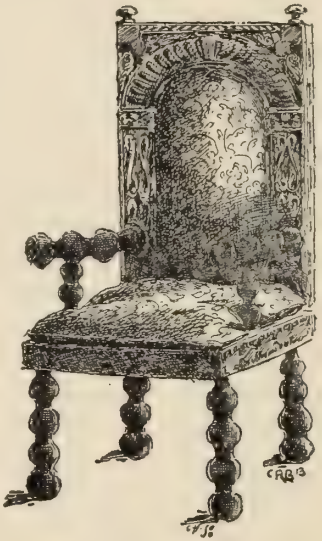
In later years, when troubles crowded thickly upon the doomed archbishop, the charge so constantly and persistently made against him of sympathising with Rome, was warmly, even passionately, refuted. In his letter of 1640, resigning reluctantly and sorrowfully the chancellorship of his loved university of Oxford, it being impossible, Laud said, for one suffering a captivity with a very uncertain issue, adequately to discharge the duties of such

* Gardiner: "History of England," chap. xxxv. (1621). Williams and Laud eventually became bitter and irreconcilable foes. Williams was subsequently archbishop of York, and survived his great rival, dying in 1650.

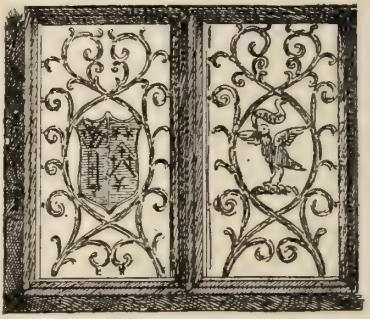
ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S SKULL-CAP.

an office; he wrote: "It is *vox populi* that I am Romishly affected. How earnest I have been in my disputation, exhortations and otherwise, to quench such sparks lest they should become coals, I hope after my death you will all acknowledge." In his speech in 1641 before the lords, when he was first impeached, before his committal to the Tower, he was especially grieved and indignant at being accused of trying to introduce Roman superstitions into the Church of England, he who had given so much of his time and thoughts to the suppression of Romanism, specially appealing to his book against the Jesuit Fisher. In the course of the long trial before the lords in 1643–4, which lasted five months, and in which he was heard for twenty days in his own defence, he again dwelt on this accusation, urging that if it had really been in his mind to blast the true religion established in the Church of England and to introduce Popery, he had surely taken a wrong method to carry out his plans. He had been, he urged, the instrument whereby many had been stayed from joining the Roman Church, and alluded again particularly to the controversy with Fisher the Jesuit.

Laud was preaching before the court at Whitehall a Lenten sermon, when the unexpected news of king James I.'s death on March 27, 1625, arrived. With the new sovereign and with his favourite, Buckingham, the bishop of St. David's was in high favour. The enthusiasm of Laud for ceremonial, for increased reverence in divine worship, for a general conformity in religion, were in perfect sympathy with Charles I.'s marked inclinations, while the strong views of the great churchman in the matter of the royal prerogative were well known and highly acceptable, and paved the way to a yet deeper intimacy between the king and the bishop. The arrangements connected with the coronation were entrusted to him, and after his fall he was taken to task for certain of the ceremonies which formed part of the splendid pageant.



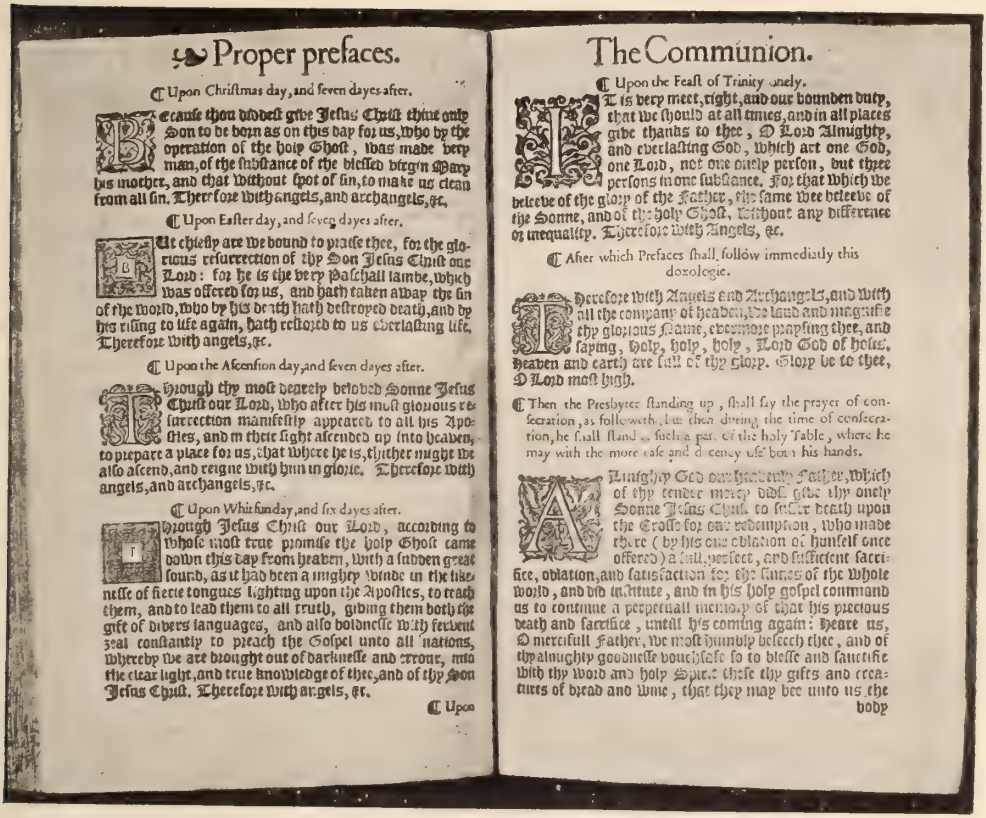
ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S CHAIR.



DOORS OF BOOKCASE BELONGING TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

In his defence he alleged that the things complained of, notably the three swords offered up on the altar of the storied abbey of Westminster, for the constant service of the kingdom, and for the

in the church who were eligible for preferment, and supplied Charles with a list of churchmen carefully marked with the letters P or O (Puritan and Orthodox) against each name. The following year



Proper prefaces.

¶ Upon Christmas day, and seven dayes after.

BEcause thou diddest give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as on this day for us, who by the operation of the holy Ghost, was made very man, of the substance of the undefiled virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with angels, and archangels, &c.

¶ Upon Easter day, and seven dayes after.

BUt chiefly are we bound to praise thee, for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: for he is the very Paschall lambe, which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world, who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again, hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ Upon the Ascension day, and seven dayes after.

THrough thy most dearely beloved Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord, who after his most glorious resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven, to prepare a place for us, that where he is, thither might we also ascend, and reigne with him in glorie. Therefore with angels, and archangels, &c.

¶ Upon Whitsunday, and six dayes after.

THrough Jesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise the holy Ghost came down this day from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty winde in the likenesse of fierie tongues lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth, giving them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldnesse with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations, whereby we are brought out of darknesse and errour, into the clear light, and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ Upon

The Communion.

¶ Upon the Feast of Trinity onely.

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places give thanks to thee, O Lord Almighty, and everlasting God, which art one God, one Lord, not one onely person, but three persons in one substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same wee believe of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ After which Prefaces shall follow immediatly this doxologie.

THerefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, doe laud and magnifie thy glorious Name, evermore praysing thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.

¶ Then the Presbyter standing up, shall say the prayer of consecration, as followeth. But then during the time of consecration, he shall stand at such a part of the holy Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands.

ALmighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thy onely Sonne Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Crosse for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sinnes of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy gospel command us to continue a perpetuall memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, untill his coming again: Heare us, O mercifull Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy almighty goodnesse vouchsafe so to bless and sanctifie with thy Word and holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may bee unto us the body

PAGES FROM THE PRAYER BOOK APPOINTED BY ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO BE READ IN SCOTLAND, 1636, CONTAINING PART OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE. (*British Museum.*)

honour of the kingdom and the church, belonged to the ancient coronation ceremonies of the kings of England.

Promotion quickly followed. On the death of bishop Andrewes he was appointed dean of the chapels royal, and as dean arranged the ritual of the king's worship. As adviser of Charles, he was asked early in the reign for a list of the leading divines

(1626) witnessed his translation from his distant Welsh diocese to the English see of Bath and Wells.

He continued to rise in the king's favour. Laud's conception of the sovereign's prerogative was in perfect harmony with his royal master's, and it was of great importance that an able and eloquent ecclesiastic of the highest rank should act as leader of

the influential and numerous church party. Sentiments like those to which Laud gave utterance in his celebrated sermon at the opening of the parliamentary session of 1626 would no doubt be soon published, conned over, and repeated in several hundred centres of more or less importance, by clergy who admired and would imitate the great churchman. "Never fear him," alluding here to king Charles I., said Laud in this much criticised discourse, "for God is with him. He (Charles) will not depart from God's service, nor from the honourable care of his people."

Laud had a very definite policy in regard to the Church of England. He was determined to crush out all diversity, and to enforce a rigid uniformity in service and ritual; and he was well aware that his views were intensely obnoxious to many still in communion with the English church. He needed, he felt, some power which should co-operate with him, and which, if necessary, would exercise even force to compel obedience; and only in the sovereign he recognised the probability of such a power being put into action. Hence his fervid zeal at this period of his career for the royal prerogative. These thoughts and aims cherished by Laud had been already expressed in a bold and somewhat obnoxious form by one who intensely sympathised with him in his aims and views—Montague, who was shortly after, no doubt through Laud's influence, appointed to the bishopric of Chichester. Montague, in his well-known and much attacked book, the "Appello Cæsarem," had in a few plain words at the end of his work given expression to the Laudian thought. Addressing the king, in the name of the church, he wrote: "Defend thou me with the sword, and I will defend thee with the pen." The close and intimate alliance, which he desired to cement between the crown and the church, was well expressed some years later (1636), when Laud in his diary wrote of the appointment of bishop Juxon of London to the post of high treasurer.* This was, however, an unfortunate appointment, and identified the Church of England yet more closely with the unconstitutional action of Charles I., although bishop Juxon, during his tenure (some six years) of his high office, behaved with the greatest moderation and wisdom, so as to earn the high encomium passed upon him by lord Falkland when he spoke against the royal policy in the Long Parliament. "He" (Juxon), said the great parliamentarian, "in an unexpected place and power, expressed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before nor proud after, either of a crosier or of the white staff."

The influence of Laud with Charles continued to grow. We find several of his friends and intimates promoted in the church. To take some examples: bishop Neile, his former patron, was translated to Winchester; Howson, one of his most trusted supporters, became bishop of the great see of Durham; Buckridge, another of his friends, became bishop of Ely. Laud himself, in 1628, on the promotion of the old bishop of London, was appointed to the spiritual oversight of the great city; and he virtually exercised the chief authority in the church until 1633, when,

* The passage is quoted on p. 34.

on the death of Abbot, who had long been in royal disfavour, he became primate.

Unhappily for Laud's fame, the high favour in which he stood with the king did far more for him than merely procure him that successive translation from his distant Welsh see of St. David's to the English Bath and Wells, from Bath and Wells to the great metropolis, and eventually from London to the arch-see of Canterbury. An opinion has been advanced, that too much has been ascribed to Laud's individual action in political affairs. There is, however, no doubt but that after the murder of Buckingham in 1628, Laud and Wentworth (better known as the earl of Strafford) for some years were the king's principal advisers in state matters. One of his learned biographers * does not even hesitate to use a word familiar in the history of our own times, though scarcely legitimate in the seventeenth century, to express Laud's power during a large portion of those eleven years during which Charles ruled without a Parliament. He styles him "Premier," and in relating the events of 1640, speaks of Laud's "Premiership" being at end. He was the intimate friend of Wentworth; but Wentworth's actual work, after he left the North of England until 1640, lay almost entirely in Ireland. It is certain that nothing of importance was done during these years without Wentworth being consulted; it is even probable that this great though mistaken statesman, initiated most, if not all, the acts of Charles's government, and that Laud, in state matters, was rather the representative of Wentworth's wishes than an originator himself. But Laud, it must be remembered, was ever at Whitehall, by the king's side, and a devoted friendship ever existed between the sovereign and the bishop. After Weston (who subsequently became earl of Portland) died in 1635, Laud accepted a seat on the Board of Commissioners of the Treasury, where he exercised, naturally, the chief influence. In 1636 his faithful friend and staunch supporter, Juxon, became lord treasurer. Windebank, another of his personal adherents, was, at his recommendation, appointed secretary of state. Nor was Laud's activity, during the period of Charles I.'s absolute government, confined to home matters only; he was also concerned in foreign affairs, and in the foreign policy of the country the weight of his great influence was felt.

In after years, however, when the whole of the king's policy was called into question, and his ministers were impeached or went into voluntary exile, as did secretary Windebank, no part of Laud's administration was so severely judged by the voice of popular opinion as was his share in the proceedings of the obnoxious and tyrannical Courts of Star Chamber and of High Commission. In both of these detested courts Laud was the ruling spirit; nor was his voice apparently ever raised with any view of mitigating the cruel and often utterly disproportionate punishment which was meted out to the hapless offenders against the king's policy; to men, whose crime had principally been that they had spoken or written against the arbitrary rule inaugurated by the king and his advisers, of whom, after Strafford, Laud loomed largest in the public eye. The punishments inflicted by these tribunals included, besides

* Mr. Simpkinson.

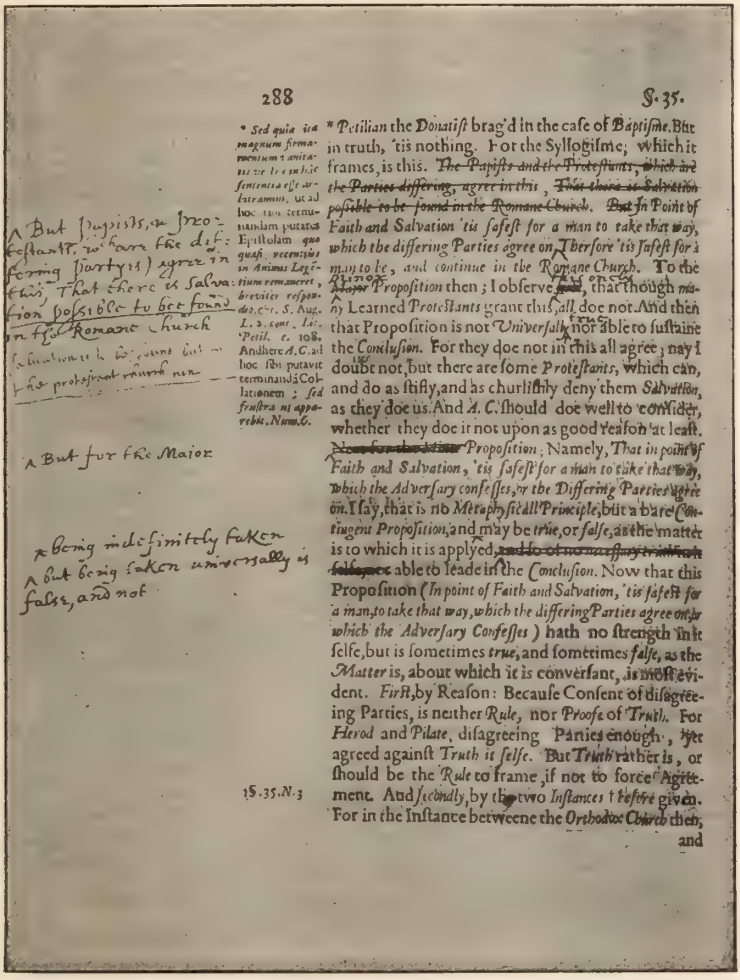
long and weary imprisonment and the imposition of crushing fines, such cruel sentences as the loss of both ears by the executioner's knife, and standing for hours in the public pillory; in some well-known cases even popular favourites being the unfortunate victims of these acts.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the government of Charles, with Laud and Wentworth as his ministers, unconstitutional though it was, and stained also with the tyranny of the Star Chamber and High Commission, was a failure in its endeavour to increase the prosperity and happiness of England. Both of these statesmen were emphatically men of commanding genius. Wentworth, had his splendid powers been directed by an Elizabeth, would have ranked among the foremost of the long line of English statesmen; and Laud, had not his unfortunate master called him to take a prominent share in the affairs of the state in addition to his own legitimate work in the church, would have been one of the greatest and most efficient of the Anglican or even of the pre-Reformation prelates. Even Laud's enemies, and those who find most fault with his state policy, and can find no kind word of approval for his ecclesiastical measures, are obliged to recognise that the life of the great enemy of liberty, as they style the archbishop of Charles I., was a pure and spotless one, faultlessly honest, utterly devoid of self-seeking.

The fair historian must also concede that the eleven years of absolute rule, during which no Parliament was summoned, were, on the whole, years of prosperity for the country. At the treasury economy and scrupulous honesty would have done much to redress the balance between the royal receipts and expenditure, if only the regular taxes usually authorised by Parliament had flowed into the exchequer. Commerce decidedly flourished in this period, a postal system was established, mercantile companies were founded, and the trade of the country was very largely increased. The royal fleet was vastly strengthened, and again the flag of England, which had won such distinction in the reign of Elizabeth, began to be respected and feared on the seas. But in spite of all this real prosperity, a feeling of profound distrust and fear for the future kept gaining ground. Never, even in the days of the strongest of the Plantagenet kings, had the sovereign arrogated to himself such powers as Charles and his ministers claimed for the crown.

How it all ended, the immediate cause of the great Civil War with its disastrous consequences to the king, being, as we have already seen, the uprising in Scotland provoked by the attempt of Charles to substitute the Episcopal for the Presbyterian form of church government, need not be further recapitulated. Before the close of 1640 the famous Long Parliament met, and almost its first act was the impeachment of Strafford (Wentworth). This was quickly followed by the impeachment of Laud, and the last days of the year found him a prisoner of state. Branded as a traitor, and subsequently executed, his memory has ever since been hopelessly scarred with the too true charge, that during his long tenure of influence and power his aim had been to subvert the English constitution, and to establish a despotism. Thus the really great services

of Laud to the church have been generally forgotten, and the memory only of his long and arbitrary administration has been other and real claims to respect and admiration have been rarely remembered. Yet the great and enduring services of Laud



288 §. 35.

* Sed quia ita magnum firmamentum [illegible] sententia est attramus, ut ad hoc non terminandam putatus Epistolam quæ quasi recensitis in Animo Legentium remaneret, breviter respondeo. Cfr. S. Aug. L. 2. cont. Lit. Petil. c. 108. And here A. C. ad hoc sibi putavit terminandâ Collationem ; sed frustra ut apparebit. Num. 6.

* Petilian the Donatist brag'd in the case of Baptisme. But in truth, 'tis nothing. For the Syllogisme, which it frames, is this. The Papists and the Protestants, which are the Parties differing, agree in this, That there is Salvation possible to be found in the Romane Church. But in Point of Faith and Salvation 'tis safest for a man to take that way, which the differing Parties agree on. Therefore 'tis safest for a man to be, and continue in the Romane Church. To the Major Proposition then; I observe first, that though many Learned Protestants grant this, all doe not. And then that Proposition is not Universally true to sustaine the Conclusion. For they doe not in this all agree; nay I doubt not, but there are some Protestants, which can, and do as stifly, and as churlishly deny them Salvation, as they doe us. And A. C. should doe well to consider, whether they doe it not upon as good reason at least. Now for the Minor Proposition; Namely, That in point of Faith and Salvation, 'tis safest for a man to take that way, which the Adversary confesses, or the Differing Parties agree on. I say, that is no Metaphysicall Principle, but a bare Contingent Proposition, and may be true, or false, as the matter is to which it is applyed, and so of no necessary truth or falsehood able to leade in the Conclusion. Now that this Proposition (In point of Faith and Salvation, 'tis safest for a man, to take that way, which the differing Parties agree on, or which the Adversary Confesses) hath no strength in it selfe, but is sometimes true, and sometimes false, as the Matter is, about which it is conversant, is most evident. First, by Reason: Because Consent of disagreeing Parties, is neither Rule, nor Proofe of Truth. For Herod and Pilate, disagreeing Parties enough, yet agreed against Truth it selfe. But Truth rather is, or should be the Rule to frame, if not to force Agreement. And Secondly, by the two Instances before given. For in the Instance betweene the Orthodox Church then, and

§. 35. N. 3

But Papists, & Protestants, we have the differing Parties) agree in this, That there is Salvation possible to be found in the Romane Church

But for the Maior

being indefinitely taken

but being taken universally is false, and not

PAGE OF LAUD'S CONFERENCE WITH THE JESUIT FISHER, CORRECTED IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING.
(*By special permission, from the original in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle.*)

kept green in the eyes of the majority of his fellow-countrymen. The image of Laud, the too faithful servant of king Charles I., the minister of an absolutism so hateful to Englishmen, was stamped indelibly on the hearts of his countrymen, while his to the church, of which he was a most distinguished leader, demand something far more than a mere passing notice.

In the epistle dedicatory prefixed by archbishop Laud to the relation of the

"conference with the Jesuit Fisher," addressed to Charles I., and published in 1639, we have Laud's own clear and luminous statement of the object and purpose of his life's work in the Church of England. Briefly he sketches what in his eyes was sadly amiss there; and then he tells us how he proposed to amend what was wrong. It is, in fact, a very short though comprehensive *apologia* for what he had done. Already, when he wrote the "epistle dedicatory," mutterings of the terrible storm which very shortly was to sweep away him and his fellows were being heard. Thus the words were published in the last few months of his career of power and influence. But although Laud lost his life in the great tempest which broke over England almost directly after he had penned the words we are about to quote; although the church, too, was overwhelmed and seemingly destroyed by the same storm in which he himself perished; that church arose again in a very few years, and, what is remarkable, purged almost completely of the withering errors of which Laud complained, and the removal of which had been the great work of his life. That they may fairly be said never to have reappeared, is a strong testimony to the wisdom and devotion of the great churchman, who emphatically, with all his errors and mistakes, must be regarded as one of the makers of the Church of England, and as such must be placed in the same gallery of noble church builders of the second or Reformation period wherein are enshrined the portraits of Parker and Jewel the apologist, of Whitgift and the statesman Cecil, of the judicious Hooker and Lancelot Andrewes.

This published declaration of the great bishop, though somewhat stiff and antiquated, and studiously compressed, is so especially interesting that we quote it here, in Laud's own words, as giving us an accurate view of the devoted prelate's mind on the state of the church over which he presided. "And this I have observed farther, that no one thing hath made conscientious men more wavering in their own minds, or more apt and eager to be drawn aside from the sincerity of religion professed in the Church of England, than the want of uniform and decent order in the churches of the kingdom; and the Romanists have been apt to say, 'The Houses of God could not be suffered to lie so nastily, as in some places they have done, were the true worship of God observed in them, or did the people think that such it were.' It is true the inward worship of the heart is the great service of God, and no service acceptable without it; but the external worship of God in His church is the great witness to the world, that our heart stands right in that service of God. Take this away, or bring it into contempt, and what light is then left to shine before men, that they may see our devotion, and glorify our Father which is in heaven?

"And to deal clearly with your majesty (Charles I.), these thoughts are they, and no other, which made me labour as much as I have done for decency and an orderly settlement of the external worship of God in the Church; for of that which is inward there can be no witness among men, nor no example for men. Now, no external action in the world can be uniform without some ceremonies; and these in religion, the

ancienter the better, so they may fit time and places. Too many overburden the service of God, and too few leave it naked. And scarce anything hath hurt religion more in these broken times, than an opinion in too many men, that because Rome had thrust some unnecessary and many superstitious ceremonies upon the church, therefore the Reformation must have none at all; not considering therewhile that ceremonies are the hedge that fence the substance of religion from all the indignities which profaneness and sacrilege too commonly put upon it. And a great weakness it is, not to see the strength which ceremonies—things weak enough in themselves, God knows—add even to religion itself; but a far greater to see it and yet to cry them down all and without choice."

The disorder here referred to, the want of conformity in worship, the shrinking from ceremonies not superstitious in themselves because some saw in them a Romanising tendency, the dread of external beauty in divine service, the fear in many minds of over-exalting the sacraments ordained by our blessed Lord, the neglect of the sacred fabrics—all these things which so vexed and distressed the spirit of Laud and his school, were the inevitable outcome of the circumstances which accompanied the Anglican settlement. Briefly to recapitulate those circumstances. The first Reformation begun by Cranmer and his coadjutors under king Henry VIII., developed and systematised under Edward VI., under strong Puritan influences, was swept away temporarily in the Marian reaction. The wise Elizabethan compromise, under Parker and Cecil, always a great deal interrupted and marred by Puritan influences, was somewhat compromised under Parker's successor, the Puritan archbishop, Grindal. Whitgift, when he succeeded to the primacy after Grindal's death, aided by the wishes and strong friendship of Elizabeth, largely succeeded in restoring the state of things mapped out by Parker. Bancroft, under James I., was something of an opportunist, and Abbot, who followed Bancroft, was a Puritan at heart. These different schools of thought, which rapidly succeeded each other in the chief direction of the church, produced considerable disorder, and even seemed to encourage considerable latitude among the clergy. The result was that in the reign of James I., while in some centres order and decency were maintained in the ritual and practices of the churches, in others a lamentable want of order, and even uniformity, was too apparent.

To restore a uniform practice and a generally more reverential way of performing divine service was the great aim of Laud's life. To establish a beautiful and winning ritual, possessing ceremonies based upon primitive antiquity, was his earnest, passionate desire. That in great measure he succeeded in doing this is, and ever will be, his chief title to honour. We trace this aim throughout the various positions he occupied during his long, stirring life, first at Oxford, then during his few years of comparative retirement as a country parish priest; then again in the university, afterwards in the more public position of dean of Gloucester; later as a bishop, first in remote St. David's, of which, however, he saw but little when he became a court favourite; later as bishop of Bath and

Wells, and then in the more conspicuous and influential bishopric of London ; and finally as archbishop of Canterbury, and almost absolute ruler of the whole Church of England. The same spirit, the same aim and passion actuated Laud all through his long and varied career as a churchman.

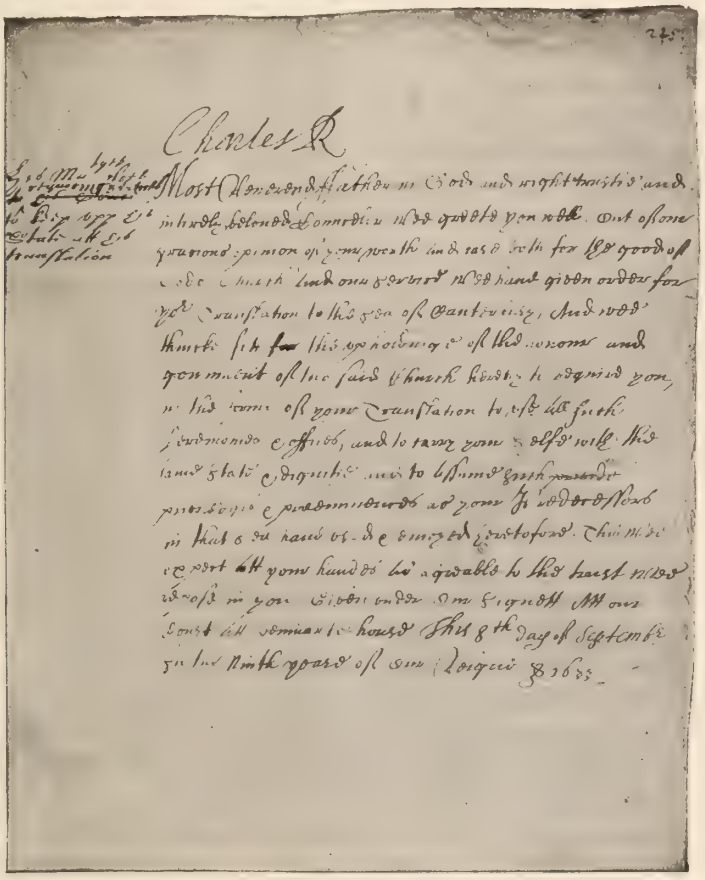
The subject of our present study cared comparatively little for disputed doctrinal questions; speculative thought possessed for him but slight interest. Generally, he may be said to sympathise with what was termed High Anglican opinion. He was the friend and associate of Andrewes, and may be said to have been in general agreement with that eminent master in theology on the doctrinal questions which principally occupied men's minds in his age. It was, however, the *outward* framework of religion that especially interested him. Believing intensely in the educational power over men's minds of what he loved to term the "beauty of holiness," the stately buildings, the rich and varied beauty of stained and jewelled windows, the solemn organ, the sweet-voiced choir, an impressive ritual, the exquisite and touching liturgy of the Church of England well and reverently rendered, were precious to Laud ; while everything that savoured of carelessness and irreverence in sacred things connected with the divine service offered to the King of Kings was especially hateful to him. "There was in his mind no deep sense of the spiritual depths of life, no reaching forward to ineffable mysteries veiled from the eye of flesh; it was incomprehensible to him why men should trouble themselves about matters which they could not understand . . . . to him a church was not so much the temple of a living spirit, as the palace of an invisible being." * In the present quiet beauty and exquisite decorum of the churches and services of the Church of England, we see the fruits of the persistent zeal and care of Laud.

This ceaseless care of his extended throughout the whole church. It was as marked in the stately university of Oxford, as in a crowded commercial and fashionable centre like London. It was pressed and urged in the remote and secluded village churches, and in a proud and historic cathedral like Gloucester. Early in his career, owing to his ill-advised action in the case of the marriage of his early patron, Lord Mountjoy, and the divorced Lady Rich, his Oxford career was interrupted, and for some five years he lived in retirement in a country parish. During this period he formed his ideal of the life of a country parish priest, and was persuaded of the effect upon peasants of a dignified and reverent ritual. On his return to Oxford as head of his old college, as we have already seen, he made the services of his college chapel a model for the university, and the stately musical services of St. John's college had much to do with the increased popularity and fame of a college which had hitherto been but a comparatively unimportant centre of Oxford learning.

After some years of an ever-growing Oxford influence, he was especially commissioned by king James I. to restore dignity of worship at Gloucester, in which great cathedral a careless ritual and want of reverence and order was well known to exist. Nor was this careless state of things

* Gardiner: "History of England," vol. vii., chap. lxix

by any means in those days confined to the beautiful cathedral of the west. How deeply Laud felt the careless and slovenly way in which so often and in so many places the worship of God was so lost in the church (as they conceived it); and the churches themselves and all things in them suffered to lie in such a bare and



LETTER FROM KING CHARLES TO LAUD ACQUAINTING HIM WITH HIS TRANSLATION TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CANTERBURY, 1633.

(From the original in the Library of Lambeth Palace, by kind permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury.)

religious services of the Church of England were performed, he expressed at a later period of his life, thus: "I could speak with no conscientious persons, but the great notion which wrought upon them to disaffect or think meanly of the Church of England, was that the external slovenly fashion in most places in the kingdom."

As master of an Oxford college, as dean of Gloucester, as bishop in succession of St. David's, Bath and Wells, and London, Laud had been able to do much by his own authority, still more by example and

the influence of a powerful mind acting upon others, to restore a more uniform practice in the way of performing divine service, to inspire a more reverential spirit in the church. His views and ideas on the importance of maintaining many of the primitive rites and ceremonies were largely shared, and even carried out, by many, if not by all, the clergy; but it was not until archbishop Abbot's death in 1633, when he succeeded to the primacy, that the full weight of his influence was felt in the church. Abbot, as primate, had been negligent, in the matters which seemed to Laud and his school of such primary importance. Indeed, at heart Abbot was ever a Puritan, and the weight of his influence, such as it was, was ever used to counteract rather than to advance the views of the Laudian school. But when Abbot passed away and Laud became archbishop, all the weight of church authority became Laud's to carry out in the church the reforms he so intensely longed to see become general; added to which the inclinations of the king were with the new primate, who was his trusted adviser in other matters besides ecclesiastical affairs. From 1633 to 1640 the power of Laud in the church was enormous, and it was in those years that he was enabled to introduce into the Church of England a new spirit, which, with the brief interregnum of desolation which followed his fall, to greater or less extent has lived in the Anglican communion ever since his day. At times it has seemingly faded, and apparently well-nigh disappeared, but the Laudian spirit only slumbered for awhile, and presently awoke again to become more influential than ever.

In the year after he became archbishop he held a general metropolitical visitation. Many and searching questions were asked, and a general conformity in certain important matters was insisted upon. He was well aware of numberless cases of irreverence and disorder in not a few of the churches of his great province. "He heard of men slouching into church with their hats on, lolling on the benches till they fell asleep, of churchyards left unfenced, of pigs rooting on the graves, and of churches themselves left untended. These things he determined to remedy by the infliction of excessive penalties." * In many churches the words of administration in the Holy Communion were used but once for a great number of communicants. The holy table was often used for profane purposes. In some churches it was the usual receptacle for hats and cloaks; occasionally it was cleared that the children of the parish might learn their writing lessons upon it. It was even made use of as a convenient seat for members of the congregation.

"At Taplow, to give an instance of the profanity with which this most sacred spot was treated," wrote Laud to the king, "there happened a very ill accident by reason of not having the communion table railed in, that it might be kept from profanation. In the sermon time a dog came to the table and took the loaf of bread prepared for the sacrament in his mouth, and ran away with it. Some of the parishioners, took the same from the dog and set it again on the table. After sermon the minister could not think fit to consecrate

* Gardiner: "History of England," vol. viii., chap. lxxviii.

this bread, and other fit for the sacrament was not to be had in that town, so there was no communion." To remedy such a state of things, churchwardens were directed to place the communion table under the eastern wall of the chancel, where formerly the altar stood, to set a decent rail before it to avoid profaneness, and at the rails (so placed) the communicants were instructed to receive the blessed sacrament.*

When the days of trouble came on, the fallen archbishop was angrily taken to task for these and other acts carried out in the hour of his supremacy in the church. He replied thus to his accusers, who charged him with desiring to advance Popery: "It is surely no Popery to set a rail to keep profanation from the holy table, nor is it any innovation to place it at the upper end of the church, as the altar stood. It was no point of doctrine," he added, "which was involved in these directions which he had issued, but it was necessary that there should be order and uniformity." On the ground of decency, he urged with great force, he had good reason to desire that the holy table should be removed to a place in the church where it would not be desecrated. He referred also to an injunction of queen Elizabeth, which, he said, had too often come to be disregarded.

Among the articles for this visitation placed in the hands of the archbishop's vicar-general, Sir Nathaniel Brent, were many notes written by Laud for his instruction. Among them we find various "instructions" which, when carried into effect, would ensure greater order and reverence in the divine service, and would secure in great measure the sacred buildings from needless profanation. For instance, schools were no longer to be kept in the chancel of a church; fonts were to be restored to their ancient places; chancels severed from the church or otherwise profaned were to be altered. There is no doubt at all that the grossest acts of irreverence in sacred buildings were then too common. To take one instance, perhaps an extreme one, but still a fair example of many acts of profanity: it was charged against the churchwardens of Knotting, in Bedfordshire, that in 1634–36 (Laud was then primate) fighting cocks were brought into the chancel, and a fight held before the altar, in the presence of many persons assembled as spectators of the sport, who betted and laid wagers and performed the other offices ordinarily used by cock-fighters. At this strange exhibition the minister of the parish appears to have been present.

Among the answers supplied to the archbishop's visitation inquiries, let us take a few instances, chosen partly from great cathedrals, partly from humble parish churches. The members of the Salisbury chapter confessed that they had often neglected to preach in the cathedral, although their rules bound them to do so; that their choristers had not been well instructed in singing (and hence that the cathedral services were slovenly performed);

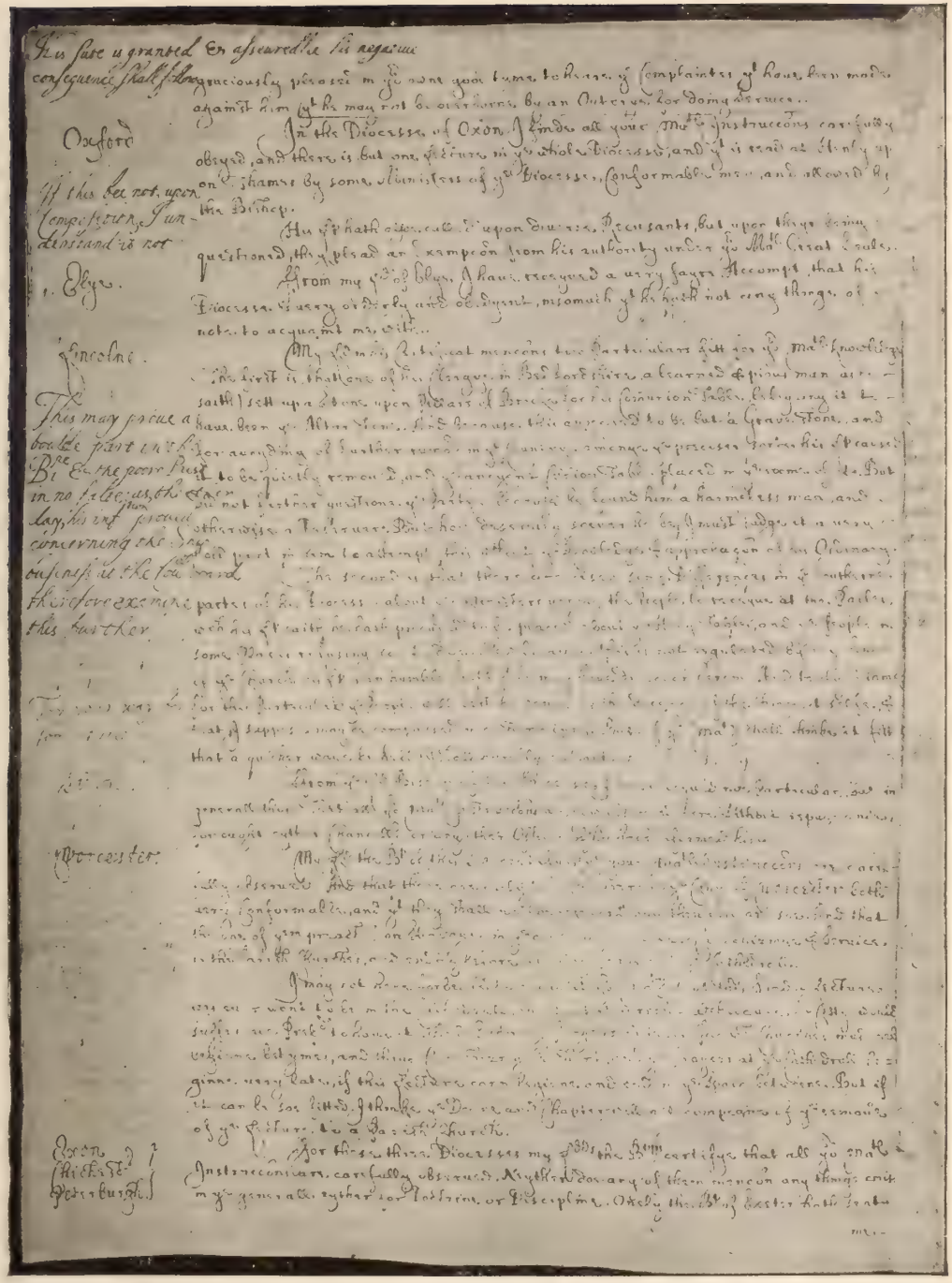
* The rails now preserved in front of the communion table in the Lady Chapel at Gloucester, are believed to be the identical rails placed by Laud there when he was dean. Although not very ornamental, they are preserved in the now renovated chapel as an interesting historical relic of Laud's work and care. (See page 73.)

that their own private gardens had recently been extended at the expense of the churchyard ; that the ornaments of the cathedral altar were deficient ; and, worse than all, that they usually presented themselves to such benefices as were in their gift as they fell vacant ; and even in a later instance one of their benefices had been actually sold by one of their body. The Norwich chapter was specially reported by the vicar-general to the archbishop, as having allowed the lordly cathedral to get much out of order. The hangings of the choir, wrote this official, are naught, the pavement is not good, the spire of the steeple is quite down, the churchyard is ill-kept, etc. ; the copes in use needed mending. The arrangements for divine service were sadly irreverent ; the mayor and his brethren were in the habit of walking indecently in the church during prayer time before the sermon. In the parish churches, in the same report of the Norwich diocese, there was much that was gravely deficient. At Bungay, one of the churches was ruinous. The material fabrics of many churches needed care ; the parsonage houses in not a few cases were in a ruinous state ; much glebe land had been embezzled.

Everywhere the hand of Laud made itself felt throughout his broad province. The neglectful services were commented upon, the want of care and attention on the part of the clergy and their officials was reproved, and reformation was generally insisted upon. The fabrics of the churches and the parsonage houses were examined, the careless way in which divine service was frequently performed was sharply reproved, and a uniformity in the prayers was insisted upon. In some places it was found that the litany and the commandments were usually omitted. Infants were not unfrequently left unbaptised, all kinds of liberties were taken with the liturgy, the very psalms and lessons being at times left out by some. It is evident, too, that the want of church order and discipline had in very many cases seriously lowered the standard of the clergy, many of them being ignorant and avaricious, and even guilty of grosser sins. Laud set himself in good earnest to correct these grave irregularities, arranging that for the future men should be carefully examined and tested before they were admitted into holy orders, and, as far as possible, all clergy should pass through a course of university training. A higher ideal of self-sacrifice was also set before them. This was apparently needed at that time, for in a debate held at Oxford it was deliberately questioned whether or not the parish clergy were required by their office to administer the sacrament to persons dying of the plague.*

The removal of the communion tables, the fencing them in with rails, the more reverent way of administering the sacrament, appears to have been carried out generally without much opposition ; there were, naturally, a few energetic protests. Men, for instance, deeply imbued with the Puritan spirit, saw in all these changes a move Romewards ; but generally the Laudian reforms were acceptable to the more serious members of the Anglican communion. Very little that was really novel was introduced ; simply uniformity

* See Simpkinson : "Life and Times of Laud," chap. vi.



CERTIFICATE COMPILED BY LAUD OF THE DIOCESES IN HIS PROVINCE, WITH AUTOGRAPHIC NOTES IN THE MARGIN BY CHARLES I.

(From the original in Lambeth Palace Library, by kind permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury.)

in liturgical matters, a uniformity settled already by law, was insisted upon, and a deeper reverence in divine service was generally introduced. Above all, in the administration of the sacraments, a return to the more primitive manner was gradually brought about; but nothing beyond what Parker and the better-instructed of the Elizabethan divines had intended.

One ancient custom which Laud revived will be ever connected with his name—that of reverently bowing towards the east both at coming in and going out of the choir. This practice he earnestly recommended, but never, apparently, insisted upon. It gave great offence in many quarters, and afterwards formed the special subject matter of a portion of the most bitter charges brought against him after his fall. It is to be regretted that he so insisted upon and made so much of this ceremonial observance, harmless and even beautiful in itself, but in those times of bitter controversy on all points connected with the holy Eucharist, so liable to misinterpretation. It is true that Laud carefully explained the meaning of the ceremony, to which he seems to have been singularly attracted. "Shall I bow," he touchingly asks, "to men in each House of Parliament, and shall I not bow to God in His House, whither I do, or ought to come to worship Him? Surely I must worship God, and bow to Him, though neither altar nor communion table be in the church." But it was in vain that he explained the meaning of the observance. The less well-informed Puritans connected the act of reverence, and not unnaturally, with the Eucharist. The more cultured among them, accepting Laud's own explanation, that obeisance was made to the Almighty Master of the House, whose throne was the "altar" or communion table, were equally distressed at the idea of God having any throne in His House save in the hearts of men who worshipped Him in spirit and in truth.* In the canons of 1640 the archbishop was careful to add that the practice, as a general rule, was left to the conscience of the worshipper; neither its observance nor non-observance was to form matter for criticism.

Not only were the services rendered in all parts of the kingdom more reverently, and the tone of the ministers of the church elevated, under the Laudian movement, but a great effort was made, as we have seen, to restore the fabrics of the churches, which in so many cases had been suffered to decay, and even to fall into a ruinous condition. One of the chief characteristics, certainly one of the glories of mediæval Christianity, had been the magnificent architecture of the sacred buildings, the beautiful decorations, the sublime symbolism introduced into well-nigh every detail of a mediæval church of those great building ages, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In every department the highest art had been associated with

* It is in the highest degree improbable that this much-disputed practice was in any way whatever associated in Laud's mind with any relic of superstition. The words, indeed, of the Canterbury Statutes, which were of his own drawing up, are curious, and would tend to show this absolutely: "Singuli vero cujuscunque fuerint gradûs aut ordinis in ingressu chori divinam majestatem devotâ mente adorantes humiliter se inclinabunt versus altare (prout antiquis quarundam ecclesiarum statutis cautum novimus) et deride conversi decano quoque debitam reverentiam exhibebant."

religion. As time went on, many of the glories of art and beauty became marred and disfigured with superstition. After the Reformation the reaction against this was very marked. The Elizabethan age, with all its glorious developments, was emphatically not a church-building period. We read of few new houses of God being built; church restoration and renovation was almost unheard of. The noble churches, the stately abbeys and cathedrals, those triumphs of art and skill pressed into the service of the Most High, in many cases the outcome of centuries of thought and patient labour, were suffered to fall into decay. Few cared for them; some positively disliked them, and would fain have assisted, rather than hindered, the slow destruction which the sap of time would assuredly work in wall and arch, in pinnacle and tower.

One of Laud's first works at Gloucester was to set on foot a restoration of the fabric of the magnificent cathedral, which since the Reformation period had been sadly neglected. To a greater or less degree similar work was undertaken and largely carried out throughout the country. But the most conspicuous instance of these Laudian restoration works was in the case of the great cathedral of the metropolis, St. Paul's. Whilst he held the bishopric of London, Laud devoted himself to the completion and beautifying of the vast edifice which then, as now, towered over the busy, wealthy city. A famous architect, Inigo Jones, superintended the work, and vast sums, partly derived from public sources, partly from private generosity, were expended upon St. Paul's Cathedral. Laud intended the great London house of prayer to be a model and an example to the rest of England. King Charles I. was one of the foremost among Laud's helpers here. Among those who assisted in the work, very notable was Sir Paul Pindar, once ambassador at Constantinople. We read of this generous donor adorning the splendid screen at the west end of the choir with fair pillars of black marble, and statues of the Saxon kings who in old days had been founders and benefactors of the church, and beautifying the inward part thereof with figures of angels, and all the wainscot work with figures and carving of cherubim and other images well gilded, and adding various kinds of hangings for the upper end, and finally bestowing the sum of £400, a large amount in those days, for other necessary work. Houses which surrounded and shut in the magnificent pile were pulled down, and a restored cathedral arose, worthy of the great metropolis of which it was the centre.

The Puritan spirit, strangely and sadly, was bitterly opposed to this and such-like efforts. They considered such work as the restoration of the magnificent mediæval churches and cathedrals, the "repairing and adorning of rotten relics." To these earnest, but in many respects mistaken men, there was no need of beauty and grace in God's house. "I want the chapel cheap," said the Puritan Lord Bedford to the architect, Inigo Jones, when he purposed erecting a new church for Covent Garden, "I would not have it much better than a barn." Milton well and somewhat nobly, even if mistakenly, gives utterance to this stern, uncompromising spirit, which influenced so many earnest souls in that day to look with mistrust upon beautiful

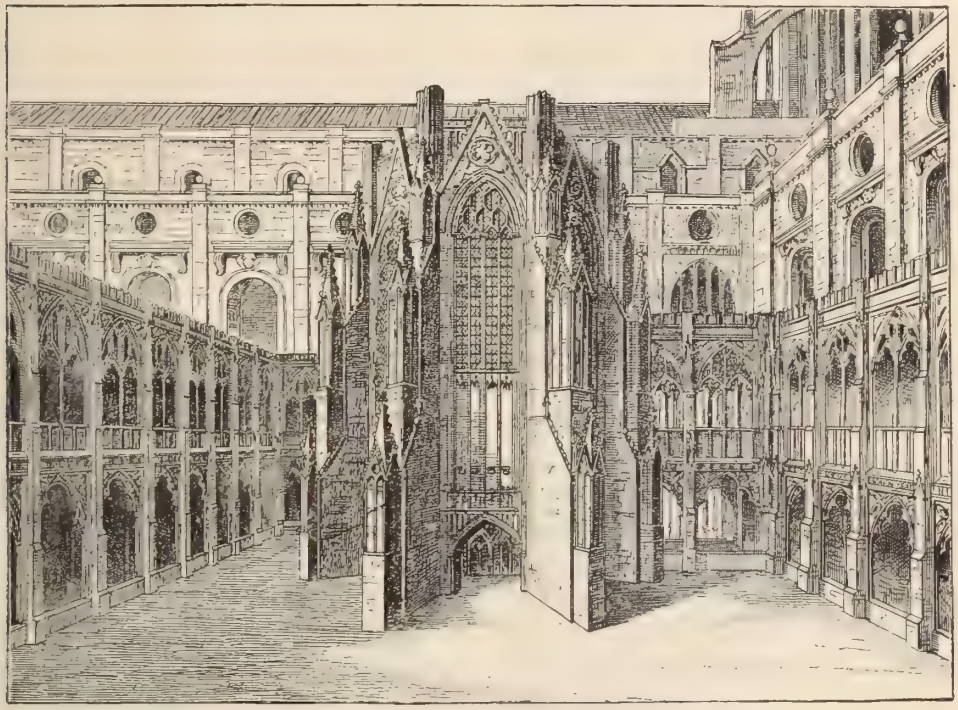
services and elaborately decorated churches, when he wrote: "Tell me, ye priests, wherefore this gold, wherefore these robes and surplices over the Gospel? Is our religion guilty of the first trespass, and hath need of clothing to cover her nakedness? . . . Ye think by these gaudy glistenings to stir up the devotion of the rude multitude: ye think so because ye forsake the heavenly teachings of St. Paul for the hellish sophistry of Papism. If the multitude be rude, the lips of the preacher must give knowledge and not ceremonies."* Intensely did that austere school hate the teaching and system of the Laudian school. Their bitter feeling against magnificence of worship and stateliness of sacred buildings was well exemplified a few years later, when in their day of power the Puritans actually erected scaffolding to take down portions of the historic pile of Gloucester cathedral, and were only hindered in their fatal work of destruction by the love of a few influential Gloucester citizens for their splendid house of prayer, which had been the glory and charm of their ancient city for many centuries.

Much, indeed, had the Reformation done for religion. England possessed, when a Stuart ascended the throne of the Plantagenet and the Tudors, an open Bible, at once dearly loved and highly prized by the people. They read and pondered over, as no nation, perhaps, had ever read and pondered over before, the words of the Redeemer and His apostles, and the teaching of the ancient Hebrew prophets and seers. The peculiar treasure of the English church was a body of doctrine, pure and less alloyed with human addition and human interpretation than any church had owned for centuries. But its ritual was in many centres neglected, bare and cold, careless, and even at times irreverent. Its sacred buildings were left uncared for, were allowed not unfrequently to fall into a state of ruin and decay. There was a real danger that in the Church of England of the future, all care for what is termed "the beauty of holiness" would soon be wanting; and, it must be remembered that "the beauty of holiness," as expressed in religious architecture, painting, sculpture, music, appeals with tremendous force to the minds and hearts of many men whom the passionate earnestness, the lofty spirituality, the unadorned simplicity, loved by and aimed at by the Puritans, would never touch or affect.

At this juncture, in the providence of God a new reformer, totally different from any seen before in the churches of the new and nobler learning, was raised up; one who saw for the first time clearly and distinctly the weakness of the church in that particular, and with splendid zeal and tireless energy, determined to sweep away what he looked upon as a grave danger to the church of the future. Such was William Laud, the hated and admired archbishop of Charles I. No fair and impartial church historian would now think of speaking of this great churchman in any terms save of unstinted praise, would dream of painting him otherwise than as one of the chief makers of the Church of England, than as one who saw and recognised, and set himself to remedy, a great and cardinal defect which undoubtedly existed

* "The Reason for Church Government," book ii., chap. ii.

in the new framework. Without the work of Laud, our church might have, probably would have, become the church of a strong, earnest, and God-fearing section of the people of England, but it would never have been, as it is now, the church of the



CHAPTER HOUSE, OLD ST. PAUL'S.
(*After the engraving by Hollar.*)

nation, loved and on the whole admired, with a living love and an ever-increasing admiration, by the vast majority of thoughtful Englishmen of all ranks and orders.

Yet while laying the tribute of an ungrudging gratitude upon the memory of the great churchman, to whom belongs the merit of first discerning what was lacking in the church of Elizabeth and the first Stuart king, and the yet higher honour of showing men the way to

remedy the grave defects he pointed out, the impartial chronicler cannot fail to lament the great error of Laud's life, the unhappy share he bore in the fatal policy of the ill-fated Stuart monarch. No excuse can be offered for this great mistake; it was one of those errors which, affecting the welfare of a people, almost rank as crimes. The student of history reads with unfeigned amazement the pages of some of the archbishop's apologists here. Laud's work as a statesman may be wondered at, grieved over, but never can be excused. The only pleas that can be advanced for his acts, as minister and adviser of Charles I. at the treasury, at the admiralty office, at the foreign office, in the Star Chamber,

in the Court of High Commission, during those fateful eleven years whilst Charles I. was playing at absolutism without a Parliament, are that throughout his conduct was at all events absolutely free from self-seeking, purely unselfish, fearless of the opinion of high-born and low-born, rich and poor alike; and that for his great mistake, or crime, or treason—for that is what it was—against the rights, customs, and cherished privileges of England, he paid the supreme forfeit. Even his truest admirers, those who reverence his high character and pure life, who regard his undying work for their church with a gratitude unfeigned as it is profound, dare not find fault with the stern though certainly cruel justice meted out to him on Tower Hill.

Some plead as an excuse for Laud's high-handed policy as a minister, that he worked for absolutism, believing that in the unchecked power of the sovereign lay the surest promise of the future security of the church; believing that the best friend of the church would ever be a powerful, irresponsible monarch. These forget that such a friendship on the part of an absolute king was, after all, a formidable two-edged weapon of defence; for the time might come, probably would at no distant date, when some irresponsible king would sit on the throne of England, actuated with feelings towards the church very different from those which influenced Laud's friend, Charles I. But, be this as it may, such a view can never be pleaded with any force as an excuse for a long-continued policy opposed to all the best and truest traditions of the English people.

Laud as a politician, as a powerful minister of state, however, should not be confounded in the judgment of posterity with Laud, the wise and far-seeing churchman. For his terribly mistaken work as a minister he paid, as we shall see, the tremendous forfeit of his life. For his other and truer work in the church and for the church, his true title to honour in this our day, when men can look back on the results of his labours in the seventeenth century from the vantage-ground of the nineteenth, he receives, he must receive, from serious members of the great Anglican communion the deepest, truest thanks, the most profound gratitude. In spite of the grave and even fatal errors he committed, as presently touched upon, in so utterly under-rating the influence of Puritanism both in England and Scotland, without the work that he did in the Church of England, it could hardly have become, as it now is, the church of the mighty English nation.

In painting this little sketch of Laud's work in the Church of England, what he accomplished at Oxford must also be briefly added to the picture. In the midst of his work-filled life, he never forgot the scene of his earliest labours, and one of his favourite projects in the days of his influence and power was to make his loved and famous university a real seat of learning and usefulness. In 1630 lord Pembroke, the chancellor, died, and, after some opposition, Laud was elected in his room. During his eleven years of chancellorship he accomplished great things in the time-honoured university. He laboured especially, and not without success, to calm the spirit of fierce religious controversy between

Puritans and Anglicans, by forbidding acrimonious public discussions; treating both parties with gentle forbearance. Under his watchful care Oxford gradually became the chief home of learning in England, and was most famous as a university far beyond the limits of our island. Discipline, which had become sadly lax, was restored. The three hundred ale-houses for which Oxford had become notorious, were reduced to a hundred; drinking, a vice too common in the colleges, was checked and discouraged. Once more the university dress, which under the lax system prevailing had dropped out of use, was insisted upon. The officials of the colleges were treated with a respect to which for a long time they had been unaccustomed. The examinations were made more strict, and to win a degree became again a real distinction. High birth was no longer regarded as an excuse for disregard of discipline, and young men of noble and distinguished families were subjected to the same laws and regulations as were their less fortunate fellow-students.

Not only was Laud's care devoted to the restoration of discipline and order, but his hand was visible, too, in many other directions. The study of Hebrew and Oriental letters, with a view of encouraging biblical criticism, was assisted, the Hebrew professorship being endowed with a canonry at Christchurch. An Arabic lectureship was provided at the archbishop's own charges, and the first lecturer, the illustrious Pocock, was sent for public study to the East, with a special commission to search out and to purchase manuscripts. A large store of manuscripts in every tongue were procured and presented to the university by Laud's continued exertions.

Another of Laud's works, carried out in his loved university of Oxford, claims a few lines of special mention. The University Press, which has since become so deservedly famous through Europe, was virtually the outcome of Laud's far-sighted care. In 1631, when he was still bishop of London, and already high in favour with Charles I., he obtained from the king a patent for the university to print books. Types in Greek and Oriental alphabets were prepared, and printers were brought over from Holland.*

On the church life of Oxford, the influence long exerted by Laud was very marked. We have already related the change in the services of his own college of St. John's, which took place after he became president of the society, 1621–1631—how the St. John's services, before his holding office so bald and unattractive, became reverent and even stately; how music was introduced and an organ erected; and how gradually this care for the reverent rendering of morning and evening prayer extended throughout the university. Other college chapels were beautified and adorned, and served as an example for sacred buildings in the kingdom. Many an undergraduate would preserve a loving memory of his Oxford college chapel; and in after years, when a minister of the church, would aim at reproducing such a service in his own town or village house of prayer, would endeavour to make the church he served in some way like the fair and reverently adorned building in

* Simpkinson: "Life and Times of Laud," chap. viii.

which he had worshipped in his old Oxford days.

What these college chapels had become during the quarter of a century which had elapsed since Laud's influence had come to be felt in the old university, is well pictured in a letter written about the year 1636, the date of king Charles's visit to Oxford: "The churches and chapels of *all* the colleges," so runs this graphic contemporary description, "are much beautified, extraordinary cost bestowed on them. Scarce any cathedral church, not Windsor or Canterbury, nay, not St. Paul's choir, exceeds them. Most of them newly glazed; richer glass for figures and painting I have not seen, which they had most from beyond the seas; excellently paved their choir with black and white stone. Where the east end admits not glass, excellent pictures, large and great; church work of the best kind they could get from the other side, of the birth, passion, resurrection and ascension of our blessed Lord; all their communion tables fairly covered with rich carpets hung, some of them, with good hangings." *

ENGLISH CHALICE VEIL OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(*Embroidered White Silk.*)

Between Laud and Wentworth (Strafford), during their long official connection in the state service, lasting roughly some ten or eleven years, existed the deepest friendship. Both were firmly persuaded that an absolutism, unfettered by any expression of popular will through the voice of the Parliament, was the form of government best calculated to advance the truest interests of the people. But while Wentworth thought mainly of the state, its principles of taxation, its courts of law, its foreign and domestic policy, Laud's mind was turned especially upon the church and its work and influence among the people. Both Laud and Wentworth, to carry out their objects, were advocates of that policy, for which they invented the term "thorough"; in other words, they were bent at all hazards and risks upon going "through" with it, the words *thorough* and *through* being synonymous terms. †

To this steady determination not to swerve to the right hand or to the left, were owing, no doubt, many of the mistakes of

* Quoted by Gardiner: "History of England," vol. viii., chap. lxxix.

† Gardiner (chap. lxxvii.) in his history points this out, and further alludes to the two words in the 17th century being spelt alike.

Laud even in his church policy. While we cannot fail to recognise that throughout the work-filled life there was ever in Laud, at Oxford, in Gloucester, at Lambeth, an earnest desire to guide his church along the "old paths" traced out in the earlier and purer days of Christianity, still his policy of "thorough"—to use his own expression—led him to be unconciliatory, and too often ruthlessly disregarding of that deeply-rooted spirit of Puritanism which inspired not a few of the nobler Englishmen. All this must not be lost sight of when we are forming an estimate of Laud's life and work.

The story of the ruin and disaster which fell on the Church of England when he disappeared from the scene, however, must not be by any means taken as the last word that has to be spoken of the effect of his work upon the Church of England. The church was, in fact, apparently swept away by the wild torrent of revolution which arose in 1641 and the years which immediately followed. But it was only submerged for a season; and when it reappeared, it was seen that the spirit of the dead Laud was still active in its midst. Mistaken at times in his ways of working, he had taught the church a great lesson, and the lesson has never been forgotten. The present aspect of the church, as it appears to both its foes and its friends, its strength crowned with beauty, is not a little owing to the labours of the loved and hated Laud. Slowly but surely, under his government, his spirit permeated the English church. What he longed for was increased order, more uniformity in worship, augmented reverence in the services of the sanctuary; a revival of interest in the beautiful works of art, as true handmaids of religion—works cultivated with such conspicuous success in the Middle Ages, including architecture, painting, sculpture, music; a correcter and more exalted view of the sacraments. All these things, in greater or less degree owing to his zeal and that of the school we have called "the Laudian," of which he was emphatically the founder, became characteristic features of the Anglican Church.

One more important event, which throws much light on what was ever in Laud's mind, remains to be chronicled here—the doings of the Convocation of 1640, just before the end came. We have seen how in the spring of 1640, acting upon the

COMMUNION CUP GIVEN BY LAUD TO HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, KNIGHTSBRIDGE.

advice of Strafford, the king summoned a Parliament, after an interval of eleven years. Simultaneously with this session of Parliament met, as was usual, the Convocation of Canterbury. After a brief sitting came a dissolution ; but the king signified his wish that in spite of the premature ending of what was known as the Short Parliament, Convocation should continue its sitting, and complete the important work it had in hand. Some grave doubts as to the legality of this continued sitting of a Convocation after the dissolution of Parliament were expressed ; but a committee of eminent lawyers decided that such a session was legal, and Convocation, on the theory that it was dependent on the king and not on Parliament, pursued its deliberations after the dissolution.

It renewed a former grant of £20,000 a year to the king, under the name of a benevolence or free contribution. But what was more important from an ecclesiastical point of view, were the new canons it passed, and which were published under the authority of the Great Seal. These were seventeen in number, and were entitled "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical," etc., and were accompanied by a royal proclamation. They are to us specially interesting, as expressing in studiedly moderate language the opinions of the Laudian school of thought on the more important of the debatable questions of the day.

Of these Laudian canons, one canon especially dealt with doctrinal matters. Of this fourth canon, "Against Socinianism," which was termed "a damnable and cursed heresy—wicked and blasphemous," lord Clarendon observes that it bears more against Socinianism than the acts of any other Christian assembly. It is not very easy to see the reason of such vehement pronouncement against a heresy which has never made any firm lodgment among the English people, all sects—Anglican, Puritan, Roman Catholic — equally repudiating its cheerless and un-catholic tenets. The third canon was entitled, "For suppressing the growth of Popery." In spite of the allegations of his enemies, Laud and his school never had any sympathies in the direction of Rome.

The sixth canon, entitled "An oath enjoined for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and governments," excited more indignation than it deserved. It was to be imposed not only on the clergy, but masters of arts, schoolmasters, actuaries, and others, and was known as the "*et cetera*" oath, from the "&c." which followed the words "that they, the subscribers to the oath, would never consent to any alteration in the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established, and by right it ought to stand." The "et cetera" was introduced hastily, for the purpose of avoiding a needless repetition of officers ; but a bitter outcry was raised against it. The whole oath was subsequently condemned by the Commons as "wicked and ungodly, as devised by the archbishop for the purpose of confirming the unlawful and exorbitant power which had been usurped over his majesty's subjects."

But the first and seventh canons are by far the most important, the first as clearly and moderately setting forth the Laudian conception of monarchical power ; the

seventh as giving the reasons of the great churchman for certain of the various reforms in matters of ritual and ceremony which are connected with his life-work, and which had been especially selected as objects of attack by the Puritan party. We give both at length in the original words—no doubt Laud's own. The seventh canon, "A declaration concerning some rites and ceremonies," is an able and lucid apology for the introduction or re-introduction of a simple ceremonial ritual. All schools of thought in our church will study with respectful interest the reasons which induced this great churchman to urge the adoption of customs and practices which are still largely the use of Anglican churchmen. In the case of the obeisance to be made coming in and going out of church, it will be observed the canon enjoined nothing, but simply left it optional for each individual worshipper.

The first canon, "Concerning the regal power," passed just before the outbreak of the Civil War, reads as follows :—

"We do further ordain and decree that every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, upon some one Sunday in every quarter of the year at morning prayer, shall in the place where he serves, treatably and audibly read these explanations of the regal power here inserted :

"The most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God Himself, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly established by express texts of the Old and New Testaments. A supreme power is given to this most excellent order by God Himself in the Scriptures, which is, that kings should rule and command in their several dominions all persons of what rank or estate soever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, and that they should restrain and punish with the temporal sword all stubborn and wicked doers.

* * * * *

"For any person or persons to set up, maintain, or avow in any their said realms or territories respectively, under any pretence whatsoever, any independent co-active power either papal or popular, whether directly or indirectly, is to undermine their great royal office and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred ordinance which God Himself hath established; and so is treasonable against God as well as against the king.

"For subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at the least to resist the powers which are ordained of God; and though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, they shall receive to themselves damnation."

The seventh canon was entitled "A declaration concerning some rites and ceremonies," and declares as follows :—

"That the standing of the communion table sideway under the east window of every chancel or chapel is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the word of God, either expressly or by immediate deduction, and therefore that no religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of the reforming of this church from that gross superstition of popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people both the inclination

thereunto and memory thereof; especially of the idolatry committed in the mass, for which cause all popish altars were demolished: yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the instructions and advertisements of queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, that the holy tables should stand in the place where the altars stood, and accordingly have been continued in the royal chapels of three famous and pious princes, and in most cathedral and some parochial churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said tables from any illegality or just suspicion of popish superstition or innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient that all churches and chapels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the cathedral or mother churches, saving always the general liberty left to the bishop by law, during the time of administration of the holy communion. And we declare that this situation of the holy table doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper altar, wherein Christ is again really sacrificed; but it is and may be called an altar by us in that sense in which the primitive church called it an altar, and in no other.

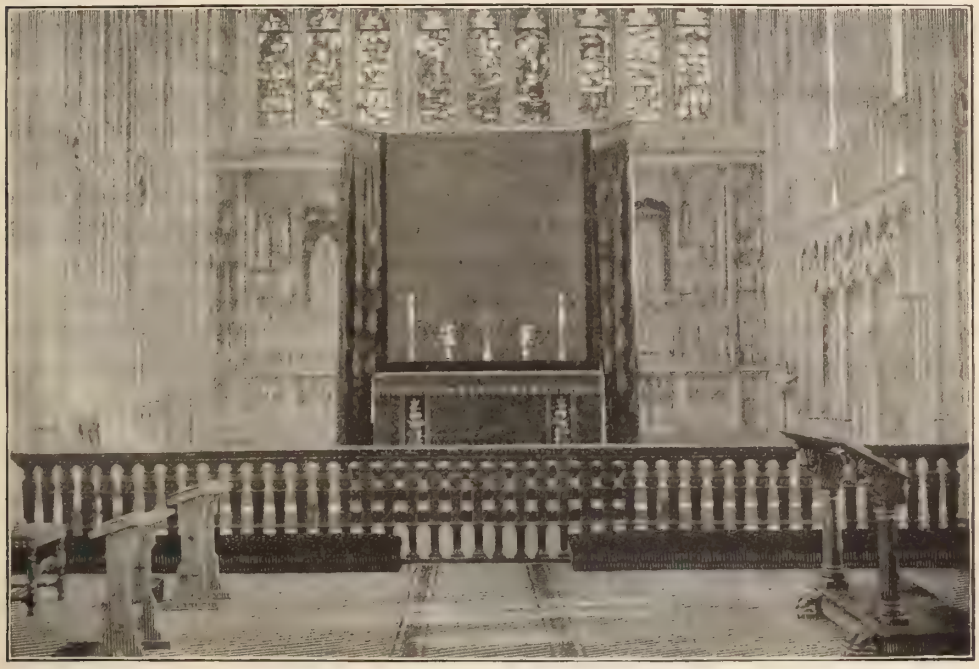
"And because experience hath showed us how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under the communion table in time of divine service: for the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present synod that the said communion tables in all chancels or chapels be decently severed with rails to preserve them from such or worse profanations.

"And because the administration of holy things is to be performed with all possible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the service book established by act of parliament, *draw near*, etc., that all communicants with all humble reverence shall draw near and approach to the holy table, there to receive the divine mysteries which have heretofore in some places been unfitly carried up and down by the minister, unless it shall be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place or other inconvenience, by the bishop himself in his jurisdiction, and other ordinaries respectively in theirs.

"And, lastly, whereas the church is the house of God, dedicated to His holy worship, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatness and goodness of His divine majesty: certain it is that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We therefore think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily recommend it to all good and well-affected people, members of this church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment by doing reverence and obeisance both at their coming in and going out of the said churches, chancels, or chapels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive church in the purest times, and of this church also for many years of the reign of queen Elizabeth. The reviving, therefore, of this ancient and laudable custom we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good people, not with any intention to exhibit any religious worship

to the communion table, the east, or church, or anything therein contained in so doing, or to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of Jesus Christ on the holy table, or in mystical elements, but only for the

were, an epitome of the opinions which generally guided Laud's life and work. The seventh, "On some rites and ceremonies," is, as might have been expected, the most exhaustive. The first, "Concerning regal power," scarcely covers the ground of the Laudian theory of the king's prerogative ;



ALTAR RAILS IN FRONT OF THE COMMUNION TABLE IN THE LADY CHAPEL, GLOUCESTER.
(*These are believed to be the identical rails placed there by Laud.* *See page 59*)

advancement of God's majesty, and to give Him alone that honour and glory that is due unto Him, and no otherwise : and in the practice or omission of this rite, we desire that the rule of charity prescribed by the apostle may be observed, which is, that they which use this rite, despise not them who use it not, and they who use it not, condemn not those that use it."

We have referred to these two canons at some length, because they constitute as it

but it is perfectly clear on the doctrine of non-resistance. It was drawn up, it must be borne in mind, on the eve of the great Civil War, this important Convocation being closed on the 29th May, 1640 ; and five months later the "Long Parliament," under whose shadow the many deeds were carried out which have made that age memorable, had assembled.

The "Houses" met on the 3rd November, and on the 11th Strafford was impeached.

On the 18th of the next month (December), as might have been expected, Laud was formally attacked in the House of Commons. In the course of the debate, the following words were used of the fallen ecclesiastical minister of Charles I. by Sir Harbottle Grimston. They give us some index to the feelings which the now dominant Puritan party entertained respecting him :—

"We are now," said the speaker, "fallen on that great man : look upon him as he is in his highness, and he is the sty of all the pestilential filth that hath affected the state and government of this commonwealth . . . . He is the man, the only man that hath raised and advanced all those that, together with himself, have been the authors and causes of all our ruins, miseries, and calamities we now groan under. Who else but he only that hath brought the earl of Strafford to all his great places and employments ?—a fit spirit and instrument to act and execute his wicked and bloody designs in these kingdoms. Who is it but he only that brought secretary Windebanke into this place of trust and service, the very broker and pander of the whore of Babylon ? Who is it, Mr. Speaker, but he only, that hath advanced all our papist bishops ? I shall name but some of them . . . Bishop Wren, the last of all those birds, but one of the most unclean ones. These are the men that should have fed Christ's flock ; but they are the wolves that hath devoured them." The House decided that the archbishop was a traitor, and he was committed shortly after to the Tower (February, 1641).

A great change had indeed passed over England. We have already slightly sketched the events which had been leading up to it : the details do not belong to our history. A Scotch army in the north was ready to march southwards against the king, whom they hated : there was no army to oppose them. If Parliament were dissolved, Charles would be at the mercy of the Scots. Strangely enough, the Parliament of Puritans, made up of men who detested his theory of government and the ministers who had helped him to carry his theory into execution, was his only resource, for it represented England, and could at its pleasure vote or withhold supplies and furnish troops to resist the imminent Scotch invasion. It was indeed a strange, sad position for king Charles I. Strafford, his friend and minister, arraigned for high treason ; Laud, his archbishop and confidant—lately his minister, too—a close prisoner in the Tower, also accused of treason ; and the king himself compelled to look on, and for awhile to let things take their course.

There was but little delay. The trial of Strafford began before the end of the following March, 1641. Every day we read how the king and queen came down to Westminster Hall, to listen to the trial of their too-faithful friend and minister, and sitting in a side box veiled with trelliswork, listened to the Puritan version of the story of the last eleven years, and to the part which Strafford had borne in that reign of absolutism. In spite of all the skill and ability brought to bear on the case, however, it was found impossible to bring home to the great royalist minister the charge of high treason. But the now dominant party were determined Strafford should die. He had sinned too deeply against all the

cherished Parliamentary traditions. The impeachment, as it failed in its purpose, was dropped, and a bill of attainder was substituted. After some hesitation the lords concurred, and at last the king, terrified into submission, signed the death sentence of his truest and ablest friend. It was the darkest act which stains Charles Stuart's life ; for though Strafford was the most dangerous living foe to the liberties of England, he had ever been the devoted and loyal friend of Charles.

With all serenity and high courage, Strafford prepared to die. Only for a moment he spoke with bitterness, when he said, after hearing king Charles had abandoned him to his fate and signed the warrant for his execution : "Put not your trust in princes." He wished to see and speak to Laud once more before his death, but was not permitted. The story of Strafford's sad march to the block is told by Laud himself in his pathetic history "of his trials and troubles," composed in the course of his long captivity in the Tower. "His lordship" (Strafford), wrote Laud, "being to suffer on the Wednesday morning, did upon Tuesday in the afternoon desire the lord primate of Armagh, then with him, to come to me, and desire me that I would not fail to be at my chamber window, at the open casement, the next morning, when he was to pass by it as he went to execution ; that though he might not speak with me, yet he might see me and take his last leave of me. I sent him word I would, and did so. And the next morning, as he passed by, he turned towards me, and took the solemnest leave that I think was ever at distance taken one of another ; and this in the sight of the earl of Newport, then lord constable of the Tower . . . and divers other gentlemen of worth. . . . During the time of our restraints we held no intercourse each with other ; yet Sir W. Balfore, then lieutenant of the Tower, told me often what frequent and great expressions of love the earl made to me . . . But I leave that honourable person in his grave, and while I live shall honour his memory."

It must have been a strangely moving scene, this silent last farewell of the fallen royalist ministers, only a few months before, after the king, the foremost men in England. Laud was approaching old age, and was worn out by a life filled with anxious work ; and, as he blessed his friend, swooned away. Recovering, he said to the bystanders, "that he hoped by God's assistance and his own innocency, that when he came to his own execution the world should perceive that he had been more sensible of the lord Strafford's loss than of his own ; and good reason it should be so, for he (Strafford) was more serviceable to the church than either himself or any of all the churchmen had ever been." Heylin, Laud's chaplain and biographer, thus comments : "It was indeed a gallant farewell to so eminent and beloved a friend."

Weeks passed into months, two or three years went by, and the old man who had played so great a part on the broad stage of English politics, who had wrought also so many and, on the whole, beneficial changes in the church of which he had been so long the ruler, still languished in his grim Tower prison. His many enemies longed for his death, and indeed were determined he should die, as Strafford had died, on the scaffold ; but, as it had been seen in Strafford's case, it was no easy

matter to bring home to him the charge of high treason. In many instances, on the part of the nobler of the Puritan party, the hate changed into pity at the sight of the uncomplaining archbishop waiting for death. It was felt he was a dangerous prisoner, and at one period of his long waiting, they say he might, had he pleased, have escaped. He thought so himself; and we read in his pathetic memoir: "Every day an opportunity is presented to me, a passage being left free, in all likelihood, for this purpose, that I should take advantage of it . . . I am almost seventy years old, and shall I now go about to prolong a miserable life, by the trouble and shame of flying? . . . . No; I am resolved not to think of flight, but continuing where I am patiently, expect and bear what a good and wise Providence has appointed for me, of what kind soever it may be." Laud's courage never failed him; to the last he was absolutely fearless. His most envenomed foes confess this.

In the meantime, the great Civil War dragged its slow length along with various alternations of victory and defeat. Now the king, now the Parliament, seemed for a time to be in the ascendant. But the alternation of success and failure grew less and less frequent; and it became gradually manifest that the royalist party would in the end be crushed under the ever increasing weight and power of the Parliamentary forces. It was not until the early spring of 1644 that the trial of Laud was seriously taken in hand. There is little doubt that the final pressure for his condemnation came from Scotland, where Laud, owing to his ill-judged efforts to bring about the uniformity of religion in that country, was especially an object of detestation. The examination of the accused lasted several months. Prynne,* his old enemy, had ransacked the country for evidences of treason, especially for unjust sentences passed by the Courts of High Commission and the Star Chamber. The archbishop was charged also with introducing Popery into the church. He had striven, too, said his accusers, to suppress religious liberty. But although religious questions were mainly the groundwork of the charges, the real guilt of Laud in the eyes of the Commons lay in his having been, with Strafford, for so long a time the principal minister of absolutism. For this there was and could not be forgiveness.

The old archbishop defended himself throughout with extraordinary courage and skill. The tribunal of the House of Lords, by which he was tried, was a singularly careless and incompetent court. The House of Lords, as constituted in 1644, was only made up of twelve or thirteen peers, the small contingent who had sided with the Parliamentary party; and it is said even of this small band, no one, except the speaker, lord Grey of Wark, paid the distinguished accused the compliment of listening to the weary pieces of accusation and defence. Some were present in the morning, some in the afternoon, coming in and going out as they pleased. "To give him his due," said his relentless enemy Prynne, "he made as full and gallant and pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spake so much for himself, as it was

* This able and fanatical Puritan had been one of the chief sufferers at the hands of the arbitrary and tyrannical Court of Star Chamber, where Laud had sat as one of the principal members.

LORD STRAFFORD ON THE WAY TO EXECUTION.

(*From the picture by Delaroche.*)

possible for the wit of man to invent, and that with so much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence, without the least blush of acknowledgment of guilt in anything, as argued him rather obstinate than innocent, impudent rather than penitent, a far better orator and sophister than Protestant or Christian, yet a truer son of the church of Rome than of the church of England."

In the end, the Lords hesitating to find him guilty of treason, the Commons followed the precedent in Strafford's case, and decided the matter by an ordinance of attainder. This was sent up to the Lords towards the end of the November of the "trial" year. The action of the Commons was supported by a widely-signed petition from the City of London praying for his execution. Still the little company of lords hesitated, and when they at last gave way, only six are said to have voted for Laud's death sentence. The ordinance of attainder was finally ratified on the 4th January, 1645, but a brief delay before the final scene of the tragedy was allowed, the execution being fixed for the 10th of the same month.

More than a year and a half before, in the April of 1643, king Charles I., conscious of the danger of his old friend and minister, had sent him secretly a full pardon, signed and sealed with the Great Seal of England, to be handed in if necessary. After the death sentence, Laud produced this; but, as might have been expected, the royal pardon was contemptuously disregarded. One more request was made by the illustrious prisoner, that the usual treason penalty of the gibbet, with its awful accompaniments, might be exchanged for the less degrading and more merciful death by beheading. Though the Lords supported the archbishop's request, it was at first refused by the Commons; in fact, the hatred and bitterness shown by the Puritan House of Commons to the great churchman was extreme. On fuller consideration, however, this pitiful boon was granted, and Laud was allowed to die by the axe.

A last and cruel affront, however, was shown to him. Laud had requested that three of his chaplains might attend him in his last moments; but his enemies insisted that only one of these Anglican divines should be present, appointing two violent Presbyterians in the place of the other two selected by the archbishop. Did his enemies dream that the courage and faith of the great Anglican master would for an instant waver before the wordy though earnest exhortation of the Puritan teachers, or was this last and useless insult merely a senseless cruelty? Little recked Laud, conscious that he was writing a page in the island story the deathless interest of which no lapse of time was likely to dim. He would show friend and foe how a Christian prelate ought to die.

On the evening of the 9th January the sheriff brought the warrant for the execution to take place on the day following. We are told that after Laud was apprised of it, he supped as usual, and then retiring to rest, slept calmly and soundly. He had already carefully prepared and written down the solemn words he hoped to be allowed to speak on the scaffold; and from this paper, as well as from notes taken on the spot, the published report which soon appeared was carefully corrected.

On Tower Hill, as might have been expected, an immense throng was gathered to see the awful pageant of the public execution of an archbishop—an archbishop, too, who for years had played the part of first minister of the crown. The very scaffold was so thronged that the archbishop with difficulty approached the block. One simple incident connected with the vast crowd must be told. Through the chinks between the boards of the roughly put together scaffold, the sufferer saw people standing immediately beneath the fatal block. He would have these removed, he said, "lest his innocent blood should fall on the heads of the people." Very cheerful, and even ruddy, in spite of the long captivity, was Laud's countenance during these last moments of his life; so ruddy that some thought he had painted it, lest men should fancy his cheeks were blanched with fear. But when the headsman lifted it up after the fatal blow, the well-known features were noticed by the bystanders to have turned pale as ashes.

When he first mounted the scaffold, a zealous Puritan—the name of the rude speaker has been preserved—Sir John Clotworthy, watching the serene courage of the archbishop, asked him, "What is the comfortablest saying which a dying man would have in his mouth?" "I desire to depart and be with Christ,"* replied Laud. "That is a good desire," said the Puritan; "but there must be a foundation for that divine assurance." "No man can express it," answered Laud; "it is to be found within." He then proceeded to speak to the people. The paper in his hands, which he had written previously, was after his death given to king Charles I. at Oxford. He told them that long had he been in his race; how he looked unto Jesus, his Master would best know; and at the end of the race, he told them, he had found the cross, a death of shame . . . he was going apace, as they could see, towards the Red Sea [probably punning, as was much the custom in religious addresses at that time, upon the bloody end just before him], and his feet were on the very brink of it . . . he was not in love with this passage through the Red Sea, for he had the weakness and infirmity of flesh and blood plentifully in him. . . He had prayed that the cup of *red* wine might pass from him; but if not, God's will, not his, be done. He dwelt for a minute on the martyr's death through which some of his predecessors had passed, though none by such a death as his. He instanced Elphege, who perished at the hands of the Danes, and Simon Sudbury, under the fury of a mob. St. Cyprian, too, had fallen by the sword of persecutors. Many similar examples could he have cited of the great and good—they were teaching him patience—only he hoped his cause, in heaven, would look of another dye than the colour put upon it here on earth. He mourned over the condition of the Church of England, which had become like a cloak cleft into shivers . . . and at every cleft profaneness or irreligion was rushing in. He dwelt shortly upon the charge brought against him of high treason. Against these accusations he protested, solemnly denying, in the presence of God and His holy angels, that it had any foundation whatever. In his concluding words

* The words of the archbishop were in the Latin version, "Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo."

he strikingly said, he had been baptised and born in the bosom of the Church of England established by law; in that profession he had lived, and in that he had come to die. What clamours and slanders he had endured for labouring to keep uniformity in the *external* service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of the church, all men knew, and he had abundantly felt. Then he added, "I have done. I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man." After praying aloud, he went to the executioner, and giving him a present of money, said, "Here, honest friend, God forgive thee, as I do, and do thine office upon me in mercy." Giving him the sign when to strike, he kneeled by the block, and again prayed aloud, using these striking and singular words: "Lord, I am coming as fast as I can. I know I must pass through the shadow of death before I can come to see Thee. But it is but *umbra mortis*—a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature. But Thou by Thy merits and passion hast broken through the jaws of death." With a few more words, praying God to bless England, after a short silence, he cried aloud the words of the sign agreed upon, "Lord, receive my soul," the axe immediately fell, and all was over.

No sooner was Laud dead, than a certain reaction in his favour at once set in. His dying speech or sermon was published, and had considerable effect. It was deemed important enough to be formally contradicted and refuted, before the month which witnessed his death was run out. The very ballad-mongers who had sung his crimes and his disgrace, now sang his merits and his martyrdom.* His remains, on the day following his execution, were reverently laid in the Church of All-Hallows, Barking, followed by great multitudes of people. After the Restoration, the coffin, containing what was mortal of Laud, was brought to Oxford, and placed in a vault under the altar of the chapel of his own college of St. John's, between the founder and his friend and successor in the primacy, Juxon, who attended king Charles on the scaffold at Whitehall. "There it still rests; and the college which he loved so dearly and endowed so generously, counts it her highest honour to guard the bones of the greatest of her sons." The coffin had on it a small brass plate with the archbishop's arms and the following graphic inscription:—"In hac cistulâ conduntur exuviæ Gulielmi Laud, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui securi percussus, immortalitem adiit die x Januarii, ætatis suæ LXXII. Archiepiscopatûs xii." †

How intensely king Charles I. felt the execution of his dearest friend, Laud; with what feelings he regarded the shedding of his blood, is well shown in a letter to the queen, dated January 14, 1645, four days after the tragedy on Tower Hill. "Nothing can be more evident than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's judgement upon the nation by a furious civil war, both sides hitherto being almost equally guilty" [Charles here recognises his share of guilt in having consented to Strafford's

* W. H. Hutton: "William Laud," chap. vii.

† Simpkin on "Life and Times of Laud."

TRIAL OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

(From the picture by Alexander Johnstone, by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co., 6, Pall Mall.)

death] ; "but now this last crying blood [Laud's] being totally theirs, I believe it is no presumption hereafter to hope that the hand of justice must be heavier upon them and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed through our faults."*

In the loyal reaction of the Restoration, which did partial justice to the memory of Laud, Henry Wharton, who in 1695 published the "Diary," and the "History of the Archbishop's Troubles and Trial," both written by Laud himself, in his preface, giving utterance to what was generally felt by the more thoughtful among the Anglican churchmen of his time, well says: "I regard it the most fortunate transaction of my whole life to have contributed herein (by the publication of the archbishop's own writings and recital of the troublous times) to the vindication of the memory and cause of that most excellent prelate and blessed martyr, to whom I have always paid a more especial veneration, as firmly believing him to have taken up and prosecuted the best and most effectual method . . . and to have had the noblest, the most zealous and most sincere intentions therein, towards re-establishing the beauty, the honour and the force of religion in that part of the Catholic Church (the Church of England)."

In the course of Laud's trial, his efforts to restore images, pictures, and stained glass windows in churches were represented as high treason, as being contrary to the statutes of Edward VI., and the injunctions of Elizabeth. He refuted these charges easily, affirming that historical representations were allowed in the "Homilies," and showed with great force, by referring to early church history, that images were not of necessity abused to the purposes of superstition ; and very nobly and clearly in the course of his defence, spoken before his bitter enemies, thus set forth his reasons for being so earnest in his endeavours to restore beauty and grace to the worship of Almighty God and to the sacred buildings provided by the Church of England for holy worship. "Of all diseases," said Laud, "I have ever hated a palsy in religion, well knowing that too often a dead palsy ends the disease, in the fearful forgetfulness of God and His judgment. Ever since I came in place I laboured nothing more than that the external public worship of God, too much slighted in most parts of the kingdom, might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be; being still of opinion that unity cannot long continue in the church were uniformity shut out of the church door. And I evidently saw that the public neglect of God's service in the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated to that service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward worship of God, which, while we live in the body, needs external help . . . . to keep it in any vigour."

That Laud was right in his conception of what was sorely needed in the Church of England, that he brought conviction of their needs home to the hearts of the majority of Anglican churchmen, not only of his own day and time, but to generations yet unborn, when he perished in the tragedy on Tower Hill that January morning of 1645, the words of the scholarly historian of the Civil War tell us quietly,

* "The King to the Queen." Quoted in Gardiner: "History of Great Civil War," chap. xxiv.

without rhetoric, without any attempt at praise or admiration: — "Every parish church in the land still—two centuries and a half after the years in which he was at the height of his power—presents a spectacle which realises his hopes . . . Little as those who sent Laud to the block imagined it, there was a fruitful seed in his teaching, which was not to be smothered in blood." *

To charge Laud with a desire to "Romanise" the Church of England was ever a favourite and often-repeated accusation on the part of his Puritan and Presbyterian foes. We have already, at some little length, referred to his weighty and most able treatise against the Jesuit, Fisher, as the best refutation of this charge. At his trial he said, with considerable force: "I have converted several"—(alluding especially to some distinguished converts made during the disputations in the reign of James I.)—"I have taken an oath against it, I have written a book against it, I have held a controversy against it, I have been twice offered a cardinal's hat and refused it, I have been twice in danger of my life from a popish plot, I have endeavoured to reconcile the Lutherans and the Calvinists; and, therefore, I have endeavoured to introduce popery!"

Very nobly, and not a few in our own day and time, with their broader and more far-reaching comprehensive views respecting religion, will think very righteously, Laud thus wrote of the Church of Rome as being a true church, in spite of her grievous errors and aberrations. "She never," wrote the wise prelate, "erred in fundamentals, for fundamentals are in the creed, and she denies it not. Were she not a true church it were hard with the Church of England, since from her* the English bishops derive their apostolical succession. She is therefore a true but not an orthodox church. Salvation may be found in her communion, and her religion and ours are one in the great essentials. . . . As to the charge of unchurching foreign Protestants, I certainly said generally, according to St. Jerome, *no Bishop no church*, and the preface to the Book of Ordination sets forth that the three orders came from the Apostles."

Laud has been considered, erroneously enough, to have been a divine of narrow and exclusive views. In his striving after a uniformity of worship for all who owed allegiance to the English crown, he no doubt made grave and unhappy mistakes; notably in his interference with Scotland. He underrated the zeal and earnestness of Puritanism even in England, and was strangely ignorant of the overwhelming feeling in favour of Presbyterianism in Scotland. He was a better scholar in the history of the church wherein a Jerome taught or an Athanasius wrote, than in the story of Scotland, where John Knox fired the imaginations and stirred the hearts of the indomitable people who dwelt among the mountains and valleys north of the Tweed. The uniformity of worship throughout the island, the cherished ideal of Laud, was an ideal beautiful indeed,

* Gardiner: "The Great Civil War," chap. xxiv. (1893).

* Laud was not quite accurate here. The apostolical succession of the bishops of the Church of England is only in part derived from Rome. The Celtic Church has a share in it.

though, as things were, utterly impossible. But it is a curious mistake to accuse him of narrowness or intolerance. Indeed, Laud may be considered the precursor of the broad Catholic school of religious thought, rigidly orthodox thought, which among earnest cultivated religious men is ever making slow but sure progress among us ; that school which, while firmly holding on to the great fundamental truths taught in the New Testament, the precious treasure of the church in the first days of Christianity, is very sparing in its condemnation of other men, forgetting to use the language of condemnation where Christ has not uttered it. In his "Conference with Fisher," we find Laud asserting boldly that it was unnecessary to require assent to more than the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. The following words are remarkable, and, as a specimen of the breadth of Laudian teaching, should be ever carefully remembered :—"The Church of England never declared that every one of her articles are fundamental in the faith ; for it is one thing to say, No one of them is superstitious or erroneous ; and quite another to say, Every one of them is fundamental, and that in every part of it, to all men's belief." In another place Laud wrote :—"It was impossible to set bounds to the divine compassion, nor will I ever take upon me to express that tenet or opinion, the denial of the foundation only excepted, which may shut any Christian, even the meanest, out of heaven." *

Chillingworth, the great latitudinarian, as he is often termed, was a godson of Laud, through whose persuasion Chillingworth returned to the Anglican communion after his perversion by the Jesuit Fisher.* He was much under Laud's influence, and it has been supposed, not without reason, that Chillingworth's famous work, "The Religion of Protestants," a masterly protest against the boundless dogmatism of Rome, was undertaken at Laud's instigation. Certainly, many of the latter's thoughts contained in the "Conference with Fisher," reappear in "The Religion of Protestants." It was in Chillingworth's book that the notable passage occurs :—"Take away those walls of separation, and all will be quickly over. . . . Take away this persecuting, burning, cursing, damning of men for not subscribing to the words of men, for the words of God require of Christians only to believe Christ, and to call no man master, but Him only ; let those leave claiming infallibility that have no title to it. . . . Christians," he writes, "must be taught to set a higher value upon those high points of faith and obedience wherein they agree, than upon those matters of less

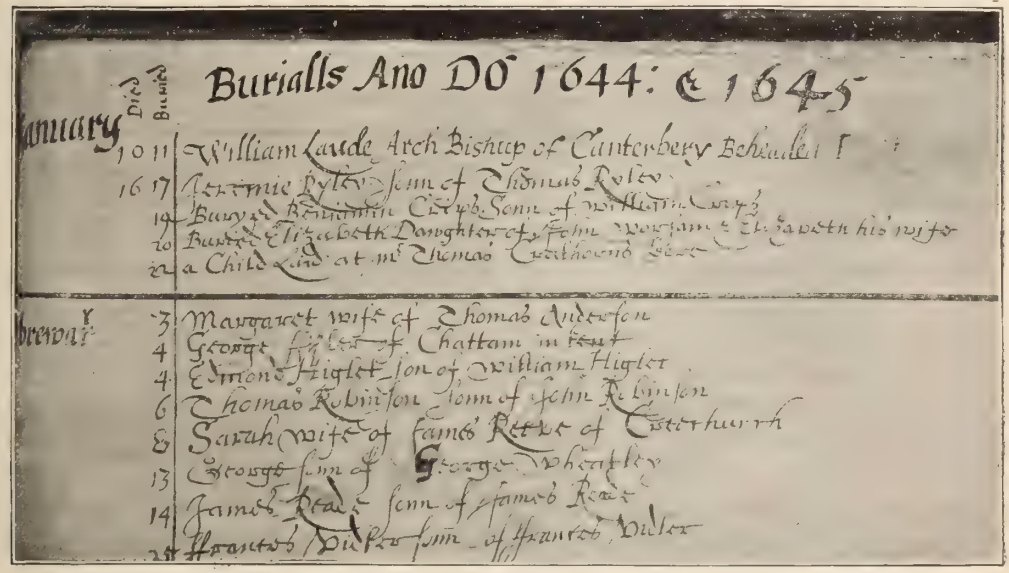
* Laud's Works, ii., page 60.

* Dying in the midst of the Civil War at Chichester, in 1644, this eminent writer was buried in the cathedral cloisters. Chichester was then in the hands of the Parliamentarians. During the progress of the last rites, a minister of the assembly, Francis Cheynell, a bitter Puritan and controversialist, but who had showed no little kindness to Chillingworth during his last illness, tossed the dead man's famous work, "The Religion of Protestants," into the open grave, crying out—"Get thee gone, thou accursed book which hath seduced so many precious souls! get thee gone, thou corrupt, rotten book ; earth to earth, dust to dust. Get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with the author and see corruption." Cheynell's name is preserved from the oblivion to which he consigned Chillingworth's great book, through this strange, violent action at his friend's graveside.

moment wherein they differ, and understand that agreement in those ought to be more effectual to join them in one communion, than their differences in other things of less moment to divide them."

Without by any means asserting that Laud subscribed to and was in agreement with all the conclusions arrived at by the "latitudinarian," there is no doubt but that

One service of priceless moment was performed by Laud, in the long and intimate friendship between Charles I. and the great Anglican prelate. The king had learned a lesson of measureless importance from his friend and religious guide, which he never forgot. In the midst of all the vacillations which have so perplexed and disturbed even his warmest apologists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ENTRY OF LAUD'S BURIAL IN THE REGISTER OF ALL HALLOWS' CHURCH, BARKING.

Laud's teaching largely harmonised with Chillingworth's, and was emphatically broad and tolerant. That he loved the Church of England with a great, even with a passionate love, is indisputable: that he thought it the purest and best of communions is clear; that he endeavoured to amend its defects, and to make it beautiful and winning as it was strong and pure, his life-work shows us; but at the same time Laud never denied that salvation might be won by earnest Christian souls living and worshipping outside her charmed pale.

Charles clung to the Church of England and its immemorial traditions, "and when the last struggle came, he still refused to save his life, as there can be but little doubt he might have done, by surrendering and deserting the church of his fathers."* In the main, the somewhat startling conclusion arrived at in the above quoted words is accurate; though the vacillation, the sad prevarication, the general lack of truth and

* See Hutton: "William Laud," chap. viii.; who quotes Von Ranke: "History of England," ii., page 466.

unswerving rectitude of purpose so transparent in all the later dealings of Charles I. with the Parliamentarians and Scottish leaders, have partially obscured the king's changeless determination on this point. The teachings of Laud, pressed home in the many hours of an intimate friendship lasting many years, had sunk deep into the heart of Charles Stuart, who, with all his errors and grave faults, was a religious man; and sooner than act deliberately contrary to the will of God, he preferred to lose his crown and even his life. The death of Laud on the scaffold made Charles more determined than ever not to abandon the Church of England and episcopacy, although he must have seen in the years 1645–1646 that unless he chose to abandon the church, his cause was a hopelessly lost one.

In this steadfast adherence to the great church of his forefathers; in rejecting Presbyterianism, the acceptance of which, while it would have broken up and dissolved the church, would most probably have saved his crown and life, Charles I. was acting in open opposition, not only to the advice of most, if not all, of the friends and counsellors about him, but even contrary to the repeated and urgent advice of his queen, whom he tenderly loved, and to whose words he ever loved to listen. About a year and a half after the death of Laud, when things were growing month by month more gloomy for the royalists, the queen, who had already taken refuge in her native France, sent her trusted ministers, Jermyn, Culpepper, and Ashburnham, to plead with Charles to come to an understanding with the Scots and to accept Presbyterianism. Charles's words in reply are memorable. "If Presbyterianism were granted," he wrote, "the dependency of the church from the crown would be taken away, which, let me tell you, I hold to be of equal consequence to that of the military, for people are governed by pulpits more than the sword in times of peace. . . . Now for the theological part, I assure you that the change would be no less and worse than if popery were brought in; for we should have neither lawful priests, nor sacraments duly administered, nor God publicly served, but according to the foolish fancy of every idle parson; but we should have the doctrine against kings fiercelier set up than amongst the Jesuits."* This important and decisive communication to his queen's ministers in France is dated July, 1646.

In the March previously, in a letter to Henrietta Maria of a more private nature, he had even more clearly and positively written to the same effect. "For the Scots, I promise thee to employ all possible pains and industry to agree with them, so that the price be not giving up the Church of England, with which I will not part on any condition whatever. . . . yielding to the Scots in this particular, I should both go against my conscience and ruin my crown." † It is scarcely too much to affirm, that through his long influence upon Charles I.'s mind, an influence which survived the archbishop's death, "Laud saved the English Church."

* Letter of king Charles I. to Queen Henrietta Maria's ministers, quoted by Gardiner, "History of the Great Civil War, chap. xliii.

† The King to the Queen, March 3, 1646. *Ibid*, chap. xl.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE PURITANS.

Spirit of the Laudian Church—George Herbert—Antagonistic Puritan Feeling—The Puritan Spirit and its Power—Causes of its Unpopularity—Examples—John Hampden—John Milton—Character of the Earlier Type of Puritanism as seen in Him—His Earlier Poems—Gradual Change under the Absolute Government of Charles and Laud—Last Years, after the Restoration—"Paradise Lost and Regained," and "Samson Agonistes"—John Bunyan, as a Puritan of the People—The "Pilgrim's Progress"—Its Typical Character—Oliver Cromwell—His Family Life—The Puritan Consciousness of God—Cromwell's Soldiery—His Ferocity—Pictures of the Man—His Public Work—Death—The Rise and Fall of Puritanism—Its Abiding Influence in the Church.

LAUD has been charged with introducing a spirit into the Church of England, which in its reverence for the outward, in its devotion to forms and ceremonies, in its deep longing to join the religion of the present with the religion of the past, Anglicanism with mediævalism, went far beyond the thoughts and aims of the school of Ridley and of Cranmer; beyond even the wide comprehensiveness of Elizabeth, Cecil and Parker, and the first group of the reformers of the great queen's reign. To a certain extent this is true, and the same spirit in a greater or less degree was observable in Whitgift, in Hooker, and especially in Andrewes. This difference was owing in great measure to the natural dread which lived in the earlier English reformers, of anything which might seem to approve, or even to condone, the superstitions which marred and defaced the pre-Reformation Church of England. As time went on, however, such dread among the makers of the reformed church grew less and less, and the passionate desire for continuity between the present and the past, ever on the increase, enormously influenced men like Whitgift and Hooker, Andrewes and Laud.

This strong feeling, this passionate desire among the rank and file of pious churchmen not to lose hold of association with sacred things—rites, ceremonies, places—which had been the solace and charm of religious men and women for ages, is well exemplified in such men as George Herbert, the beloved parson of Bemerton; so loved that men say when his church bell tolled for daily prayers, the wearied toiler in the field, like the pathetic figures in the picture of the "Angelus" by Millet, would rest a moment from labour and would mutter a short prayer before again grasping the spade or the plough. To George Herbert —and Herbert was a representative of a vast crowd of holy and humble religious men in England—the awful mystery of the sacraments, the symbolism of Catholic ceremony and rites, were the true nourishment for devotion. The enormous popularity of the great ceremonialist, as Herbert had been somewhat unkindly termed, is evinced in the almost incredible sale of his devotional poem, "The Temple": twenty-thousand copies are said to have been

disposed of in a few years after publication —a strange number indeed in those days!

To Herbert every part of a church had its teachings, each detail to him possessed its divine symbolism. He was the faithful pupil of the mediæval monk-architect, who wrote so deftly his story on the pages of his book of stone. There was no little danger, men like Herbert thought, of this

"Mark you the floore? That square and speckled stone,
Which looks so firm and strong,
Is Patience;
And the other, black and grave, wherewith each one
Is chequered all along,
Humilitie.

"The gentle rising, which on either hand
Leads to the Quire above,
Is Confidence;

GEORGE HERBERT'S MEDLAR TREE AT BEMERTON.

chapter and other similar chapters of church teaching, being for ever wiped out by the force of the reaction of the Reformation against superstition. A grave and irreparable loss it would indeed have been, if the church had ceased altogether to appeal to outer associations, such as architecture, music, symbolism, as an important form of nourishment for devotion—a form that indisputably appeals to many hearts whom a bare spiritualism, however real, fails to find. To Herbert, for instance, the very pavement of a church was symbolic. He wrote the lines, well known to some—

But the sweet cement, which in one sure band
Ties the whole frame, is Love
And Charitie."

"*The Church Floore.*"

The parson of Bemerton ardently loved sacred music. Twice a week he would indulge himself with a visit to the neighbouring cathedral of Salisbury, and he thus exquisitely describes the effect of the choir on his mind and body:

"Sweetest of sweets, I thank you; when displeasure
Did through my bodie wound my minde,
You took me thence, and in your house of pleasure
A daintie lodging me assigned."

"*Church Musick.*"

GEORGE HERBERT AT BEMERTON.

(From the picture by William Dyce, R.A. By permission of Charles Gassiot, Esq.)

From the serene height of devotion, quickened by such sights and sounds in his cherished cathedral, Herbert, who in early days was credited with some ambition, could afford to look with sorrowful pity upon the most exalted of human beings: great storm, and who longed with a great longing to see the quiet restoration of much that was lovely and beautiful, of much that was really helpful to true devotion. To not a few minds in England, religion was ever being presented under a some-

BEMERTON CHURCH.

"Now I in you without a bodie move,
Rising and falling with your wings,
We both together sweetly live and love,
Yet say sometimes, 'God help poore Kings!'"

And Herbert of Bemerton was a type of many a devout and earnest parish priest of the first half of the seventeenth century, an example of those quiet thoughtful churchmen who, while loyal to the Reformation, were pained and grieved at the havoc brought about in the course of the what cold and bare aspect. Laud was without doubt strongly supported by an important school of thought, which since the early days of the Elizabethan settlement had been slowly but surely growing up in England.

But while what is called "high Anglicanism" found a ready response in many English hearts; while confessedly much that is beautiful and true and real was expressed in what Hooker so wisely and

temperately formulated in his undying treatise, in the life preached by Andrewes and sung by George Herbert, in the stately service insisted upon by Laud; the historian of that eventful age would be one-sided and unjust if he did not dwell with unfeigned admiration, an admiration often coloured with sorrow, on another aspect of religion equally as earnest, equally real, presented to the men who lived in the seventeenth century. Thoughtful religious Englishmen in that century were not *all* "high Anglicans." Indeed, one famous historian* does not hesitate to say—he was writing of the famous group of men who ranged themselves in opposition to Charles I.'s unhappy dream of absolutism—"Either in conscious act, or in clear tendency, the far greater part of the serious thought and manhood of England had declared itself *Puritan*." Such a sweeping assertion is certainly exaggerated, but it has a basis of truth in it; for there is no doubt that in the reign of the first two Stuarts the Puritan ranks included many of the noblest and most serious souls in England.

A wave of intense religious feeling had passed over the country. We have already alluded to it, and ascribed it largely to the overwhelming influence which the English Bible, read so eagerly and with such intense interest after it became, through the medium of the noble translation of Tyndale and his companions, *understanded* of the people, and through the medium of the printing press multiplying its thousands and tens of thousands of cheap copies, procurable by the people. The English Bible had permeated the entire nation, and had affected the people as no book in the world had ever affected a nation before. We have seen how, in this religious England, all through the Reformation period, there was ever a considerable and influential party, specially influential because of their earnestness, who were discontented with the middle course, the *via media Anglicana*, traced out by the English thought-leaders. These longed for a more pronounced Protestantism than that which satisfied Cranmer and Ridley, and even Latimer; more pronounced than the Protestantism which was the outcome of the Elizabethan compromise and settlement. Cranmer and Parker, Elizabeth and Cecil, still more Whitgift and Hooker, still more Andrewes and Laud, in the eyes of these Puritans, were too favourable to mediævalism. Rites, ceremonies, usages, which these extreme Protestants looked on as superstitious, even in some cases as idolatrous, were allowed to linger on in the "use" of the Church of England, were even regarded with ever-increased favour.

This section of Englishmen, although not as a rule, until political circumstances stirred up the great Rebellion, openly disloyal to the Established Church, were nevertheless discontented with it, and lived somewhat apart from its life. They became known as Puritans. Some were, of course, what we should term moderate Puritans; others intensely, perhaps fanatically in earnest. As examples of the more moderate we will presently paint the portraits of Hampden and Milton in his earlier years; of the extremer section we will sketch John Bunyan and Oliver Cromwell.

* Thomas Carlyle.

As a whole, the Puritan party, in the years preceding the great Rebellion, regarded religion—*their form of religion*—as the one paramount object of life. They felt what only a few enthusiasts had ever felt before, that "God was with them in every incident of life; they heard the authentic voice of God in every hour of existence. They saw Satan in everything evil, and heard the voices of devils in all that was harmful, vicious, or unjust. If they took counsel of each other of their own judgment, they literally believed that God and His angels prompted every thought. If one seemed to them just and useful, he was beloved of God; if one seemed to do harm, he was hated of God. If they were undecided, they sought God. If they felt confidence, they had found God; if they felt hopeless, they had lost God. . . . . Now that which in our day devout men and women come to feel in their earnest moments of prayer, the devout Puritan felt as a second nature, in his rising up and his lying down, in the market-place and in the home, in society and business, in Parliament, in council, and on the field of battle. He felt in the full tide of daily life what pious men now feel on their knees and on their death-bed." *

On first thoughts it would seem strange that these men did not carry all before them. In the earlier years of the great Rebellion, as a matter of fact they did. Pitted against the men of the religious compromise, of course they would prevail, with their terrible earnestness and immutable confidence. But the historian who chronicles their rapid rise in the following pages, has to tell the story of their still more sudden fall. The causes of the fall of Puritanism are easy to discover. In their brief day of power they suddenly split into two opposing factions; the one adopting "Presbyterianism" as their form of religious government, a spiritual tyranny unbearable and generally hateful to the public mind; the other choosing in preference to Presbyterianism a religious freedom under the name of "Independents," which encouraged and developed in many cases a wild licence of practice and teaching. The Puritan party, thus hopelessly divided, the one section bitterly hating the other, of course could not endure, and its consequent disruption was more rapid than its rise.

Another reason for the fall of Puritanism was its complete failure to suit itself to the manners and customs, to the tastes and inclinations of the people at large. The Puritan teaching was too strict, too austere, too contemptuous of human weakness, to permanently rule a great nation. "Men missed the cakes and ale, the dance round the May-pole, the open theatre, and all the various modes of enjoyment which they had loved well, if not always wisely; that was a seriousness in the Puritan mind which deepened in lesser men into congenial sourness."* One grievance was especially felt among the people—viz. the stern elimination on the Sunday of everything which might make the holy-day bright and cheerful. The Puritans identified the Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath, transferring to the one the stern laws of observance peculiar to

* Frederic Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chapter ii.

* Gardiner: "Puritan Revolution," chap. ix., section iv.

THE SEAT OF REPENTANCE.

the other, and enforced, too, by very stern and practical disciplinary measures.*

There is no doubt that considerable laxity in the observance of the Sunday existed both in the pre-Reformation and reformed Church of England, as we see it still in continental countries; and the minds of many of the earnest religious men of the seventeenth century were bent upon enforcing a more solemn keeping of the Lord's day. Considerable offence was given to the Puritans by the issue of the "Book of Sports" by king James I., in which certain games were recommended as lawful and even desirable. The Sunday, indeed, had come to be regarded as little more than one among the holy days of the church. The popularity of the Bible opened the eyes of many to see how that one sacred day of the seven had been esteemed by the ancient people of the Lord; but it was among the errors of the Puritans that they ever wished to bind too heavy burdens upon the necks of the rank and file of men, and amongst these burdens an exaggeratedly austere view of the sanctity of the Sunday must be reckoned. With its many virtues, its nobleness, its striving after purity and goodness, Puritanism can never be said to have been really popular or loved among the people. It was too hard, too cheerless, too rigid and unbending. It was not adapted for the religious life of the majority of the people, whose sympathies it never gained, and so it perished apparently from among us; but not until it had done its work.

Yet the Puritanism, which was so great a power in the first half of the seventeenth century, speaks as with a dead language to us now. One of its ablest admirers* thus writes of it—he is speaking of the great Parliament in the days of Charles I. listening to the Puritan divines preaching before them with "rapt earnestness, as to an indisputable message from Heaven itself." These sermons, "in spite of printers, are all grown dumb! In long rows of little dumpy quartos, gathered from the bookstalls, they indeed stand here bodily before us; by human volition they can be read, but not by any human memory remembered; they have become a weariness to the soul of men. They are dead and gone, they and what they shadowed; the human soul, got into other latitudes, cannot now give harbour to them. . . . Behold, they are become inarticulate quartos; spectral; and instead of speaking do but screech and gibber; all Puritanism has grown inarticulate; its fervent preachings, prayings, pamphleteerings are sunk into one indiscriminate moaning hum, mournful as the voice of subterranean winds. . . . The age of the Puritans is not extinct only and gone away from us, but it is as if fallen beyond the capabilities of Memory herself; it is grown unintelligible, what we may call incredible. Its earnest Purport awakens now no resonance in our frivolous hearts. We understand not even in imagination,

* The illustration on p. 93 represents two golfers found in play on the Sabbath, and made to do public penance in the "seat of repentance," with balls and (broken) implements on the ground before them. Of such discipline there are various records in the literature of the game. This "seat of repentance" is carefully preserved at the town kirk of St. Andrew's. The illustration also shows the sack-cloth gown or coat worn by such delinquents, which is likewise preserved at the above-mentioned kirk.

* Carlyle: "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," Introduction.

not one in a thousand of us, what it ever could have meant. It seems delirious, delusive." The memory of Puritanism which remains among us is the cant, the vulgarity, the hypocrisy, the cunning of its professors, as mirrored in the press and stage plays of the years which followed the restoration of the monarchy and the church. Every child student of English history is familiar with the ridiculous phraseology of the Puritan conversation, with the curious adaptation among themselves of Scripture names, which to us would seem blasphemous if they were not absurd. The nasal twang, the stiff and hideous dress, the studied contempt not only for all popular amusements and diversions, but even for all accomplishments and ordinary learning, are habitually associated with Puritanism.

Too often teacher and scholar alike forget what these now despised religionists effected in their day of power ; how they not only rescued England at home from a form of government which, had it been established among us, would have surely paralysed all real national progress, while abroad they made the name and flag of England formidable among the nations of the earth ; but that it was the Puritans who secured to England that wonderful system of parliamentary government, which has ever since been the wonder and admiration of all Continental peoples. It was verily these stern, grave, uncompromising religionists who first taught England her surpassing greatness as a maritime power. In the hour of her great peril, this thought first dimly occurred to Elizabeth and her sea heroes ; Strafford, in his often mistaken, but far-reaching policy, aimed at the same goal ; but it was the Puritan, Oliver Cromwell, who first in good earnest saw in what the future strength of the great island power consisted. The Puritan of the seventeenth century was no mere fanatic ; he was a great power, a mighty living influence in English history.

In sketching the portraiture of three or four typical men of these children of the Reformation, we will take first, examples of the more moderate and thoughtful of them. We have an admirable instance of this moderate school of Puritanism in John Hampden, country gentleman, statesman, and soldier. In his earlier years this typical Puritan was only known to his county as a high-principled, honourable squire, careful in the discharge of the few public duties which fell to his lot. A keen sportsman, fond of society and manly exercises, on a sudden, Clarendon tells us, a change passed over the popular Buckinghamshire gentleman : the great wave of Puritanism reached him. "From a life of great pleasure and licence, he retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, to a more reserved and melancholy society." After the great change in his life the same keen observer goes on to say, "he preserved his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all a flowing courtesy to all men."

His known uprightness, his reputation for learning, his urbanity and kindness of heart, and perhaps above all, his character as an earnest religious man, gave him a great and ever-increasing influence in his own county ; and when the unpopular and illegal tax of ship-money was levied in the inland counties, Hampden's formal resistance aroused the country generally,

and men began to see clearly the nature of the government policy. The cause, it is true, was decided by a majority of the judges against Hampden, but Wentworth's bitter comment upon Hampden's action — "I wish Mr. Hampden and others to his likeness were well whipt into their right senses"—showed how well the great royalist minister gauged the dangerous character of the resistance of such a man.

From this time forward the events of the great Puritan's life belong to the history of England. The estimate formed of him by the far-sighted minister was an accurate one. Clarendon tells us how the adverse judgment in the famous ship-money case "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service." He became the most popular of the opposition leaders, and his "rare temper and modesty" gained him respect and admiration even in the ranks of his enemies. In the discussions of the Parliament which immediately preceded the outbreak of hostilities between Charles I. and the legislature, he was distinguished as one of the most formidable debaters. Again to quote Clarendon's estimate of the famous Puritan chieftain: "He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle and sharp. . . . the eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their *patriæ pater* (father of the country), and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded his power and interest at that time were greater to do good or hurt than any man's in the kingdom, or that any man of his rank hath had at any time; for his reputation for honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided that no corrupt or private ends could bias them. . . . He was indeed a very wise man and of great faith, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, than any man I ever knew."

When the terrible Civil War began in real earnest, the Puritan statesman, whose wise conduct during the first struggles between the king and the Parliament, that preceded the stern arbitrament of the sword, had been marked with sobriety and earnestness, with a fervent desire to arrange such terms between the king and the House as both parties could accept with honour, no longer hesitated; and seeing with the deepest concern that the life and death struggle for popular liberty could no longer be avoided, took up his sword, and accepting a colonel's commission in the Parliamentary army, raised a regiment in his own county of Buckingham. His regiment of infantry, distinguished by their green uniform, was noted as one of the most efficient in the early days of the Civil War, and its colonel as one of the bravest and most distinguished of the parliamentary officers.

Alas for both sides! that beautiful life was too soon cut off. In a fierce but comparatively unimportant skirmish with prince Rupert at Chalgrove Field, Hampden's force was victorious, but their leader was mortally wounded. Half-fainting, with his head bowed, and his hands resting on his horse's neck, he slowly rode out of

the *mêlée;* his life-work was done, and Hampden knew it. In great agony, but still with his spirit undaunted, he rode from the field to Thame. His deadly wounds were dressed, but from the first there was no hope. He wrote several letters to the central government in London on public matters, and then with a high and serene courage, the Puritan prepared for death. He received the sacrament, we read, from the hands of a minister of the Church of England; and with almost his last breath he declared, that though he disliked the government of the church, yet he agreed with the church in all essential matters of doctrine. His mind continued clear to the last, and the bystanders could hear him in his sufferings praying for the cause for which he was dying. "Lord Jesus," he said, "receive my soul; O, Lord, save my country; be merciful to——" but the object of the final prayer was never known. Was it not, probably, Charles

JOHN HAMPDEN.
(From Houbraken's "Illustrious Heads," 1740.)

Stuart? the king against whom he was in arms, but whom he would have tried to save had his life, so precious to both sides, been prolonged.*

John Milton—in whom his own age curiously failed to see what they possessed—gives us another and striking instance of the highest type of Puritanism. His career is admirably suited for our purpose, for it stretched over the entire period of what may be termed the Puritan ascendancy. He was born in 1608, and he lived some years after the Restoration. His boyhood and early manhood were passed in a time when Puritanism was becoming a mighty power and a far-reaching influence in the land. His middle age was contemporaneous with the period of its exercising supreme power amongst us. His old age was passed in those years when Puritanism had fallen into the deepest disrepute, and was seemingly, though not really, extinct.

His life may be divided into three periods. In the first he played the part of a typical Puritan scholar, thinker, and writer, of one who had attained some considerable fame and reputation—a fame and reputation, however, utterly incommensurate with his surpassing merits. In the second, as Latin secretary to Cromwell, he was ever at the centre of public affairs; nothing passed, nothing was done, without Milton seeing it, watching it, being privy to it, as the friend, though apparently never the confidant or adviser of the absolute master of the destinies of England, Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector. In the third period of that marvellous life, blind, poor, neglected, in the deepest disgrace, he wrote that for which his life had been one long and careful preparation, which has been well termed the great epic of Puritanism, "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained," now as then the chief glory of the splendid series of English religious "songs"—a series stretching over a period, roughly, of some thirteen hundred years, from the days of Caedmon and Cynewulf in the seventh century, to the days of Browning and Tennyson in the nineteenth.

We spoke of him as the typical Puritan scholar, between the years 1620 (when he was about twelve years old) and 1640-1, the date of the commencement of the civil wars. Everything connected with his training was Puritan, but in the noblest, truest sense, before the bitterness of conflict had robbed Puritanism of its loftier features; before it became that exaggerated, austere, sour, and somewhat repulsive form of religion with which we are best acquainted. Brought up in that home atmosphere of the love of things honourable and of good repute, of detestation of all that was low and base and mean; in that serious, thoughtful, though

* So Macaulay, in his well-known essay on "Hampden." Mr. Gardiner, however—"History of the Great Civil War," chap. viii. (note on page 153)—does not accept the tradition of the "Last prayer" of the great Puritan given above. He believes it to have been put into Hampden's mouth by a later writer. Be this how it may, the question does not affect the estimate formed above of the rare nobility of the man. Mr. Gardiner's summary of his character is one of ungrudging admiration. He dwells on "the impression which Hampden made on his contemporaries. Friend and foe," he says, "are of one mind in recognising his power. A thoroughly loyal man, without even the infirmity of ambition, his first and last thought was his duty to his country."

not uncheerful Puritan house of his father, the young Milton early gave fair promise of his future greatness. From the age of twelve, he tells us himself, he became deeply interested in study, and even at that early age would sit up over his books until midnight. His course of reading was wide and various, and he gradually acquired a large acquaintance with foreign tongues ; Greek and Latin and Hebrew were supplemented with French and Italian.

In Spenser, who only preceded him a very few years, and in Shakespeare, almost his contemporary, he took the keenest pleasure and delight. Spenser, in his early days, was his model ; he longed to imitate the great Elizabethan master of English song. But in common with all who received their training in the Puritan school, the Bible was his constant companion, and he became thoroughly familiar with its expressions, its pictures, its thoughts, its hopes and lofty aspirations. Our great poet was steeped, so to speak, in the imagery of the Hebrew prophets and poets, and in the lore of the later Talmudic schools. Thus carefully trained and educated, the future friend and secretary of the mighty Protector, Oliver Cromwell, the great songman of the Puritan age, has been vividly portrayed as growing up "in his father's house in Bread Street, and amongst the thoughtless, scoffing academic youth of Cambridge, breathing the highest life of Puritanism, its serious thoughtfulness, its love of all things good and honourable, its pure morality and aversion to low and degrading vice, yet with nothing exclusive or narrow-minded in him."

Like Hampden, and indeed the majority of the earlier and best school of Puritans, he was, in the days of his youth and early manhood, a loyal son of the Church of England. Disliking perhaps, as did most of his fellows reared amidst the ranks of the more rigid Protestants, some of her uses and ways, he was yet faithful and true to the great church of his country, and at one time aimed at becoming one of her ministers. The early Puritans—we are never wearied in repeating this—never dreamed of sweeping away Episcopacy, and substituting the formless chaos of Presbyterianism or the yet wilder and more anarchic "Independent" rule in its place. To Puritans like Milton—and he was, be it ever remembered, a noble and faithful representative of his party—the solemn beauty of architecture, the teaching power of music over the devout soul, things so dear to the Laudian school, were equally precious and venerable : we have taken prominent examples of things subsequently condemned with extraordinary bitterness by the party. It was only in later days, when cruel strife, bitter political passions, envenomed party spirit, deplorable errors on both sides, clouded the atmosphere in distracted England, that Milton and the Puritans came to hate the things they once had loved and ever supported, with hand and brain, with voice and pen alike. When we speak of Puritanism, and only remember the deplorable iconoclasm, the fierce devastation wrought by the Ironsides ; the stern scene at Ely, when Oliver Cromwell interrupted the solemn cathedral service ; the meditated wanton destruction of such stately houses of prayer as the cathedral of Gloucester ; the "root and branch" sweeping away of Episcopacy, we should

turn to the early poems of Milton as to a truer expression of a grander, holier Puritanism, before the fierce passions let loose by the Civil War had marred and distorted it almost out of recognition. It was Milton who, in strains which will never die while the world-wide Anglo-Saxon is spoken on earth, wrote thus in early days of the sacred music which Oliver Cromwell and his fellows scorned and loathed :

"O may we soon again renew that song,
And keep in tune with Heaven, till God ere long
To His celestial consort us unite
To live with him, and sing in endless morn of light" *

It was Milton, again, who thus wrote of our ancient cathedrals and mediæval churches, and their storied surroundings :

"But let my due feet never fail,
To walk the studious cloisters pale,
And love the high embowed roof,
With antic pillars massy proof
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.
Then let the pealing organ blow
To the full voiced choir below,
In service high, and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness through mine ear
Dissolve me into ecstacies,
And bring all Heaven before my eyes." †

The music of Milton here is perhaps more melodious, but the thought and spirit might well belong to the songs of the Anglican follower of Laud, George Herbert.

Somewhat earlier, our famous Puritan poet hymned Laud's ideal prelate Lancelot Andrewes, and pictured the great Anglican bishop entering heaven positively arrayed in the vestments of his order.‡ In his "Lycidas," put out about 1638, or a little earlier, he describes St. Peter, "the pilot of the Galilean lake," with his two massy keys of gold and iron, as positively bearing the *mitre*, symbol of the subsequently detested episcopal order, when he writes how the apostle, the friend of Christ, "shook his mitred locks and stern bespake."

Nor did the spirit of Puritanism, as voiced by its great poet in his earlier days, even shrink from using in its imagery that long-dead monasticism so hateful to the extreme reformers. We read in "Il Penseroso" such lines as—

"Come, pensive nun, devout and pure,
Sober, steadfast and demure
All in a robe of darkest grain,
Flowing with majestic train
And sable stole of cypress lawn,
Over thy decent shoulders drawn.
Come, but keep thy wonted state,
With even step and musing gait,
And looks commercing with the skies,
Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes;
There held in holy passion still,
Forget thyself to marble, till
With a sad leaden downward cast,
Thou fix them on the earth as fast;
And join with thee calm Peace and Quiet,
Spare Fast, that oft with Gods doth diet;"

thus in his picture ascribing to the "religious" of a past age, virtues which the extreme Protestants were too ready to deny the very existence of in the cloister. Again, in the concluding lines of the same "Il Penseroso," the last prayer is—

"And may at last my weary age
Find out the peaceful hermitage,
The hairy gown, the mossy cell,
Where I may sit."

Such a picture of a haven of rest would be utterly hateful to the school of Puritanism with which Milton in the days of his friendship with Oliver Cromwell was

* "At a Solemn Music," *circa* A.D. 1630.
† "Il Penseroso," *circa* 1633–4.
‡ Ecce mihi subito præsul Wintonius astat
* * * *
Vestis ad auratos defluxit candida talos
Infula divinum cinxerat alba caput.

MR. OLIVER CROMWELL VISITS MR. JOHN MILTON.
(*From the picture by David Neal.*)

closely associated. But besides this clear witness to the sympathy with which the earlier and nobler Puritans viewed the beautiful church fabrics, the ancient uses and reverent ceremonies dear to the historic Church of England, what is more important to us in forming our estimate of Puritanism in its higher and better aspects, we gather from the great contemporary poet again and again testimonies to the still, calm beauty of the lofty Puritan ideal. The austerity and severity of the Puritan morals are constantly depicted in the earlier poems of Milton. For instance, in the exquisite rhythm of his "Comus" (played in 1634), he paints his picture of the fair and innocent lady of his dreams, the example held up in a thousand Puritan homes to be copied by English maidens, in these lines:

"So dear to heaven is saintly chastity,
That when a soul is found sincerely so,
A thousand liveried angels lackey her,
Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt;
And in clear dream and solemn vision,
Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear;
Till oft converse with heav'nly habitants,
Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,
The unpolluted temple of the mind,
And turns it, by degrees, to the soul's essence,
Till all be made immortal."

He illustrates the anxious care shown in these Puritan homes for the younger scions of the house, the longing on the part of the elders that their sons and daughters should grow up into true and noble men and women. So at the close of the "Comus" we read:

"Noble lord and lady bright,
I have brought ye new delight;
Here, behold, so goodly grown
Three fair branches of your own;
Heaven hath timely tried their youth,
Their faith, their patience, and their truth,
And sent them here through hard assays,
With a crown of deathless praise;
To triumph in victorious dance,
O'er sensual folly and intemperance."

The quaint but rarely beautiful "Mask of Comus," written for the festivities at Ludlow Castle, when the Earl of Bridgewater was appointed president of Wales and the Marches in 1634, so rich in its references to the Puritan life and its high aims, closes with the following lofty thoughts:

"Mortals that would follow me,
Love Virtue, she alone is free;
She can teach ye how to climb,
Higher than the sphery chime.
Or, if Virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her."

Time passed on; in the seven or eight years which went before that sad day when king Charles set up his royal standard at Nottingham, thus declaring war with the House of the people's chosen representatives, much had happened. They had been years of unveiled absolutism; for weal or woe the Stuart king and his ministers had claimed and exercised the right of ruling, judging, levying taxes, without any Parliamentary consent or approval. The policy of Laud and the church towards the Puritans had been unconciliatory, at times even harsh—in this particular his warmest apologists confess he had been unwise; and still worse, owing to the high position Laud occupied with the king's inner circle of counsellors, the church had associated itself closely with the unworthy and disastrous policy of absolutism, so contrary to the spirit which actuated even the strongest wearers of the English crown, whether Plantagenet or Tudor. In these years the mind of Puritanism had undergone a change for

the worse. Harassed, exposed, if not to cruel, certainly to irritating persecution which threatened in the future to become more severe and desolating, the more moderate and nobler members of the party, who were loyal to, if not enthusiastic for the church, passed into open opposition.

A great change is plainly observable between Milton's writings of 1634 and 1641; and here again Milton must be the type of the nobler of his sect. In what we believe to be his first pamphlet, which appeared in 1641, when the flames of the deadly Civil War had already been kindled, a very different tone is observable. The Puritan no longer confines himself to the aiming after a higher, stricter, purer life than that too commonly lived by the world around him; no longer gently, if not ardently, sympathises with the ancient rites and ceremonies of mediævalism, with the storied church, the jewelled window, the sweet-voiced choir, the solemn organ, preserved in the Anglican church, as we have seen in the "Penseroso" lines, and in other of the earlier Miltonic poems; but appears now as the stern opponent of episcopacy, the fanatical foe of the historical ritual ever preserved in the church ruled over by Cranmer and Parker, but perhaps especially prominent in the Laudian school.

"Sad it is," wrote Milton in 1641, as the exponent of the more moderate Puritans, be it remembered, "that the doctrine of the Gospel . . through the blindness of her professors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag so downwards as to backslide one way into the Jewish beggary of old cast rudiments, and stumble forward another way into the newly-vomited paganism of sensual idolatry . . . they began to draw down all the divine intercourse betwixt God and the soul; yea, the very shape of God Himself, into an exterior and bodily form, urgently pretending a necessity and obligement of joining the body in a formal reverence and worship circumscribed; they hallowed it, they fumed it, they sprinkled it, they bedecked it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses, in palls and mitres, gold and gewgaws fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe or the flamen's vestry; there was the priest set to con his motions and his postures, his liturgies, and his lurries, till the soul . . . shifted off from herself the labour of high-soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droiling carcase to plod on in the old road and drudging trade of outward conformity." *

From this time (1641) onward Puritanism changed its character. Its nobler and grander spirits became bitter partisans, under the names of Presbyterians, Independents, Fifth Monarchy men, Anabaptists, and the like. The terrible civil dissensions of the realm and the utter defeat of the royalist party gave them a temporary ascendency, which they used with rare unwisdom. With the death of the Protector and the reaction of the Restoration, they passed seemingly out of sight—at least, out of power—though their greater and grander work in the English nation endured.

As Milton during the age of the quiet influence of Puritanism was a conspicuous

* *Cf.* Gardiner: "History of England," vol. ix., chap. xcix., who at greater length quotes this striking passage.

example of his sect; as during their brief time of supreme power in England he was equally a type of his changed and embittered co-religionists; so in his old age we may again fairly use him as an individual instance of a great but discredited party, but of a party to which England will ever owe a mighty debt of gratitude. When the defeated and once discredited son of the ill-fated Charles I. was reigning in the palace of the kings of England, in that same Whitehall which had been the scene of the cruel death of his father and of the glories of his supplanter, the Protector Oliver Cromwell, Puritanism as a power or even an influence had seemingly perished out of the land. The bodies of its great champion and of his chosen associates had been torn from their sacred resting-places in the abbey of the kings, and the mouldering remains of the mighty dead, amidst the plaudits of a people, had been subjected to repulsive degradation. Amidst all the ruin and disaster which in the course of the strange vicissitudes of fortune had happened to the cause he loved, and to the memory of the masters he honoured, Milton—the friend and secretary of Cromwell, the poet, the author of the famous apology for the execution of Charles I., a book which the Parliament of the Restoration ordered to be burnt by the public hangman—lived on, so intensely hated by the most fanatical royalists, that for a time his very life was in danger. Private misfortunes one upon another reduced him to what was almost poverty. Above all, blindness had stricken him.

It is a true picture, and one often dwelt upon by historians, which depicts the sightless, well-nigh friendless old man, after listening to a chapter from the Hebrew Bible, and playing awhile on the organ or the viol in his poor chamber in Bunhill Fields, hung with faded green hangings, his fair brown hair clustering, as in past happier days, dictating to his tired and somewhat unsympathetic daughters the lines of his immortal poems; for it was in the course of that long dark evening that the Puritan wrote the wondrous poem of his lost cause, "Paradise Lost," first published in 1667.

Its scheme has been well and tersely described as "the problem with which the Puritan wrestled in hours of gloom and darkness, the problem of sin and redemption, of the world-wide struggle of evil against good. . . . The greatness of the Puritan aim in the long and wavering struggle for justice and law and a higher good, the grandeur of character which this contest developed, the colossal forms of good and evil which moved over its stage . . . the mighty eloquence and mightier ambition which the war had roused into being, all left their mark on the 'Paradise Lost.' . . . But if the poem expresses the higher qualities of the Puritan temper, it expresses no less exactly its defects. Throughout it we feel almost painfully a want of the finer and subtler sympathies, of a large and genial humanity." *

Like so much else in Puritanism, the poems of Milton have touched and influenced English life *after* the apparent ruin of the system. Gradually, but only slowly, the Puritan epic of the "Paradise Lost" and "Regained" attained the full height of its reputation as the most popular

*Green: "History of the English People," chap. viii., section x.

MILTON DICTATING "PARADISE LOST."

(From the picture by Michael Munkacsy.

of all English poems. Its influence on English religious thought is simply incalculable. But in the lifetime of the great Puritan, and for long after, it was not so. "Waller, not Milton, was long reckoned the Virgil of the nation."* The exquisite earlier poems of the "Penseroso" and "Allegro" indeed appeared to have fallen into utter neglect; and this neglect and want of appreciation was evidently bitterly felt by the blind and sorrow-stricken Puritan poet, when in his stately and touching "Samson Agonistes," under the figure of the blind and persecuted Hebrew hero, he paints himself. Alluding to Him whom his chorus finely calls "our living Dread who dwells in Silo, His bright sanctuary," with sorrowful reproach, all conscious of his mighty power he wrote:

"He led me on to mightiest deeds,
Above the nerve of mortal arm,
* * * *
But now hath cast me off, as never known."

Dwelling again and again on his awful calamity, he moans as he recounts his many miseries:

"But chief of all,
O, loss of sight, of thee I most complain!
Blind among enemies, O, worse than chains,
Dungeon or beggary, or decrepit age!
Light, the prime work of God, to me's extinct.
* * * *
O, dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon!
Inevitably dark, total eclipse,
Without all hope of day!"

The lonely and deserted evening of Milton's life, with the sad figure of the blind and hated poet working still in his poor and shabby home, not unfitly represents the fate of Puritanism after 1660; while the subsequent power and influence of the Miltonic poems among the English race, are equally suggestive to us when we dispassionately review the effect of Puritanism upon English life and character.

As an example of the vast influence which Puritanism exerted upon the minds of the less educated, less thoughtful, we will take as our instance the author of "The Pilgrim's Progress." Born in 1628, John Bunyan sprang from quite the lower and uncultured masses, his father being a poor Bedfordshire tinker. But the religious awakening we have been dwelling on, permeated all sorts and conditions of men, in the first half of the seventeenth century. In "Grace Abounding," a kind of autobiography, Bunyan gives us a curious and interesting confession respecting the thoughts which were passing through the minds of many of the rank and file of the English people in that age, when the very atmosphere was quivering with excited religious feeling. While still almost a child in years, he tells us how visions of heaven and hell alternately charmed and terrified him: "in the midst of my merry sports and childish vanities, amidst my vain companions, I was often much cast down and afflicted in my mind therewith, yet could I not let go my sins." The sins alluded to seem to have been mostly an ordinary love of boyish games, and dancing and bell-ringing. On one occasion, he writes how in the midst of one of these sports he heard, as it seemed to him, a voice from heaven which said, "Wilt thou leave thy sins, and go to heaven, or have thy sins and go to hell?"

At seventeen, Bunyan joined the ranks of the Cromwellian "new model" army, whose officers and men were alike inspired

* Professor Blunt: "Essay on Milton."

by the religious fanaticism of one extreme phase of Puritanism; a fanaticism, however, which largely contributed to the almost unbroken series of successes in pitched battles, as in smaller skirmishes, after the "new model" army under Cromwell had taken the field against the Royalists. After two years the Civil War was finished, but the young soldier of Cromwell was more fervidly religious than ever. For a season he was continually tormented with terrible internal conflicts. He imagined himself now and again a lost creature, one who had sinned past forgiveness. Then came a period of strange visions of distant pleasant sunny hills, the Delectable Mountains he wrote about later in his wondrous allegory; and so he passed through his valley of the shadow of death, emerging at last into that bright and fair land of Beulah, which the readers of "Pilgrim's Progress" know so well. He became a Baptist preacher in the free ranks of the "Independent" Puritans, acquiring great fame as a popular orator; but even under the Protectorate the fervid Independent preacher was looked on with disfavour, as an illegal teacher. Under the Restoration he was imprisoned; an imprisonment which, owing to his refusal to promise to abstain from preaching, lasted some twelve years. It was during this long and weary time of enforced seclusion that Bunyan wrote most of those remarkable works which for more than two centuries have played a large part in the influencing and developing of the religious life among our people. The "Grace Abounding," already referred to, the "Holy War," and the greater and more important part of the inimitable "Pilgrim's Progress," were written amidst these sad and gloomy surroundings.

We must, however, pass on: ours is no life or even study of the character of this famous "Puritan of the people"; he is only introduced into our story as a typical

CHRISTIAN AND APOLLYON.
(*From the 13th Edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress,"* 1692.)

example of one phase of popular Puritanism at this momentous period, sketched lightly in to show how deeply its thoughts and aims, hopes and fears, had sunk into the hearts of one great section of the people. His most important work, the writing with which his name will be for ever associated—the allegory of "The Pilgrim's Progress"—owes its extraordinary

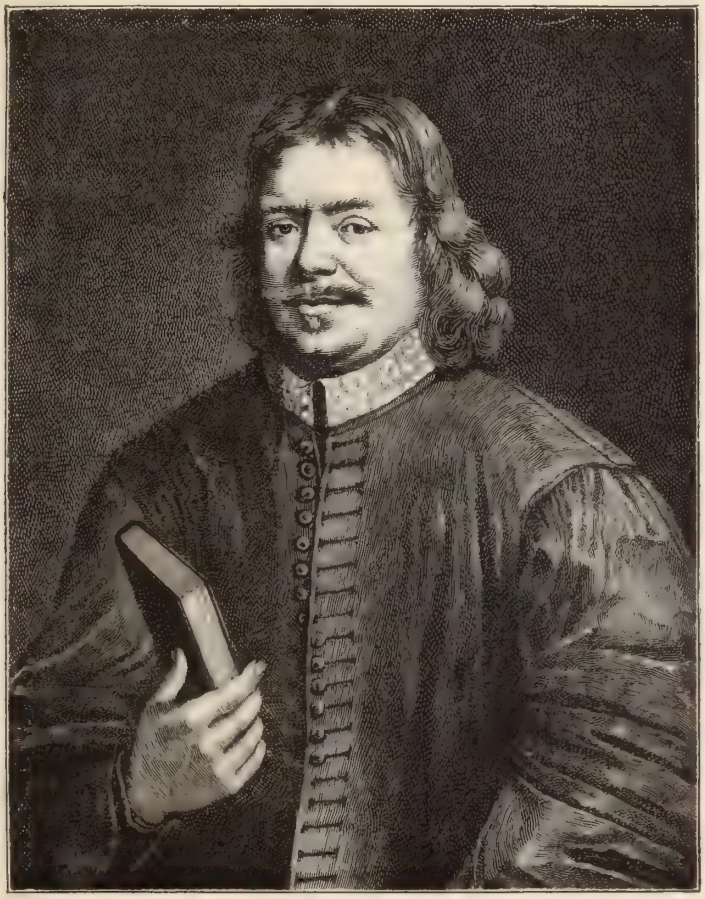
and enduring popularity, especially among the less cultured classes, to its acknowledged unrivalled power over the human heart. It is the simple story of innumerable souls longing to find peace on earth. It shows to these poor doubting, trembling ones, by means of a charming allegory, which all may understand—child and grey-haired, scholar and peasant alike—how even in this busy, anxious, tangled life, this blessed peace may be found and kept. While "Paradise Lost" and "Regained" is the Puritan epic for the more cultured few, the "Pilgrim's Progress" is the popular prose Puritan story for the more slenderly cultured masses.

It possesses most of the virtues and the faults of that great strange system which in England sprang from the Reformation, and especially from the newly-awakened study of the English Bible. It essays to teach men the way to the city of life, with no immemorial Catholic teaching to guide them, or blessed sacraments to help them. It is without a ritual, or a ceremony, uncertain, wavering, often leading to fanaticism and dire confusion; but with all its grave errors, with all its lack of that divine order and sublime reverence (*ehrfurcht*) pointed out by the principal and most revered religious teachers of every age and land as the God-given way to heaven, it has still its high use, and must not be lightly regarded or scornfully disesteemed. It has found not a few earnest souls, and we humbly believe has led, and is leading them still, to light and life and heaven. Many men, holy and humble of heart, in our Anglican communion, followers of the straitest Laudian school of ritual uniformity, use as a precious handmaid to devotion, though not as a guide, the Puritan "Pilgrim's Progress." Its enormous and unfading popularity bears testimony to the continued existence of Puritanism in one form or other among the Anglo-Saxon peoples. It is perhaps the most widely known of all English books. It is peculiarly the story for the uneducated. Its "vocabulary is the vocabulary of the common people. There is not an expression, if we except a few technical terms of theology, which could puzzle the rudest peasant," and yet "for magnificence, for pathos, for vehement exhortation, for subtle disquisition, for every purpose of the poet, the orator, and the divine, this homely dialect, the dialect of plain working men, was perfectly sufficient."* The journey of Christian from the City of Destruction to the Heavenly City was the record of the life of a Puritan like Bunyan; and thousands feel it is the record of the pilgrimage they are now making, and pray from their heart that the glad end of the story may be their blessed experience likewise.

After its publication the "Pilgrim's Progress" was at once eagerly read by one section at least of religionists in England. Bunyan died in 1688, and though only a few years had passed since its appearance, ten editions had been already sold; but although Dr. Johnson dared to say that "Pilgrim's Progress" was one of the two or three works which he wished were longer, its vast popularity was mainly confined to the poor and the lower middle classes. Even at the end of last century, says Macaulay, Cowper remarked "that he dared not name John Bunyan in his verse,

* Macaulay.

for fear of moving a sneer." The critics of our own day and time, however, with purer taste, have recognised its many surpassing excellencies, and its power over human souls; and its writer, with all his exaggeration, his quaint and somewhat barbarous imagery, his errors in theology, and his fanaticism, is generally acknowledged now as the greatest allegorist the world has seen. There is no sign that its influence among us is likely to decrease; in one form or another—acknowledged or unacknowledged—Puritanism is too deeply rooted in the hearts of the English-speaking peoples for its greatest and noblest work, the writing that with the truest pathos expresses its deepest needs, ever to be neglected.



JOHN BUNYAN.
(From the portrait by Sadler.)

In our fourth and last little study of Puritan character, no attempt will be here made to relate the story in detail of Oliver

Cromwell's career, or in any way to discuss the political issues of his work and policy. It is simply a little character-sketch of a great Puritan life, of a somewhat different type from that we have essayed to paint in the persons of Hampden, Milton, and Bunyan. Oliver Cromwell, afterwards His Highness the Lord Protector, has been well described as "a Puritan of the Puritans." In him existed all those qualities which raised this powerful reformed sect to the position of influence to which, in the first half of the seventeenth century, they attained in England. The intense, real earnestness, the deep family affections and traditions, the passionate love of the Bible as the one unerring infallible guide, the vivid sense of personal communion with God: all these things, which made up the strong Puritan character, met together in Oliver Cromwell, the country gentleman, the great soldier who developed into the yet greater captain, the profound and consummate statesman, the successful ruler.

Oliver Cromwell was born in 1599 at Huntingdon, on the borders of the Fen country in the eastern counties, ever a famous centre of those strong religionists we are just now especially dwelling upon. He belonged to a family with a great tradition of ultra-Reformation sympathies, a family which owed its rise originally to plunder derived from the dissolution of the monasteries. Its founder was a kinsman of the all-powerful minister of Henry VIII., Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex; and the Cromwell family had occupied, in the days of the absolutism of Charles I., for about a century, a considerable position among the eastern counties country gentry.

Everything connected with the early life of Oliver linked him to that peculiar school of religious thought, whose strange rise, yet stranger ruin, and subsequent influence is just now our especial theme. The whole atmosphere which Oliver Cromwell breathed in boyhood, manhood, middle age, was permeated with intense religious earnestness. He possessed a Puritan mother, a serious father, an intensely earnest Puritan schoolmaster. Of his father we know little, beyond the fact that he was a well-thought-of religious gentleman; he died, however, when the subject of our study was still comparatively young. We know more of his mother, between whom and her son Oliver ever existed the tenderest affection; and the influence of this typical Puritan lady was no doubt ever a powerful factor on the religious side of his life.

It was a quiet, beautiful character, that of the mother of the mighty soldier and statesman. Her portrait "shows us a face curiously resembling her son, the motherly form of the same type—strong, homely, keen, with firm mouth, penetrating eyes, a womanly goodness and peacefulness of expression, the genial face demurely enveloped in its flowing wimple and prim lawn kerchief."* She lived to an advanced age, and was ever near her son. In her latter days the Protector took the simple Puritan lady, who through his strange eventful life had thus been so close to him, to his new stately home in the palace of the kings of England at Whitehall. In 1654 we come across the following little details of the mother and son, in a letter of Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary of state:—

* Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chap. i.

"My Lord Protector's mother, of ninety-four years old, died last night. A little before her death she gave my Lord her blessing in these words: 'The Lord cause His face to shine upon you, and comfort you in all your adversities, and enable you to do great things for the glory of your Most High God, and to be a relief unto the people. My dear son, I leave my heart with thee; and good-night.' And so died." Against her wishes, Oliver laid his loved mother amongst the royal and illustrious dead of England in Westminster Abbey; but in the Restoration reaction the remains were torn up and flung into a nameless grave.

The beautiful picture of the Puritan's home life would be incomplete without one word on his wife, who, however, beyond the immediate family circle, seems to have exercised but little weight in the circumstances connected with the public life of Oliver. Her quiet, blameless career has ever been spared by the fierce and jealous enemies of her husband's glory and greatness and errors. A few lines of a letter of Oliver's, written in the Scotch campaign, still preserved to us, lift a corner of the veil that lies over the private life of the soldier and statesman, and shows us how tender and devoted was the love of Oliver to wife and children, as well as mother. "Pray for me—truly I do daily for thee, and the dear family. . . . My love to the dear little ones. I pray for grace for them. I thank them for their letters; let me have them often."

His father's early death recalled him when he was about eighteen or nineteen years old to take charge of the family estate, and to watch over his mother and sisters. For some ten or twelve quiet years he played the useful but undistinguished part of a country gentleman of small estate, with many family responsibilities. Carlyle in his quaint picturesque language thus paints these years: "Diligent grass farming, mowing, milking cattle, marketing; add hypochondria, fits of blackness of darkness, with glances of the brightness of the very heaven, joys and cares: we have a solid, substantial farmer of St. Ives, hoping to walk with integrity and humble devout diligence through the world; and by his Maker's infinite mercy, to escape destruction and find eternal salvation in wider Divine worlds. This latter, then, is the grand clause in his life which dwarfs all other clauses. Much wider destinies than he anticipated were appointed him on earth; but that, in comparison to the alternative of heaven or hell to all eternity, was a mighty small matter."

In the course of the quiet uneventful spring-time of his career, came to Oliver the awakening to higher aims and a nobler life, which was the mainspring of his future career. This awakening to the sense of the awful responsibility of life and its tremendous issues, was very common among the Puritans of that age. Their religious surroundings, traditions, conversations among themselves, only needed some spark to kindle the fire smouldering within them. These men, as did Oliver, often passed through a long time of inward conflict, of melancholy despondency, sometimes of almost hopeless despair; then on a sudden, out of that Bible they had been taught to read, to ponder over as a life-long study, and to regard as the written voice of God, would come light, and they would see the

Redeemer, the Helper, and the Friend, in a way in which perhaps only those who had been similarly tried and trained ever saw Him.

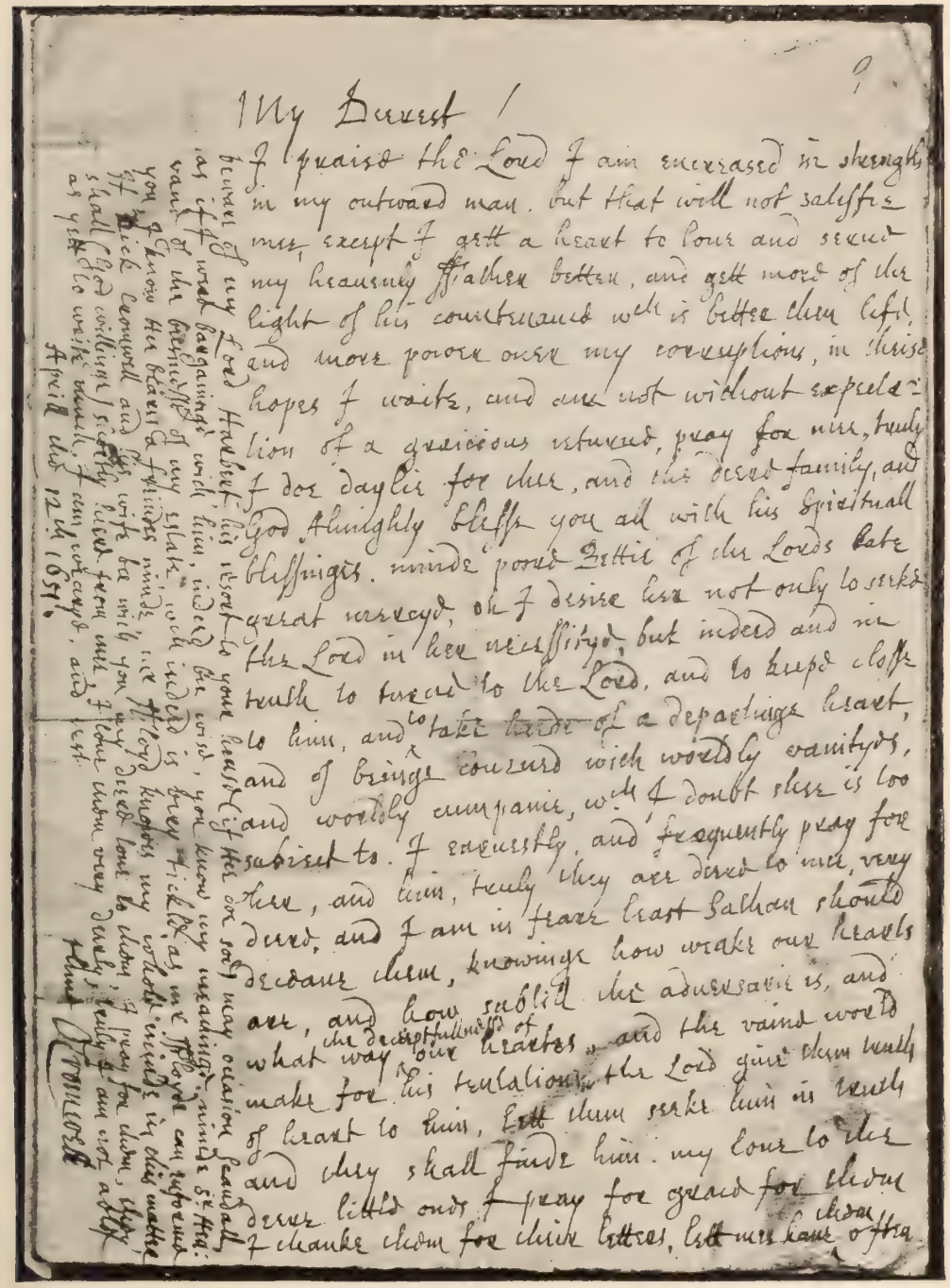
Years later, Oliver describes the sadness and the joy of that eventful hour in one of his letters. "I live, you know where. . . . My soul is with the congregation of the first-born, my body rests in hope ; and if here I may honour my God either by doing or by suffering, I shall be most glad. Truly, no poor creature hath more cause to put himself forth in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentiful wages beforehand, and I am sure that I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept me in His Son, and give me to walk in the light. . . . Blessed be His name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine ! You know what my manner of life hath been. I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light. . . . I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me. O, the riches of His mercy ! . . . Pray for me that He who hath begun a good work would perfect it in the day of Christ." *

The result of such training from infancy, such traditions, such a home, in which the Bible, with its glowing imagery, its declaration as to God's power and love, its mystic ecstasy, its teaching respecting death and life, was used as the great, the chief, the only guide—produced a class of men the like to which the world had never seen before. A phase of religion different in some respects from ordinary Christianity appeared in England — "that mighty Puritanism, of which Oliver Cromwell was the incarnation and the hero." † But Oliver was only one out of many who lived in that age ; greater, no doubt, more gifted far than any of his contemporaries and companions, but only fired as they were by the same training, the same hopes and fears, onlooks and aspirations. Among the Puritan party of the first half of the seventeenth century there were many Hampdens, Miltons, Bunyans, Cromwells, Iretons, Hutchinsons, and the like ; less brilliant, of course, less endowed with natural talents and powers, but in whose souls lived the same mighty power, and who had experienced a like awakening to the real meaning of life.

We return to Oliver Cromwell, whom we have chosen as our last conspicuous example of this wonderful Puritanism. He felt he was never alone ; he heard in every incident of his life the very voice of the Most High, guiding him, cheering him, helping him, prompting every thought, shaping every action. We have with us still a number of his letters, written to various friends, to his superiors, to his comrades, to the official chiefs of that Parliament in whose service he played the part of soldier and general. Again and again in these precious reliques we catch sight of the very heart of Oliver Cromwell. The letters are no formal cut-and-dried expressions of a faith he did not feel, or of convictions simulated for a purpose ; no mere "cant," as men are too readily prone to assume. They are intensely real, genuine, true ; they reflect the inmost soul of the man, and tell us something of the secret of the Puritan power which for a time carried all before it. In his letters or despatches to Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament, which Oliver Cromwell

* Oliver Cromwell to his cousin, Mrs. St. John, October, 1638.

† F. Harrison : "Oliver Cromwell," chap. vi.



AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL TO HIS WIFE, FROM EDINBURGH, APRIL 12, 1651. (*See p.* 111.) (*British Museum.*)

during the Civil War looked upon as the chief authority in England, he perpetually alludes to the great hand of God in all this business of the war. We get such expressions as "Surely, sir, this is nothing but the hand of God." The events, such as the striking series of victories at Marston Moor, Naseby, Dunbar, Worcester, and the like, were "marvellous, mysterious, grand, providential, even supernatural." He and his followers were "poor, despised, weak saints—instruments, nothing more—weak hands." Every success, great and small, was solely owing to the divine agency. "The Lord," he wrote, "is wonderful in these things; wonderful, wonderful," he repeats. We come again and again upon such phrases as "the gloriousness of God's work," "God's strange work," "the seals of God's approbation," "His marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester," "His crowning mercy, which God wrought at one place and the other; all this, Parliament must see and acknowledge; your instruments are poor and weak, and can do nothing but through believing."

In this stern spirit of ardent, living faith, the great Puritan soldier created the army of the Parliament, against which the gallant and chivalrous Royalists were utterly unable to stand. Cromwell's thoughts on the religious character which war and its instruments should assume, seem first to have found expression in the course of a conversation with Hampden, who was a connection of his family, his tried friend, and often his associate. Long years after, the Protector, in a speech to his second Parliament, related the incident; it happened in the early days of the Civil War, when Oliver was only captain of a troop of horse. His words possess a rare interest, for they tell us exactly what the Puritan thought of war and the combatants. "I had a very worthy friend then," he said, "and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all: Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement I saw our men were beaten at every hand. 'Your troops,' said I [Hampden was at this time colonel of a Parliamentary regiment], 'are most of them old, decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their [the Royalists'] troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base, mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them?' . . . He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one." He then went on describing to his Parliament how he carried out his plan, which was subsequently known as the "new model." "I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. And truly this is a matter of praise to God, and it hath some instruction in it: to own men that are religious and godly."

Of Cromwell's new soldiery, Baxter wrote as follows: "He [Oliver] has a special care to get religious men into his troop; these men were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and making not money, but that which they took for

the public felicity, to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant; as far as I could learn, they never once ran away from an enemy. . . . He brought this troop into a double regiment of fourteen full troops (840 men), and all these as full of religious men as he could get." Not a man of this strange Puritan regiment ever swore but he paid his fine; plundering, drinking, and disorder were sternly forbidden, and rigidly punished. On the stricken field of Marston Moor, prince Rupert gave Oliver the sobriquet of "Ironside," and from their captain the name passed to his troopers; they were men that had the fear of God, and gradually came to lose all other fear. These were the men who decided the Civil War, for upon the fashion of these Ironsides the whole Parliamentary army was eventually reorganised and formed, under the well-known title of the "new model."

But the Puritan spirit which lived in Oliver was not only displayed in thus creating an invincible body of fervid religious soldiers; it could be, as we see from the following letter of the successful hero, tender and true, full of the deepest sympathy, breathing the noblest hopes. In the midst of the hurly-burly of the campaigns which in quick succession followed one after the other in the stern, bloody Civil War, Oliver could write as follows to one of his Puritan comrades—a colonel Valentine Walton, a distinguished Parliamentarian soldier, whose son was slain at Marston Moor:

Truly England and the church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord in this great victory given unto us, as the like never was since this war began. . . . We never charged but we routed the enemy. . . . I believe of twenty thousand the prince (Rupert) had, not four thousand were left. Give glory, all the glory to God. Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died. Sir, you know my own trials this way (alluding here to the death in battle of his own loved son). But the Lord supported me with this, that the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child, full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort, that to Frank Russell and myself he could not express it. It was so great above his pain. This he said to us. Indeed, it was admirable. . . . Truly he was exceedingly beloved in the army of all that knew him . . . you have cause to bless the Lord. He is a glorious saint in heaven . . . you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up your sorrow; seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a truth. . . . Your faithful and loving brother, OLIVER.

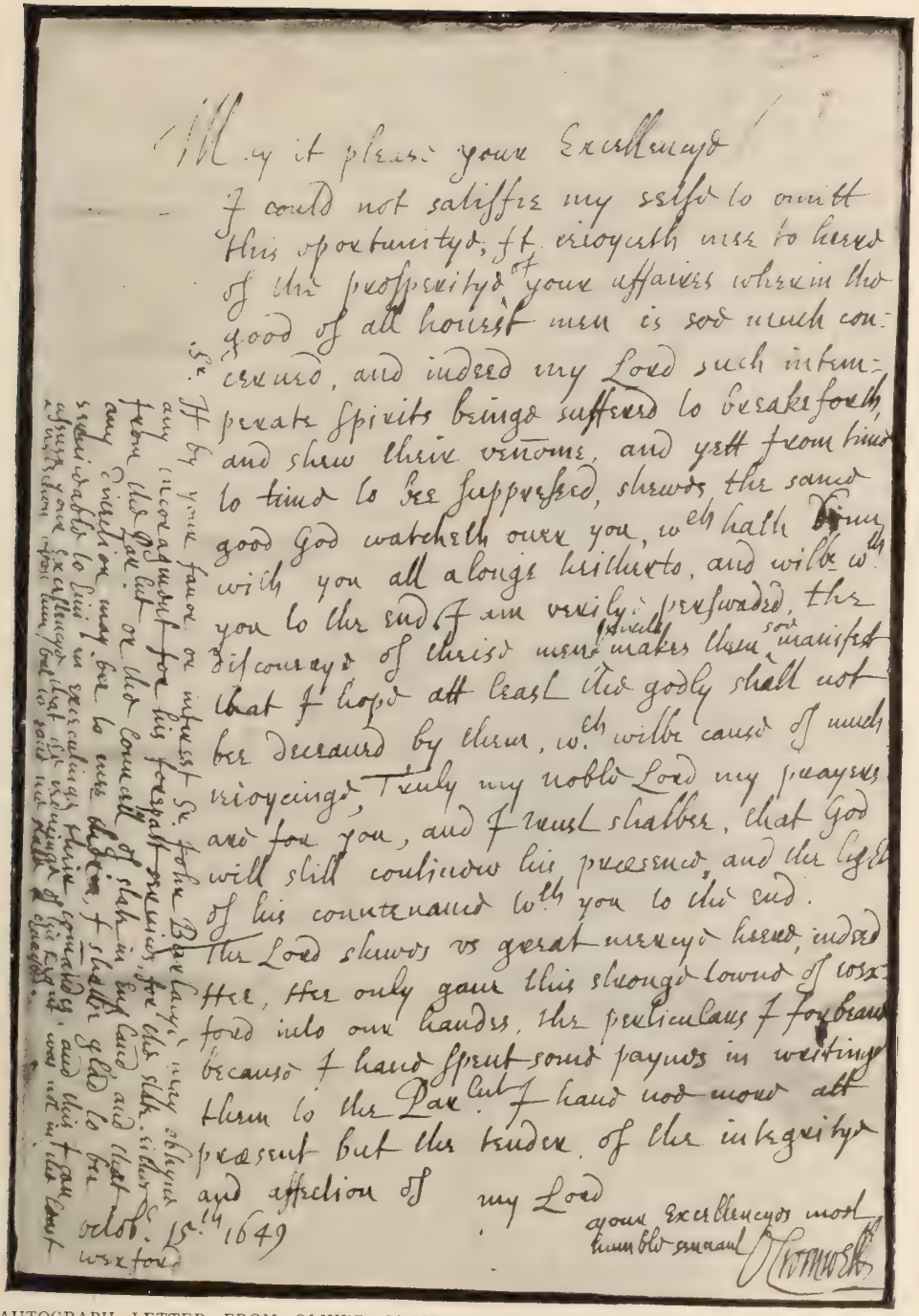
But although we have painted Oliver Cromwell as intensely earnest, as no hypocrite, as no mere vulgar fanatic, simply as an admirable example of that mighty religious sect which was playing so important a part in the drama of English political life, it must be remembered that the great Puritan was far from an ideal hero, far from a perfect saint in the lofty sense of the often misused word. His part in the execution of the king may find—does find—apologists; but although the sin may be blotted out of the Book of God's remembrance by that Blood in which Oliver, with all his errors and mistakes, trusted with so unswerving a trust, England will never forget, and the majority of serious Englishmen can never forgive the chief actor for his share in that woeful tragedy. His conduct, too, in the bloody Irish campaign, few among us will even try to condone, much less to approve. That fierce, relentless Irish bloodshed has left

behind it, alas! a wound which time has as yet failed to heal; has complicated and marred all subsequent friendly relations between England and the sorrowful and unhappy island, where the ever victorious Cromwell played so ill a part. It has left behind it a hatred which as yet no English statesman, however wise and conciliatory, has succeeded in changing into even a cold friendship and a lukewarm loyalty. It has been, indeed, a heritage of sorrow and confusion which Oliver has left to his country, as the fruits of his campaign in Ireland and desolating victory there. It is not our purpose to dwell on the confused and disturbed state of the island, when Cromwell with his Ironsides attempted its pacification. There is no doubt but that Ireland in 1649 was desolated with racial feuds, was dishonoured by shameful scenes of murder, pillage, lawless anarchy, and confusion; but what can excuse such acts of stern revenge as the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, deliberately planned and carried out by the Parliamentary general?

Of the first of these bloody deeds, Oliver in an official letter, dated September, 1649, to Bradshaw, president of the Council of State, acting under the Parliament, thus writes: "It hath pleased God to bless our endeavour at Tredah (Drogheda). After battery we stormed it. The enemy were *three thousand strong* in the town . . . we refused them quarter . . . I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants . . . I do not think *thirty* escaped with their lives." In the storming of Wexford, in his report to Speaker Lenthall, Oliver placed the loss of the enemy at about two thousand! the Parliamentary general adding some ghastly details. The great apologist for Oliver Cromwell calmly relates how he put every man of the Drogheda (Tredah) garrison to death—"I forbade them (wrote Cromwell to Lenthall) to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men"—and condones this merciless act thus: "To those who think that a land overrun with sanguinary quacks can be healed by sprinkling it with rose-water, these letters (Cromwell's reports to Bradshaw and Lenthall above quoted from) must be very horrible. Terrible surgery this; but *is* it surgery and judgment, or atrocious murder merely? That is a question which should be asked, and answered. Oliver Cromwell did believe in God's judgments, and did not believe in the rose-water plan of surgery; which, in fact, is their editor's [Carlyle's] case too!"*

Few will probably be found prepared to endorse this estimate of Cromwell's procedure in the Irish campaign; an estimate which speaks of the relentless hero of the still unforgotten terrible Irish tragedy, as an "armed soldier, solemnly conscious to himself that he is a soldier of God the Just . . . armed soldier, terrible as death, relentless as doom! doing God's judgments on the enemies of God." Puritanism, indeed, has been described, and deservedly so, in language of extravagant praise and extravagant blame, as "a form of belief which could bring out all the good and all the evil of the heart; it made some noble natures heroic, it made some

* Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii., part v., "Irish War."



My it pleas: your Excellencye
I could not satisffie my selfe to omitt
this opportunitye, ffr. rejoyceth mee to heare
of the prosperitye of your affaires wherein the
good of all honest men is soe much con-
cerned, and indeed my Lord such intem-
perate Spirits beinge suffered to breake forth,
and shew their venome, and yett from time
to time to bee Suppressed, shewes the same
good God watcheth over you, wch hath bine
with you all alonge hitherto, and wilbe wth
you to the end ffr am verily perswaded, the
discoverye of christ mene makes them soe manifest
that ffr hope att least the godly shall not
bee deceaved by them, wch wilbe cause of much
rejoycinge. Truly my noble Lord my prayers
are for you, and ffr must shatter, that God
will still continue his presence, and the lyght
of his countenance wth you to the end.
The Lord shewes us great mercye heere, indeed
Hee, Hee only gave this stronge towne of Wex-
forde into our handes, the particulars ffr forbeare
because ffr have Sprut sonde paynes in writinge
them to the Parliament ffr have not more att
present but the tender of the integritye
and affection of my Lord

your Excellencyes most
humble servant
O Cromwell

Wexforde 15th 1649

If by your favor or interest Sr. John Barclaye may obtayne any incouragment for his forepast service, ffr shall rejoyce from the heart, or the Councell of state in any thinge in my power to doe him service, ffr shalbe redie to doe it, ffr conceave he is in great distresse, ffr shalbe glad to bee assured that his excellencye, ffr shall not faile to pay unto Sr. John Barclaye, or his assignes, the sume of one hundred pounds sterling, and this ffr am assured your Excellencye will not thinke much of, when ffr tell you that ffr have not taken one penny for my paynes in this warr

AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL TO LORD FAIRFAX, INFORMING HIM OF THE CAPTURE OF WEXFORD.

Dated Wexford, October 15, 1649. (*British Museum.*)

base natures devilish."* Indeed, it might well have been described as making the nature of the same individual now heroic, now devilish, according to its temper at the time or its special environment. The consciousness, true or false, of being a chosen instrument to work out the decrees of the Almighty, confers upon a man a strange and an awful power, but a very dangerous one withal. This consciousness was the heritage of every true Puritan, and was the mainspring of Oliver Cromwell's public life.

We possess portraits on canvas, drawn by skilled hands, of this typical Puritan; we have also pictures of him painted by contemporary word-painters. Sir Philip Warwick, a Royalist, thus describes him as he appeared to himself before the Civil War: "The first time that I ever took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640 [that is, in the early days of the Long Parliament], when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman, for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the House well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a spot or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour." Sir Philip Warwick proceeded to say how later he noticed "this very gentleman appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence."

Another description we possess, painted by John Maidston, an officer of Cromwell's household and a member of his Parliaments, in a letter to Winthrop, a distinguished man, and governor of Connecticut. It is dated 1659. He writes thus: "His body was well compact and strong, his stature under six feet (I believe about two inches); his head so shaped as you might see it a storehouse and shop, both of a vast treasury of natural parts; his temper exceeding fiery, as I have known, but the flame of it kept down for the most part, or soon allayed by those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure, though God had made him an heart wherein was left little room for any fear. . . . Yet did he exceed in tenderness toward sufferers. A larger soul I think hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay than his was."

Carlyle pictures him thus in the day of his supreme power, the details massed together from contemporary pamphlets and descriptions: "His highness was in a rich but plain suit, black velvet, with cloak of the same, about his hat a band of gold—a man of strong, solid stature and dignified, now partly military carriage, the expression of him valour and devout intelligence; . . . fifty-four years old; ruddy, fair complexion, bronzed by toil and age; light brown hair and moustache are getting streaked with grey; . . . massive stature; big, massive head, of somewhat leonine aspect; nose of considerable

* Frederic Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell.

blunt aquiline proportions; strict yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also, if need were, of all fiercenesses and rigours; deep, loving eyes, looking under those craggy brows as if in life-long sorrow, yet not thinking it sorrow, thinking it only labour and endeavour—on the whole a right noble lion face and hero face, and to me royal enough."

It would be unjust, even in this brief sketch, not to say a word on the public work of that strange man who ruined the Royalists' cause, for a time apparently crushed the Church of England out of being, and punished with so terrible a punishment the mistaken attempt to force a despotism upon the English people. We have dwelt sufficiently on his grievous errors—not to use a harsher word—never to be forgotten on earth. This is no place to plead for him, still less to condemn him; but we must in all fairness acknowledge him to have been no vulgar tyrant, no mere self-seeking despot, no hypocritical fanatic. His bitter animosity to the Church of England was based on grounds deeper than the mere antagonism of an extreme Puritan. It was a hatred and distrust which was a natural part of the political creed of Oliver. The church he hated had ever been ranged on the side of king Charles. It was Royalist to the core. When the monarchy which had played so mistaken a part had disappeared, and Oliver found himself undisputed dictator in the country he had fought for, suffered for; when the church, as Oliver supposed, was wrecked, his great care as supreme governor was to restore order and prosperity in the England, which had been torn and well-nigh ruined by civil war for fourteen long years. And his work was brilliantly successful. "Most of the eighty-two ordinances passed by the Protector and his council were subsequently confirmed by Parliament. . . . Many of his measures treated of the reform of colleges, schools, and charitable foundations, for the suppression of cock-fighting, duelling, etc. In substance his legislation was a wise and moderate set of reforms. . . . He made some of the best judges England ever had. Justice and law opened a new era. Trade and commerce revived under his fostering care. Education was re-organised. . . . Men of learning of all opinions were encouraged and befriended. If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out and reward him according to his merit. . . . 'All England over, these were halcyon days,' said an opponent."*

But it was outside England that the splendour of Oliver's work was most noticeable. Clarendon, no friend to him, nobly writes here: "His greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad." It will be the Protector's proudest title to honour, that he discerned with unerring sagacity the inescapable necessity of making England supreme at sea. It was under Oliver that the chief maritime power passed for ever from the Dutch to the English. It was Oliver who found in the great seaman, Blake, the fitting instrument to carry this wise, far-seeing policy into effect, and who provided him, certainly one of the greatest of the glorious line of English admirals, with the means to make

* Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chap. xii.

England mistress of the seas. "It was hard to discover," writes Clarendon, "which feared the Protector Oliver most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries."

In his home life, in his court, in the day of his supreme power, he showed the highest example of morality. His career was absolutely free from all stain of personal interest. He made no serious attempt to found a dynasty. He made no definite nomination even of a successor. (The naming of his son Richard at the last, when his brain was clouded with mortal sickness, is doubtful.) "After his death, he knew too well, nothing which he could do would save the cause. He accepted the inevitable, and he did nothing."*

Our picture of the Puritan soldier and statesman would not be complete without some account of his last hours. Of these we possess a tolerably full and probably an absolutely authentic record, in the words of his faithful attendant.† They are transparently real in themselves, and the evidence of their genuineness never having been seriously impugned, they will give us one more proof, if such be required, of the reality of Oliver Cromwell's religion and the transparent sincerity of his faith. He was only fifty-nine when the end came — was seemingly strong and even young for his years, but in reality worn out by twenty years of incessant toil, danger, crushing anxieties. The death of his favourite daughter, the lady Elizabeth Claypole, after great and prolonged sufferings, in the August of 1658, had seriously affected the loving father; and as he watched the slow ebbing-out of the last hours of her young life, the sickness from which he never rallied stole upon him. It was a kind of tertian ague; probably the seeds had been laid long before in some of his many campaigns. George Fox, the Quaker, tells us how he saw the famous Protector riding into Hampton Park with his guards for the last time; this was in the same August. "And before I came to him," says Fox, "I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him. He looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of 'friends' before him, he bade me come to his house. The next day I went up to Hampton Court to speak farther with him"; but the Protector was too ill then, and Fox never saw him again.

A few more days of restless sickness, and by the advice of his physicians he was removed in a coach to Whitehall, the air of London being considered better for his ague and fever; this was on the 24th August. But Harvey, his groom of the chamber, who wrote the pathetic story of the end, tells us "his time was come, and neither prayers nor tears could prevail with God to lengthen out his life and continue him longer to us. Prayers abundantly and incessantly poured out on his behalf, both publicly and privately, as was observed, in a more than ordinary way. Besides many a secret sigh, . . . all which, the hearts of God's people being thus mightily stirred up, did seem to beget confidence in some and hopes in all—yea, some thoughts in himself—that God would restore him." Hope, however, in his recovery, as the symptoms grew graver, was at last abandoned. Many of his last sayings and words in these few closing

* Mr. Frederic Harrison.

† Harvey, groom of Oliver Cromwell's bedchamber; dated 1659.

days of the great life have been carefully preserved to us by the same kindly hand of his faithful attendant above quoted.

He was seldom alone; preachers, chaplains, and others being constantly in attendance. His wife and children, too, weeping, watched him constantly during those sad hours. The intense reality hope of recovery. Three times, Harvey tells us, he was heard repeating: "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God." Then he would utter words of trust and confidence: "The Lord hath fill me with as much assurance of His pardon and His love as my soul can hold." And again, after dwelling on the promises

THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL.
(*From the picture by D. W. Wynfield, in South Kensington Museum.*)

of the Puritan religion is conspicuously manifest in the touching little record. Carlyle* has gathered up a few of the Lord Protector's sayings and words out of Harvey's memoir. "Lord," the bystanders heard him say, "Thou knowest, if I do desire to live, it is to show forth Thy praise and declare Thy works." He had not as yet abandoned all of God in Jesus Christ, the dying Protector said aloud: "I think I am the poorest wretch that lives, but I love God, or rather am beloved of God. I am a conqueror and more than a conqueror through Christ that strengtheneth me."

On the 30th August, when none of those who loved him well dared entertain any hope that the life so precious to England and Puritanism would be spared, broke over England that historic storm which chroniclers dwell on with awe and

* "Oliver Cromwell," vol. iii., part x. Also see Mr. F. Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chap. xiv.; and S. R. Gardiner: "Puritan Revolution," chap. ix.

wonder. It seems to have swept across the country with howling winds and drenching rains, with a fury rarely experienced in this island, uprooting trees, unroofing houses, and scattering desolation far and wide. "The devil," said the cavaliers and Royalists, who still bitterly mourned their king and their own utter defeat, "was fetching home the soul of the Tyrant"; but little cared Oliver then for storm or curses. Very touching were his words to wife and children as they stood and watched him: "Love not this world. I say unto you, it is not good that you should love this world. No, children, live like Christians."

Two or three nights before he died he prayed the beautiful prayer which Harvey gives us, thus commenting upon it and its undoubted authenticity: "Some variation there is of this Prayer, as to the account divers give of it, and something is here omitted, but *so much is certain*—these were his requests, wherein his heart was so carried out for God and His people, yea, indeed, for some who had added no little sorrow to him, the Anabaptist Republicans and others, that at this time he seems to forget his own family and nearest relations."

THE PRAYER.

Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will come to Thee, for Thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart and mutual love, and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation, and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments to depend more upon Thyself.

Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too.

And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake.

And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure.

Amen

There is little more to tell. The long death agony from the time of his removal to Whitehall, lasted ten days. The evening before the end he was heard talking as it were to himself: "Truly God is good; indeed He is; He will not——." Then, said Harvey, his speech failed him, "but as I apprehended, it was, 'He will not leave me.' This saying, 'God is good,' he frequently used all along, and would speak it with much cheerfulness and fervour of spirit in the midst of his pain." That night—the last—he was very restless. On there being offered to him something to drink which would give him sleep, he refused, saying, "It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but to make what haste I can to be gone." A few more expressions of deep humility, but of consolation and peace, were heard by Harvey. Then he fell into a stupor, and so passed away. It was the 3rd September, 1658, the anniversary of his two great victories of Dunbar and of Worcester.

He had many warm and devoted friends, chiefly in that matchless army and fleet which he had created. But he had no successor; Richard, his son, who assumed for a brief interval his title and dignity, being but the shadow of a name. With extraordinary rapidity, in less than two short years from that sorrowful September afternoon, the whole of the elaborate machinery of government devised by the Lord Protector had collapsed; the old Stuart dynasty, in the person of the son of

the murdered king, was once more firmly re-established on the English throne; and at the same time passed away for ever Puritanism as a power—though not as an influence, as we shall see.

They gave him a funeral—the most stately, men say, ever known in this country, copying the gorgeous and elaborate ceremonial of king Philip II. of Spain, who had died on the same day sixty years before. They laid him among the kings and queens of England in the storied abbey at Westminster. Reckoned in our present money, these magnificent and more than royal obsequies cost £150,000. Round the fate of the remains of Oliver many legends have gathered. The most probable account is the one which relates how the body, after having been embalmed, was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel of the abbey—in the spot still pointed out. After the Restoration it was disinterred, decapitated, hung up at Tyburn, and the head set up and exposed for a lengthened period over the gate of Westminster Hall. A story not unworthy of credence tells how after a time lady Fauconberg was suffered to take the poor dishonoured trunk down from the Tyburn tree, and had it securely walled up in masonry in the walls of Yorkshire Newburgh. The whole story of the ghastly disinterment is a pitiful memory, and not a few of the most devoted royalists in England, who admire the colossal greatness of the Protector, while loathing his sin against his king and his terrible work in Ireland, would witness with true joy the reverent replacement of the bones of the great Puritan, should they still exist, in their abbey tomb. We do not now war with the dead.

There is nothing told in the many-coloured pages of history more remarkable than the rise of Puritanism, its victory, and its sudden fall. In the pictures we have painted of four of its typical men, it will be seen how mighty a power it must have been once among us. For Hampden and Milton, Bunyan and Oliver Cromwell, were not solitary instances of Puritanism, but, as we have already urged with great insistence, were simply examples of many thousands of the English people who had set before them "the fear of God" as the mainspring of all life and endeavour. The four only differed from the great majority of the rank and file of their party, by being their superiors in ability and in mental power.

But though this mighty Puritanism, when Oliver Cromwell died, strangely passed out of sight as an outward power, as a visible force, its spirit has lived among us ever since; not, as some writers imagine, only or even principally among the Nonconformist bodies, such as the Baptists and Independents, the Presbyterians and Wesleyans. Many of the truest and noblest Puritans, it must be ever remembered, were loyal to the Church of England. We have instanced here such men as Hampden and Milton *before* the Civil War. In some particulars those great Dissenting bodies, whose religious work and well-deserved influence among our people every true son of the Church of England gladly acknowledges, are the lineal descendants of the later Puritans. But, quite apart from those earnest and devout Protestant sects who for various reasons are unhappily not in communion with the great historic church of our land, the spirit of

Puritanism still lives and works among ourselves. It is one of the great powers for good, to this day, in the English nation. To its grave and earnest influence is owing much of the earnestness, the sobriety, the "religiousness," if we may use the word, of the Anglo-Saxon race—in a word, many of those unspeakably noble characteristics which specially belong to Englishmen, and which have contributed so much to make the Anglo-Saxon equal to the task of controlling and influencing so large a division of the world. The historian of the English people tells us in a striking passage* that "the whole history of English progress since the Reformation, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism." The assertion is possibly a little over-coloured, but in the main it is emphatically true; for on whatever side of the complex society of England in the closing years of the nineteenth century we fix our attention, we are sensible of its mighty influence.

To take a few obvious examples of this blessed, far-reaching influence. In no country of the civilised world is *woman* reverenced and respected as in England and in her daughter-lands. Among no people is the sanctity of marriage, and the holy purity of the home life, reverenced as it is with us in England; and how jealous is her church of the smallest step in the direction of any relaxation of the marriage law, in the matter of divorce and separation! Again, how proud is the entire nation of the white and stainless purity of the Court which gives the tone to all society, the Court which for sixty years has been under the sway of a distinguished and spotless queen! "The womanhood of England was nurtured in the great Protestant tradition,"* and the ideal of English womanhood was hymned first by the Puritan poet, Spenser, and even more conspicuously by the yet more pronounced Puritan, Milton, who had before him such models as Lucy Hutchinson and the mother of Oliver Cromwell, and others of the nobler Puritan ladies of his day and time.

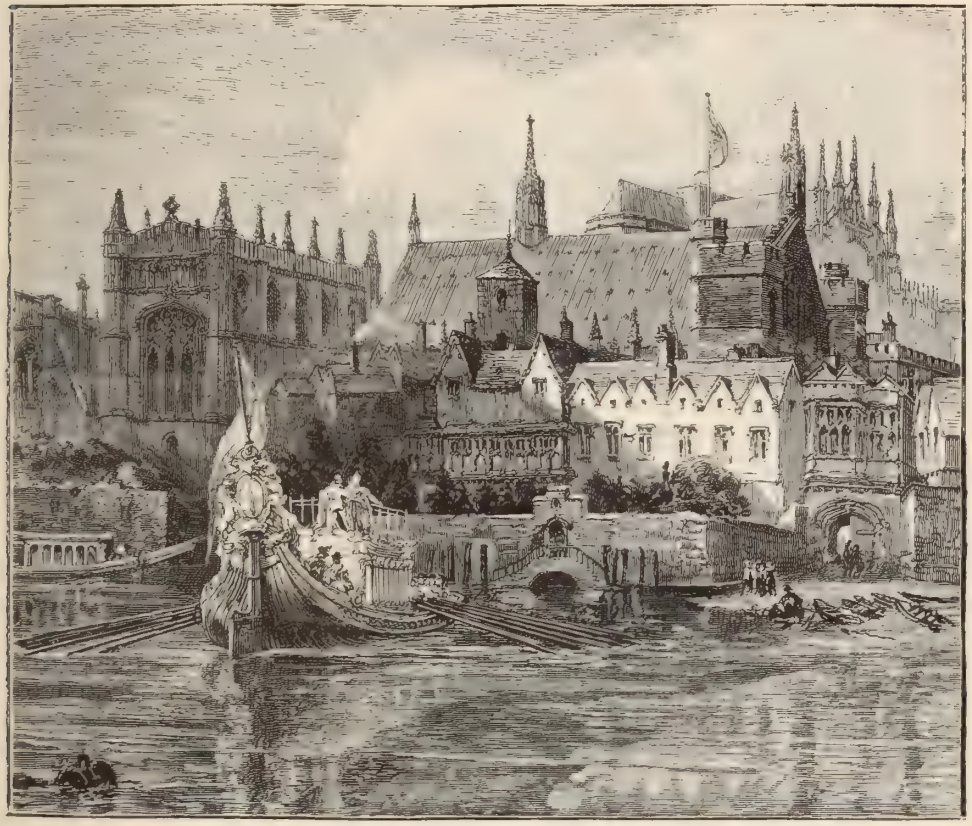
But in no department of modern life has the influence of Puritanism been more felt than in letters. In European letters it is to England that all nations resort, not only for masterpieces of literature, but for pure books in the several domains of history, romance, and poetry. In the pages of her many great historians, romancists, song-men, very rarely comes the student across a thought which would bring a blush upon the cheek of even a girl; and whenever this canon of purity is violated, the true voice of English society at once repudiates it, and the works of the offending writers are placed by public opinion in an informal but real "Index" of condemned and repudiated letters. Can this be fairly predicated to the same extent of the books of any other nation? It is the same in art as in letters. Puritanism permeates all alike.

Once more: it is the same spirit to which we owe the rigid conservation of our English Sunday; an institution often mocked at, even sneered at by continental critics, but at the same time envied and admired by the very men who now and again heedlessly ridicule it. It affects, too, all political life in various ways. The unblushing cynicism and the venality of such

* Mr. Green: "History," chap. viii., section x.

* S. R. Gardiner

a government as was Sir Robert Walpole's, utterly foreign to the true English spirit, finds no apologists, and is condemned universally with an unstinting condemnation; very rarely indeed can a flaw now be detected in the public life of our statesmen, or in the acts of their administration.



WESTMINSTER HALL FROM THE RIVER, IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I.

The very Church of England is permeated by the same influences. Her acknowledged care for the education of the poor, her devotion to the sufferings of the masses in sickness and in poverty, largely spring from the same Puritan spirit, which, hardly acknowledged, dwells as a living power in her midst. The good sense and calm judgment which, in the vast majority of our clergy, leads them to adopt that historic "middle way," the precious tradition of the Church of England, often, for the common weal, subordinating their own predilections—this one in the direction of mediæval symbolism, that one for the great simplicity loved by a Hooper or a Jewel—belongs also to that spirit of lofty Puritanism which once animated the serene soul of Hampden, and which lives along the eloquent pages of the earlier verses of Milton.

CHAPTER LXVI.

OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

Epitome of the Civil War—The Growing Conflict between Presbyterianism and Independency—Between Parliament and the Army—Pride's Purge and the "Rump"—Trial and Execution of the King—Destruction of the English Constitution—Fighting in Ireland—The "Crowning Mercy" of Worcester — Dissolution of the "Rump" Parliament — The Protectorate — Oliver's Abortive Efforts to Secure Parliamentary Government—Animosity of the Long Parliament to the Church—Its Causes—The "Root and Branch" Bill—The Westminster Assembly—Adoption of the "Solemn League and Covenant"—Abolition of Episcopacy, and Expulsion of Anglican Clergy—The Directory for Public Worship—The Two Catechisms—The Confession of Faith—Charges against Episcopal Ministers — Wholesale Ejectment and Spoliation — Anarchy in Religious Matters—The "Triers"—Evelyn's Testimony—End of the Puritan Interregnum.

BEFORE chronicling the doom which befell the Church of England during the years of the Puritan ascendancy, we must very slightly sketch the events which succeeded each other with extraordinary rapidity after king Charles I. raised the royal standard at Nottingham in 1642; an act which may be regarded as a signal that the Civil War had begun in earnest. This period, including scarcely twenty years—1642–1660—fraught with such momentous issues, may be fairly arranged into three divisions as follows :—

(1) 1642–1649, *the great Civil War*, ending with the execution of Charles I. and the general supremacy of the army of Oliver Cromwell over the Parliament and all constituted authority.

(2) 1649–1653, *the Commonwealth*, when Parliament still nominally governed, and issued orders to the army and its great general.

(3) 1653–1660, *the Protectorate*, when Oliver Cromwell was virtually dictator, until his death in 1658, when a short period of anarchy preceded the Restoration of 1660.

As regards the first period, the great Civil War, at the commencement and during the early stages of the struggle between the crown and the Parliament, the north and west of England were, roughly speaking, on the king's side, the south and east on the side of the House of Commons; but the lines of separation were scarcely ever definite. One broad line of boundary between the two opponents, however, may be held in memory. The entire district of the eastern counties, with Bucks, Herts, Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, and the cities of Gloucester, Reading, Bristol, Leicester, and Northampton, were the home of Puritanism, and were opposed generally to the king and his views of government.

In the early scenes of the war the advantage lay with the king. "The dashing cross-country rider, followed by his groom and huntsman,"* the high-spirited loyal gentlemen who followed the royal standard, were vastly superior to the *matériel* which composed the armies of the Parliament. But there was an officer serving in the ranks of the rebel army,

* Gardiner: "Puritans," chap. iv.

who quickly saw this and was able to remedy it. In Oliver Cromwell the Parliament possessed one of the great soldiers of the world. From the first days of the war he made his influence felt. "He was everywhere ; his zeal kept alive the fervour of resistance, and stirred it up when it was yet sleeping. He organised, fought, taught men how to fight." Equally great as a strategist or as a combatant, he rapidly became the mainspring of the rebel forces. His most important piece of work in the early days of the war, however, was his creation of that terrible regiment of Puritan soldiers, subsequently known as the Ironsides, which we have already described. "I have a lovely company," he once wrote ; "you would respect them did you know them." Very soon he was master of the best soldiers to be found in the two armies. In the field of Marston Moor, the first real victory over the king, the Ironsides of Cromwell decided the battle.

But while this great soldier of the Parliament was busy forging that tremendous instrument which in the end decided the event of the war, the Long Parliament in 1643 were growing uneasy at the state of affairs in the field. The general superiority of the royal forces was manifest, and they determined to enlist the services of Scotland on their side. The price they paid for this help, proved one of the principal causes of the eventual downfall of Puritanism. Scotland, before sending its trained veterans to the help of the English Parliament, insisted that England should formally adopt Presbyterianism ; and the national representatives, who in the Civil War were opposed to the king, mainly to conciliate Scotland—to win her support and the aid of her trained armies—adopted Presbyterianism as the national form of religion. It was the price Parliament paid for Scottish aid. "No Presbyterianism, no Scottish army," and the Parliament were conscious of this. The price was loyally paid, but Presbyterianism was never really popular in England. The Solemn League and Covenant was, however, signed by the members of Parliament, and Presbyterianism became dominant through the length and breadth of the England which had revolted against Charles I.

We have before touched upon the great split, which in the hour of its seeming triumph cleft Puritanism asunder, dividing it into two opposite camps, utterly irreconcilable the one to the other. There were grave reasons besides, which, if it became separated from the Church of England and adopted Presbyterianism or Independency under disguise, would have made it impossible for Puritanism to have been the form which Protestantism would assume as the established religion in England. On some of these we have already dwelt. But the immediate downfall and ruin of its short-lived supremacy was primarily, no doubt, owing to this serious split in its own ranks. For the Parliament of 1643 and the following years had another power to reckon with besides the Royalist party—in their own army, daily increasing in numbers and efficiency. This army hated Presbyterianism. In its ranks were not a few of the exiles, who, disliking the uniformity which was being enforced in the Church of England, had in past years crossed the seas to the New England of the vast, unexplored Western Continent,

but who, in hope of happier and more tolerant days, had now come back to their native land. These returned exiles, who in considerable numbers joined the Parliamentary forces, included Separatists of varied kinds—Independents, Baptists, and the like—all animated with a dislike, even a hatred of Presbyterian rule, as intense as their former antipathy to Episcopalian government. These men—and their numbers were soon increased—would serve God after their own fashion. Each congregation was to be perfectly independent of every other congregation; they suffered no government, Parliamentary or Royalist, to interfere with them. At the head of these Independents, or rather Separatists, and in entire sympathy with them, was the formidable Puritan hero who had lately arisen, Oliver Cromwell. Under his protecting influence the "Ironsides," and soon the whole army, of which he was the virtual commander and directing influence, became anti-Presbyterian.

In the spring of 1643, the lieutenant-general of the Parliament—for he had rapidly risen to this commanding military rank, and was already regarded as the great soldier of the rebel armies—wrote his famous letter to major-general Crawford, a zealous Scotch Presbyterian, in which he openly declared the position he was prepared to take up in matters of religion. Utterly opposed, "root and branch," as it has been well termed, to Presbyterianism as a narrow and tyrannical form of church government, he publicly declared himself as the patron of "Independent Puritans." The occasion of this letter was the suspension and arrest of a lieutenant-colonel Packer, who, simply on account of religious opinions, was disgraced by his commanding officer, major-general Crawford. To this Presbyterian general Oliver Cromwell sternly wrote:

> Surely you are not well advised thus to turn off one so faithful to the cause, and so able to serve you as this man is. Give me leave to tell you, I cannot be of your judgment, cannot understand if a man notorious for wickedness, for oaths, for drinking, hath as great a share in your affection as one who fears an oath, fears to sin, that this doth commend your election of men to serve as fit instruments in this work! Ay, but the man "is an Anabaptist." Are you sure of that? Admit he be, shall that render him incapable to serve the public? . . . Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies. I advised you formerly to bear with men of different minds from yourself. . . . It may be you judge otherwise, but I tell you my mind. I desire you would receive this man [lieutenant-colonel Packer] into your favour and good opinion. Take heed of being sharp against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion. . . I have not further to trouble you, but rest, your humble servant,
>
> OLIVER CROMWELL.

Very clearly in other letters and despatches the Puritan soldier chief expresses his strong opinions and views on these points. To Speaker Lenthall especially he writes: "Presbyterians, Independents, all here [in the army] have the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer; they agree here, have no names of difference; pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere! . . . For being united in forms, commonly called uniformity, every Christian will for peace sake study and do as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren, in things of the mind, we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason."

Thus began the long series of religious

PURITANS AND CAVALIERS.

(From the painting by H. Pille.)

disputes, hatreds, intrigues, between the Parliament and the army. The great general and moving spirit of these formidable men-at-arms, Oliver Cromwell, fervid Puritan though he was, was ever opposed to Presbyterianism. The victory of Marston Moor was decided by the Ironsides of Cromwell, and the ascendancy of the general and his army was becoming more felt every day. The chief commands in the Parliamentary forces were still held by the earls of Essex and Manchester, but these and other officers were regarded as inefficient, perhaps half-hearted, by Oliver Cromwell. A strange device was adopted to get rid of them. His influence in the House of Commons was sufficient to secure the passing of an act termed the "self-denying ordinance," by which every member of either House was declared incapable of holding any military command. Oliver, however, being absolutely indispensable to the army, as might have been expected, was exempted from the provisions of the "self-denying ordinance." Indeed, the whole of the rebel army was being reorganised by Cromwell and his officers on the pattern of his own invincible force of Ironsides.

The "new model" army, as it was termed, and the "self-denying ordinance," brought about a complete revolution in the affairs of the Parliamentary party. A concession was made to the Presbyterians of the House of Commons, by declaring their system of church government universal in England; but all true power was taken out of their hands, and was vested in Cromwell and his friends. Sir Thomas Fairfax was made commander-in-chief, but the real authority belonged henceforth to Oliver Cromwell, who now had in his hands an organised army of the highest efficiency, led by officers entirely devoted to him. Lords Essex and Manchester and all other peers and members of Parliament were excluded from holding any commands in the army. Presbyterianism, though nominally the system of church government established by the Parliament, found no sympathy in, and was practically disregarded by, the army and its great organiser and real chief. Early in 1645 this new state of things was finally established, and in the June of the same year, in the centre of England, the battle of Naseby was fought. So crushing was the defeat of the Royalists, it virtually closed the war. A few skirmishes, and here and there a siege, fill up the dreary record of the rest of the fatal year, but never again were the English Royalists able to gather together another army to meet Oliver and the Parliamentarians. The tone of the despatch to the Houses announcing the victory of Naseby, shows that Oliver treated himself as practically commander-in-chief, and as master of the situation in the council chamber as in the field.

In 1646 Charles, finding the situation hopeless, gave himself up to the Scots, who were then besieging one of his last remaining strongholds at Newark. We are not concerned here with the confused and tangled negotiations between Charles and the Scottish Presbyterians, which, however, came to nought. At the beginning of 1647, as the result of a shameful agreement, the Scots gave up the king to the English Parliament. A considerable sum of money, which the northern nation claimed as wages for the assistance given

to England in the late war, was paid to them. This disgraceful bargain, by which king Charles I. was sold to his inveterate English enemies, was utterly unworthy of the chivalrous Scottish nation. No doubt the refusal of the English king to support the Presbyterianism so dear to the Scottish people, determined them to surrender him, but no excuse can ever palliate the deed of shame. More negotiations were now set on foot between the Parliament and the king, who was confined in Holmby House in Northamptonshire; indeed, at this time dread of the enormous power of the army and its great general disposed Parliament to attempt to come to terms with Charles. Oliver, however, solved the question by forcibly taking possession of the king's person and placing him under safe custody.

The three years following the defeat of Charles I. to his death at Whitehall (1646–1649), have been well described as "the most intricate and obscure of the Civil War." We shall in this brief historical survey not attempt to follow them up with any detail, but shall only indicate the principal events. The struggle now really was between the Parliament and the army. The Parliament was pledged to support Presbyterianism, and the army was equally determined to prevent Presbyterian domination. The Parliament was fully aware of the terrible power of the instrument they had called into being, and was even ready to come to terms with the sovereign they had humbled, if by these means they could destroy the influence of the great soldier, and ward off the drastic political and religious changes which they foresaw would be carried out against their will in the near future. The condition of their submission to the crown, however, was the acceptance of Presbyterianism by Charles.

As the event showed, the army under its mighty chief, who proved himself to be as wise a statesman as he was a great soldier, was too powerful to be dictated to or even influenced. Once more Scotland and its army for a brief moment seemed to hold the key of the position. The Scottish Presbyterians, alarmed at the prospects of Presbyterianism in England if the army and Oliver Cromwell were suffered to gain the upper hand, again entered into negotiations with the captive king, and the result was the breaking out of what is termed the second Civil War. A great army, consisting of some 17,000 Scots and 7,000 Royalists of the northern counties, poured into England. The campaign was conducted with little skill, and Oliver Cromwell, with a force little exceeding 9,000, but composed of veterans trained in many a fight, engaged the Scottish and English forces as they aimlessly marched southwards. The fight continued for three days. It is known as the victory of Preston, though the battle was spread over more than thirty miles of country. Oliver was completely victorious. Ten thousand prisoners were taken, and a vast number were slain. This closed the short but decisive campaign.

In the meantime Parliament was more determined than ever to carry out its own policy of enforcing the tyranny of Presbyterianism. The Commons issued, in opposition to Oliver Cromwell's known wishes, a fierce statute for the suppression of blasphemies and heresies. Death was appointed as the doom in some cases, prison

in others. The latter penalty was to be inflicted on any who asserted that "the church government by Presbytery was anti-Christian or unlawful." Again negotiations between Parliament and the king were set on foot, and towards the end of 1648 the Commons openly declared for a reconciliation with the king. Oliver was still in the north, but the southern army under Fairfax and Ireton, "his other self," acting no doubt under the direction of the great chief, marched upon London and quickly surrounded the "House," and a regiment under Colonel Pride forcibly ejected some hundred or more of the leading Presbyterian members. This was known as "Pride's purge." Other members absented themselves; in all, 146 members were excluded from the proceedings of the "House," and the remnant of the Long Parliament who remained were known as the "Rump." Henceforth this Parliament was simply the obedient instrument of the army and its mighty general, who now played the part of military dictator.

The "Rump" now simply carried out the will of Oliver and his officers. A resolution was passed to bring the captive king to justice, and he was brought, strongly guarded, to Windsor. On the 1st January of the following year (1649) a high court of justice, numbering 135 members, under the presidency of an eminent lawyer, John Bradshaw, was appointed by the remnant of the Commons to try the king. The few lords who still sat as a House, refused to take part in the proceedings. The Commons upon this at once declared that "the people are under God the original of all just power; that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled . . . . have the supreme power in the nation; that whatsoever is enacted by the Commons hath the force of a law, although the consent and concurrence of the king and the House of Peers be not had thereunto."

No time was lost in bringing the long-meditated deed to a conclusion. On the 21st January, 1649, the trial of the king commenced at Whitehall, only sixty-seven, however, of the 135 appointed members being present. The king refused to plead, denying the competence of the court. It was therefore simply a formality, the conclusion being a foregone one. On the fifth day of the trial he was condemned to death as a tyrant, a traitor, and an enemy of the country. The barbarous sentence was carried into execution on the 30th of the same month. The scaffold, erected in front of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, was guarded by a strong military force, while all around the streets and roofs of the houses were crowded with spectators. The Banqueting House built by Inigo Jones is still with us, the solitary remains of the famous palace of the kings of England; the window out of which the king passed to the temporary scaffold is still pointed out with tolerable certainty.

The behaviour of the fallen monarch on the scaffold, and as he waited during the last two or three sad days for the supreme hour, was characterised—his friends and foes bear a like testimony—by all the graces which belong to a chivalrous Christian gentleman. No harsh, vengeful words seem to have passed his lips; calm, courageous, and dignified, hopeless as regards this present, passing world, he rejoiced in the larger, grander hope with a

CHARLES I. ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION

(From the picture by Ernest Crofts, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Hildesheimer & Co.)

perfect, unshaken confidence, and died without a murmur, with that serene courage which he had inherited from a line of sovereign princes stretching over well-nigh a thousand years. When the masked executioner lifted up the head, which fell at the first stroke, and the vast crowd looked on the well-known beautiful features, pale and blood-streaked, of their king whom they had allowed to die, a groan of sorrow and dismay burst from the silent multitude. In foreign lands the execution excited even greater indignation than in England, where the long fierce wars had sadly familiarised men's thoughts with deeds of blood and vengeance. The death of the English king was viewed with burning indignation alike amongst the Protestant and the Roman Catholic nations of the Continent.

When the head of Charles I. fell on the scaffold at Whitehall, the ancient constitution of England was destroyed. The king and the Lords were gone, and the House of Commons was simply a docile instrument in the hands of the formidable military leader, who was virtually now dictator. A Council of State was created, composed of forty-one persons chosen from the Parliament and officers of the army, the obedient Parliament registering its decrees; this government, known as the "Commonwealth," bore sway in England from 1649 to 1653. But Oliver was the guiding spirit. His acts in respect to the Church of England will be presently related. His first pressing work was the subjugation of Ireland. We have already touched, in our sketch of the Puritan soldier, upon this terrible campaign. The Irish task was sternly and cruelly, but, from Oliver's point of view, thoroughly done. Ireland was no longer a danger to the peace of England. When the conquest was completed, "three out of the four provinces of Ireland were confiscated for the benefit of the conquering race."* This was fully carried out in 1652 by the stern lieutenant whom Oliver left behind him in Ireland to complete his work.

Yet another danger still existed, which only the splendid military genius of Oliver could cope with. Throughout the Civil War, Scotland with its well-trained army had played a considerable part, now siding with the Parliament, now ranging itself on the side of the king, as the chances of its loved Presbyterianism rose and fell among the Parliamentarians and the despairing Royalists. In Oliver Cromwell the Scotch knew well that Presbyterianism had no friend. In 1650 the Scotch adopted the cause of the young prince, Charles II., who, for the sake of their support, swore to the Presbyterian covenant. This constituted a grave menace to the peace of England, where, as Oliver well knew, a large Royalist party, broken and disorganised though it was, existed. There was a short, sharp campaign; but as usual the surpassing military genius of Oliver gave him the victory, and at Dunbar the Scottish army was well-nigh annihilated. The danger was not yet, however, overcome. Another force of considerable numbers, the young king with them, pressed into England, hoping that many Royalists would join them. But England was exhausted with the long warfare, and the Royalist party were hopelessly dispirited, and only few

* Gardiner: "Puritans," chap. viii.

joined the standard of the young Charles. The Scottish forces penetrated as far as Worcester, where Oliver came up with the invaders. The result is well known. The hapless Scottish army was destroyed. Charles escaped, and became a fugitive and exile for many years. Oliver termed the Worcester fight "a crowning mercy." He had reason so to style it; never again had the Puritan soldier cause to draw his victorious sword. England, Ireland, Scotland were alike at his feet. Worcester was fought and won September 3rd, 1651.

Abroad, the Commonwealth was engaged in a dangerous war with the Dutch, a war that sprang out of disputes concerning foreign trade. The English navy had for some time been growing into a formidable power, and this war would decide whether England or Holland was to be the mistress of the seas. Both powers possessed admirals of no ordinary ability; Van Tromp and De Ruyter will ever be honoured names in Dutch story, while Blake in England can never be ignored as the founder of her surpassing maritime greatness. The war for a long time dragged on. There were no startling victories on either side; but on the whole England slowly gained the upper hand, and gradually drove the Dutch from the seas, where they had long reigned supreme.

At home, the "Rump," as the pitiful remnant of the Long Parliament was termed, was becoming more and more discredited. Its members were accused, probably with reason, of corruption; Oliver urged them, but in vain, to dissolve and to provide for the election of a new Parliament. At last they proposed an iniquitous bill of dissolution, which would secure the sitting of the present members in the new Parliament. Upon this, at the head of an armed force, the military dictator ejected them forcibly from the "House." This was in 1653. The Council of State was dismissed the same day, and three days later appeared an "*apologia*" for the strange arbitrary deed, in the form of "a Declaration of the Lord-General and his officers." The substance of it was, that as the late Parliament were seeking to perpetuate themselves, they had been necessitated to put an end to it. The nation, including the army and navy, quietly acquiesced in Oliver's high-handed procedure, and the whole machinery of state now officially passed into the hands of the dictator, whose will for several years had been all-powerful, though the semblance of a Parliamentary government had been preserved.

Thus the Long Parliament came to an end. The same year, wishful apparently to preserve some of the constitutional framework, the general and a council of officers gathered together as a Parliament a body of 140 Puritan notables, names mainly suggested, it would seem, by the "godly clergy." Some were men of rank and position; some were soldiers or sailors, as Monk and Blake; others were extreme types of Puritan sects. In derision they have been called the Barebones Parliament, from the name of one Praise-God Barebones, who sat in it. In less than half a year (December, 1653) the members resigned their powers into the hands of Oliver. In the same month (the December of 1653) the leading officers of the army (of course, under the same inspiration) drew up an "Instrument of Government"—in other

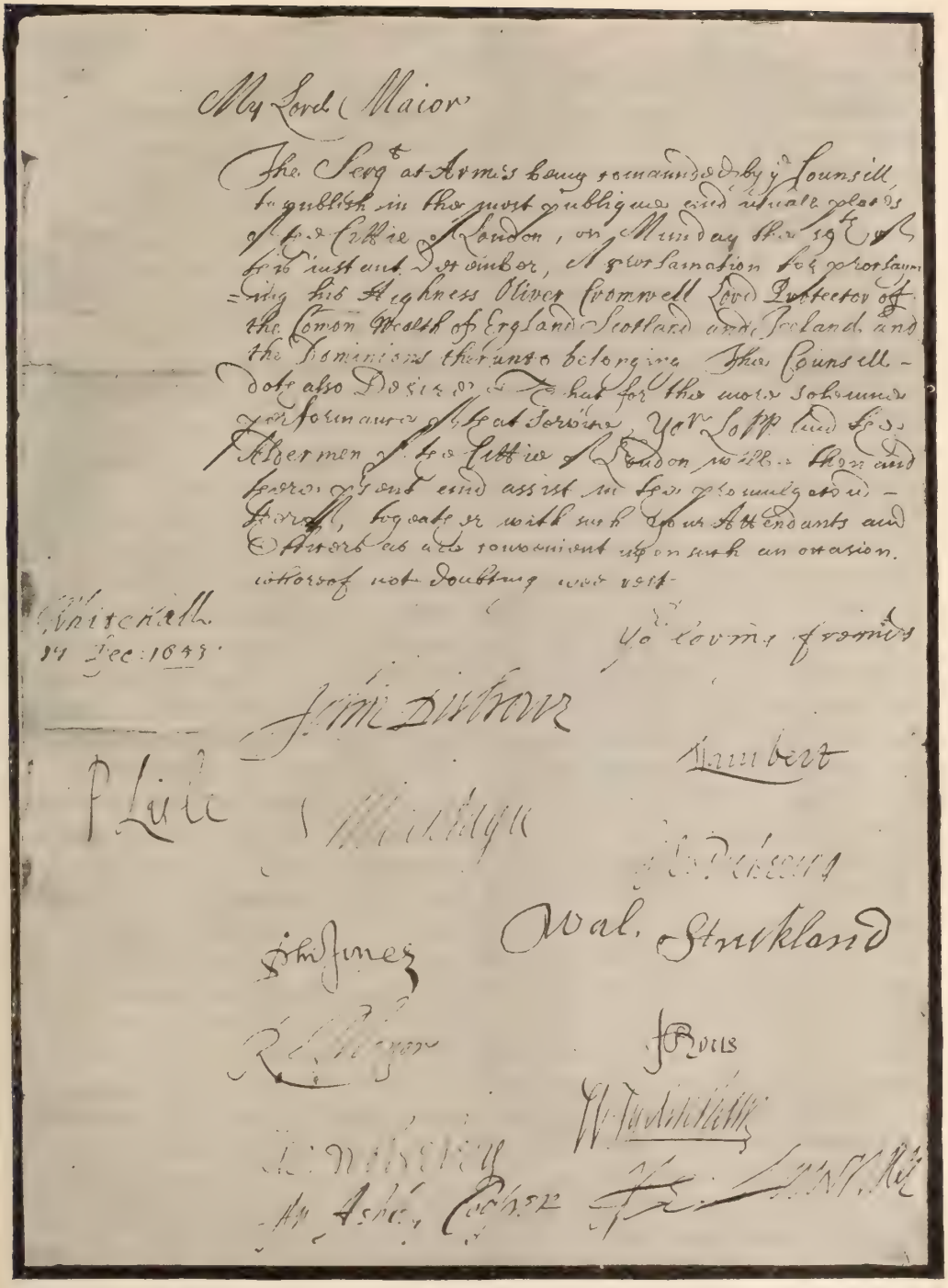
words, a "Constitution"—which provided for an elected Parliament, of one House only, with the executive power placed in the hands of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector. Under this title Oliver now ruled England as absolute master until his death in 1658. Opposed to this formal assumption of sovereign rule were a little knot of stern Puritans, to whom "revolution meant Republican equality; but he had with him the Puritan rank and file, the great majority of the superior officers, all moderate men of every party who desired peace, order, good government; the great cities, the army, and the navy. With these and his own commanding genius he held his own triumphantly, slowly winning the confidence of the nation by virtue of unbroken success and (as it seemed) miraculous fortune."*

Twice during this period of the "Protectorate," which lasted not quite five years, he essayed the experiment of a Parliament, ever anxious to preserve the framework and the fiction, for in his day of power it was little more, of constitutional authority. But the experiment was not a success, and a dissolution followed not long after the assembling. Once, in 1655, symptoms of a dangerous hostility to his government manifesting themselves in different parts of England, he instituted a system of provincial governors known as that of the major-generals, ten in number; but the insurrectionary spirit dying down, these quickly disappeared. This second of the Protectorate Parliaments pressed upon him the title of king, urging him to assume the crown. Oliver, however, refused. His premature death, when only fifty-nine years of age, has been already dwelt upon. It was totally unexpected, for the Lord Protector was still vigorous in mind and body, and apparently, when his fatal illness seized him, had years of life before him.

We have sketched these few dry details of a period of rare and peculiar interest, because without them it would be impossible to grasp the idea of the total seeming submergence of the church; only for a brief space of time, it is true, but it was a terrible experience. In the days of the Long Parliament, when the solemn league giving over England to Presbyterianism was signed, when Laud's head fell on Tower Hill, and a few years later, when king Charles I. followed his faithful friend and archbishop on the same stern road of death and shame; in the days of the Commonwealth; in the splendour of the Protectorate, when every variety of religious practice save the solemn ancient use of the Church of England was legalised and fostered, it would have been a daring man who would have ventured to predict the restoration of that immemorial church to her ancient place and power. It seemed to men's eyes, as we have said, hopelessly submerged. And yet within two short years after the stately obsequies of Oliver the Protector at Westminster, our task will be to chronicle its restoration to its old position of power, and influence on the church of the nation.

Very deeply should the student of the annals of the Church of England ponder over this story of Puritan England and the lives of the great Puritans. The most loyal lover of his church, who believes with unshaken belief that the weal of England,

* Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chap. xi.



ORDER IN COUNCIL TO THE LORD MAYOR DIRECTING HIM "AND THE ALDERMEN OF THE CITTIE OF LONDON . . . . TOGEATHER WITH SUCH YOUR ATTENDANTS AND OFFICERS AS ARE CONVENIENT UPON SUCH AN OCCASION" TO ASSIST IN THE PROMULGATION OF "A PROCLAMATION FOR PROCLAYMING HIS HIGHNESS OLIVER CROMWELL LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMON WEALTH OF ENGLAND," ETC., "IN THE MOST PUBLIQUE AND USUALL PLACES." *(British Museum.)*

her happiness and her grandeur, are inextricably bound up with the maintenance of the immemorial church built up by Anglo-Saxon and Norman, and purified by the fathers of the Reformation, has much to learn and some things to unlearn from the Puritan story. He must remember, if he is wise, that the voice of Puritan England spoke from many centres, out of many homes. It is speaking still. It is a voice which should never be lightly regarded or contemptuously put aside. Exaggerated perhaps, mistaken certainly in its reading of much of the teaching of primitive Christian antiquity, Puritan complaints and dissatisfaction are still often weighty, and should never be lightly disregarded. Oh that men possessed a wise and understanding heart! How many of our dissensions would disappear!

The study of Puritan England and its story has another teaching, however, and one which holds in its pages a strangely deep comfort for the loyal son of the church. The English Church, closely identified with the policy of the crown, perished, so far as the human eye could discern, in that great shipwreck of the monarchical institution which followed the termination of the Civil War. The old feudal monarchy disappeared for ever; and when the king came back, it was to a sovereignty very different from that wielded by the Plantagenets, Tudors, or the first two Stuart kings. But there was no such change observable in the church of the Restoration period. Some slight changes there were, to be noticed in due course. But it was still the old church of Andrewes and Hooker, Parker, and Jewel—the church which these great divines received as a precious heritage of many former generations. The wonderful vitality of the established church is what is specially noteworthy here. She was persecuted, crushed, proscribed, utterly ruined, and destroyed, as far as the human eye could discern. As for her priests, they were thrust out with ignominy; as for her churches and cathedrals, they were taken from her, partially desecrated, and given to others, and yet the Establishment lived on. There was *that* in her which was indestructible.

The picture which has been drawn of Oliver Cromwell as a mighty Puritan of the extreme type; the notice of the same heroic figure in the necessarily brief account of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, will serve to show what an antagonist met the Church of England in her hour of extreme peril. It is no exaggeration which recognises in Oliver Cromwell at once the ablest statesman and the most successful general of the long line of soldiers and rulers chronicled in the pages of English history. The most pressing political reasons, and religious animosity sharpened in bitter and relentless warfare, both contributed to the hatred which Oliver felt and showed to the church of Laud and Charles; and yet, with all his will to harm it, even to destroy it, a will backed by the unchecked power of a dictator, and guided by one of the keenest and most brilliant intellects ever possessed by man, he strangely failed. The roots of the church were too deeply entwined in the homes and hearths of England for even an Oliver Cromwell permanently to harm her.

The fierce animosity against the Church of England displayed in that famous

House of Commons known generally as the Long Parliament, requires some explanation. That it did not at all represent the real mind of the nation, is clear; first, from the overwhelming mass of petitions from different counties of England and Wales sent up to Parliament in the course of the year 1642, deprecating any radical changes in the constitution of the church, which from the temper of the House many felt were impending;* and secondly, from the quiet but generally hearty welcome with which the restoration of the church was received on the downfall of Puritanism, when the strong hand of the Protector was removed by death.

There is no doubt that Laud, true and earnest churchman though he was, and great though his services to the historic Church of England are now recognised to have been, was often unwise and arbitrary even in his ecclesiastical measures. With extraordinary pertinacity, for instance, he pressed the use of bowing to the east end of the church, where, owing largely to his wishes, the holy table stood altar-wise. In vain the great advocate of church order explained the meaning of this use. It was liable to grave misunderstanding; and the thoughtful, moderate churchman cannot help regretting that so much opposition should have been excited on a point, which even Laud himself allowed was one of quite secondary importance. The mode of reception of the Eucharist, the position of the holy table, the rails placed round it as greatly increasing the reverence which emphatically should surround the most holy rite —these things no doubt also excited opposition in many minds; but in them was something worth a struggle, and most churchmen acknowledge here the deep debt which the Church of England owes to Laud.

But after all, none of these matters were really the root of the bitter feeling against Laud, and the church in which he was the representative figure, manifested by the Long Parliament. Laud was identified, and alas! but too justly, with the unhappy policy of absolutism, pursued with such unbending determination by Charles I. and his ministers. In the hateful tribunals of the Star Chamber and High Commission, Laud and his friends were the most prominent figures. The archbishop also shared with Wentworth (Strafford) unenviable notoriety as one of Charles's principal and most influential and trusted ministers.

In the early days of this Parliament (1640–41), before the final breach with the king, this spirit of animosity was very apparent. Sir Benjamin Rudyard uses these words: "We know well what disturbance hath been brought upon the church for vain petty trifles, how the whole church, the whole kingdom, hath been troubled where to place a metaphor—an altar." Mr. Bagshaw, inveighing against the obnoxious tribunals, spoke as follows: "When I cast my eyes upon the High Commission and other ecclesiastical courts, my soul hath bled for the many pressures,

* Hallam ("Constitutional History," p. 527; note) thus writes: "I have a collection of these petitions, printed in 1642, from thirteen English and five Welsh counties, and all very numerously signed. I observe in almost every instance they thank the Parliament for putting a check to innovations and abuses, while they deprecate the abolition of Episcopacy and the liturgy."

which I perceive to be done and committed in these courts against the king's good people." Lord Digby complained of the new oath imposed upon the clergy, and spoke very strongly against the proceedings of the last Convocation, and especially was irate with the "*et cætera*" oath. Sir John Culpepper went into matters of detail connected with "the divers new ceremonies in matters of religion, such as placing the communion table altar-wise, and bowing or cringing towards it, the refusing of the Holy Sacrament to such as refused to come up to the rails." * These attacks were followed by the committal to custody of Laud, and by his impeachment, which followed soon after.

Early in 1641 the Commons made an order that commissioners should be sent into the counties to demolish and remove from churches and chapels all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and the like. Following the tragedy which ended Strafford's life (1641), the drastic "root and branch" Bill, as it was termed, was drafted and introduced into the Commons. This destructive piece of legislation provided for the doing away with bishops and their officers, for the abolition of deans and chapters, archdeacons, and prebendaries of the cathedrals. This Bill, however, did not become law until a later period. A committee of religion was nominated in the House of Lords, for the purpose of considering the doctrines and ceremonies of the church. Amongst other points which they reviewed and condemned were canopies over the holy table, credences or side tables, candlesticks on the table. Other objections to the Prayer-book were also made. In the middle of the same year (1641) the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were abolished, the king assenting to this. It was now that the more moderate and earnest of the Puritans threw in their lot with the party of destruction, and we find such men as Milton using his pen in the controversy, which was being wildly carried on, for the destruction of the episcopacy.

This question of the abolition of the episcopacy continued to be fiercely discussed. A vast number of petitions, the result of Puritan agitation, were sent up to the House. These, however, were largely counterbalanced by petitions on the other side; but the political horizon grew darker and darker, and the church and the bishops became, as the months passed on, more the centre of the attack among those who were opposed to the king. London especially was distinguished for its fierce animosity to the church. Towards the end of 1641 the position of the prelates in the House of Lords became untenable, and the bishops were compelled to fly for their lives. They drew up a protest, declaring all legislation in their enforced absence illegal. Their protest excited great indignation, and a Bill was passed removing them from the House of Lords. To this Bill the king weakly gave his assent. In the January of the following year (1642) things came to a crisis, king Charles quitted Whitehall, and the great Civil War began in real earnest.

We have already alluded to the Royalist superiority in the early period of the

* Canon Perry: "History of the Church of England" (second period), chap. xxviii.

PURITANS.

(From the picture by Edgar Bundy, R.I., by permission of the Artist.)

contest, and have mentioned how the Parliament, uneasy and restless, dreading defeat at the hands of an incensed and possibly a vengeful sovereign, called in the help of the Scots, who possessed a trained and disciplined army. Under the influence of these fears, with a view no doubt of conciliating the Scottish people, the "Root and Branch" Bill above described, which swept away the entire Anglican hierarchy, and made way for the introduction of Presbyterianism, was passed, but was voted evidently with some misgivings, and it was arranged that the tremendous and destructive provisions were not to come into force for a year; hope still lingering among many that a peace might yet be arranged with the king, and that then the "Root and Branch" Act would of course, as no royal assent had been given, not possess the force of law, and would be quickly forgotten. But the war, alas! went on; and as the advantage still continued on the side of the Royalists, the assistance of the Scots became, as time went on, more and more urgently necessary to the Parliament.

It was under the pressure of this urgent necessity, that in the June of 1643 an ordinance of Parliament summoned the "Westminster assembly," a body designed as a substitute for Convocation. This famous assembly consisted of 121 "godly and learned divines," and 30 laymen. The object for which they were called together is stated in the preamble of the ordinance—"The present church government is evil and burdensome to the kingdom and a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, it is to be taken away, and such a government settled as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word . . . and nearer in agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad." The assembly began its duties with a revision of the "Articles." The changes here were not many or of great importance; the real work began when the Scottish commissioners arrived. These pressed, as the price of assistance from Scotland, the acceptance by the Westminster Assembly and by Parliament of "the Solemn League and Covenant." This drastic and destructive document had been drawn up in Scotland as early as 1638; in it the signatories solemnly pledged themselves to the extirpation of prelacy—that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officials.

The need of Scottish help in the Civil War at this juncture was urgent; and after some delay the House of Commons and the Assembly agreed, with considerable reluctance on the part of many, to accept the Covenant. It was directed to be read in all the London churches, and eventually this most tyrannical "covenant" was ordered to be taken by every person in England above the age of eighteen, and came into force in the February of 1644. The Solemn League and Covenant, the price of the Scottish assistance, was the result of the earnest desire of the northern clergy for the assimilation of the English to the Scottish Church. "The English," it is said, "were for a civil league, the Scotch for a religious covenant." The covenant was drawn up on the lines of the Sottish national covenant of 1638. A vow

was adopted in common by both—"that we shall all and each of us sincerely . . . endeavour the preservation of the true Protestant reformed religion in the Church of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, and the reformation of religion in the Church of England *according to the Word of God* and the example of the best reformed churches, and as may bring the churches of God in both nations to the nearest . . . uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechising, that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love." Other clauses provide for the abolition of episcopacy in England, the maintenance of the rights of the two Parliaments, . . . and the "bringing to trial of incendiaries and malignants."* The Solemn League and Covenant was adopted in Scotland in August, 1643, and by the Westminster Assembly and Parliament in the autumn of the same year.

During the Civil War this Presbyterian legislation was put into force, as the Parliamentarian forces obtained the upper hand, in all parts of England; and most of the Anglican clergy were ejected from their cures and benefices. Before the end of 1643 many had been driven out. We read of some thousands of churches vacant. Allowing for some exaggeration in such a statement, there is no doubt but that a wide-spread desolation was the result of the adoption of the Scotch "Covenant."

* Cf Gardiner: "History of the Great Civil War," chap. xi. The words in *italics*, objected to by the Scots, were added to the original Scottish draft by Vane. They appear in the form of the Covenant adopted in relation to the coming reform of the English Church.

Episcopacy being now destroyed by Parliament, committees were appointed to examine candidates for ordination, and to ordain them by imposition of hands. Thus a form of Presbyterian government was established. Milton, who at this time had become an extreme Puritan and an ardent adversary of Anglicanism, calls attention to the greed and avarice of some of the Presbyterian divines in this period of confusion and distress. These self-seeking men seized upon the best and more important of the vacated preferments for their own use. He writes of these plunderers as follows:—"The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down with great show of zeal the avarice and pluralities of bishops, and how one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever. Yet they wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, to seize into their hands sometimes two or more of the best livings, collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the City, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms."

At this time general confusion and disorder prevailed. An enormous number of churches were without a minister. Some of the more important were held as we have just described. In the churches which were not deserted various kinds of service were used; some used the old service; some parts of it; some substituted conceived (extemporary) prayer. The bitterest animosity was in many parts of the country stirred up by Scottish influence against the Book of Common Prayer. To counteract the general disorder and hope-

less confusion, the Westminster Assembly determined to put out in the place of the English Prayer-book, "a Directory for the Public Worship of God in the three kingdoms." This was sent into Scotland for approval by the General Assembly in that country, and was formally put out by ordinance of Parliament in the January of 1645. It was largely based on Calvin's form of service and Knox's Book of Common Order. It has been described "as a manual of directions, the minister being allowed a discretion either to make the most of what was provided for him in the book, or to use his own abilities to supply what he considered needful."*

The preface to this "Directory" gives us an index to the bitter Presbyterian spirit in which it was composed. It runs as follows:—"Sad experience hath made it manifest that the liturgy used in the Church of England hath proved an offence to not only many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed churches abroad; that the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies contained in it have occasioned much mischief by disquieting the consciences of godly ministers and people who could not yield unto them, and by depriving them of the ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or subscribing to these ceremonies. . . . For these and other weighty considerations we have determined to lay aside the former liturgy with its rites and ceremonies, and to adopt this 'Directory' which follows." The ordinance of Parliament, which took away the Book of Common Prayer and established in its stead the Directory, was followed in the August of 1645 by an ordinance actually prescribing severe penalties upon anyone using the superseded Prayer-book, either privately or publicly, a fine being imposed for the first and second offence, for the third a year's imprisonment.

The Presbyterian Directory was never received with any acceptance in England, and no wonder. Its tyrannical injunctions wounded all sorts and conditions of men, sweeping away observances, customs, rites, ceremonies, and prayers justly dear to Englishmen, abolishing all holy days, even Christmas day, and many loved uses which had been the cherished inheritance of the people for more than a thousand years, the observance of all holidays being sternly forbidden. This would touch the lives and customs of even the unthinking multitude, while the forbidding any service at the burial of the dead would wound the hearts of thousands in their hour of sorrow and mourning, which comes sooner or later to all alike.

Among the more important of the changes which the substitution of the "Directory" for the Book of Common Prayer inflicted upon public worship, were the rejection of the Apocrypha, the discontinuance of private baptism, of godfathers and godmothers, of the sign of the cross, of the wedding-ring, of the administration of the Lord's Supper to the sick at home. The communion table was again removed into the body of the church, with the preference of a sitting or standing to a kneeling posture. All saints' days were discarded, and all ecclesiastical vestments forbidden. Most strangely, the service for the burial of the dead, as we have noticed

* Procter: "The Book of Common Prayer" (On "The Directory").

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.

(From the picture by J. R. Herbert, R.A., in the Salford Art Gallery.)

above, was omitted. No creed was recited, nor the ten commandments. These, however, with the Apostles' Creed, were added to the "Confession of Faith," which was presented by the Westminster Assembly to Parliament in the December of 1646.

The "Directory" is conspicuous throughout for its studied ignoring of all Catholic traditions. The sacrament of baptism, for instance, was to be performed "in the face of the congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear, and not in the places where fonts in the time of popery were unfitly and superstitiously placed." Before baptism "the minister is to use some words of instruction—especially teaching that the inward grace of baptism is not tied to the moment of its administration."

"The Communion or Supper of the Lord is frequently to be celebrated, but how often may be considered and determined by the ministers and other church governors of each congregation." It was to follow the morning sermon:—"Then, the table being before decently covered and so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it or at it, the minister is to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him." The words of administration were quite changed from those used in the Anglican Church, which, as we have seen, were taken from the most esteemed and ancient liturgies.

In place of the office for the burial of the dead, the following bare and simple direction is given:—"When any person departeth this life, let the dead body be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred without any ceremony."

It was specially ordered in the Directory "that only the Lord's day and days separated for public fasting or thanksgiving shall be kept holy."

Perhaps the most curious sentence in the Presbyterian Directory issued by the Westminster Assembly is the one which *apologises* for the continued use of the old churches, in the following strange language: "As no place is capable of any holiness under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration, so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the public worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite that the places of public assembling for worship among us should be continued and employed to that use."

The supremacy of Presbyterianism and its tyranny in England was short-lived. We have already sketched the progress of the Civil War, and have seen how, as the power of the victorious army under the great general grew, another form of Puritanism and another sect completely overshadowed the Presbyterians—viz. the "Independents." These nominally accepted indeed the Westminster Confession, but in matters of discipline practically rejected the Presbyterian system. Each congregation was independent, and settled its own service and appointed its own officers. Before the year 1646 had run its course, a modified scheme of church government was voted, and a general toleration of all sects, even the wildest and most disorderly, under the influence of Oliver Cromwell

became general. The Church of England was, however, excepted from this broad and comprehensive policy; the all-powerful general, Oliver Cromwell, from reasons already specified, regarding her existence as highly dangerous to his plans for the government of the country; and a terrible anarchy in all religious matters succeeded the swift downfall in England of the Presbyterians. The Westminster Assembly was never formally dissolved, but in 1646 the number of those who attended its meetings and discussions grew smaller and smaller as the influence of the Presbyterians was gradually overshadowed by the Independents, and in 1647 it virtually ceased to exist.

Besides the Directory for public worship, the Assembly put out two Catechisms, a longer and a shorter; the longer occupying, with Scripture proofs, 157 quarto pages, and the shorter forty pages. The latter was intended for the young. The doctrine of both, as might be supposed, was strongly coloured with Calvinism.

The "Confession of Faith," which was meant to supply the place of the thirty-nine Articles, was the Westminster Assembly's last public work. It was completed in 1646, and presented to Parliament.

The condition of the clergy of the Church of England, from the commencement of the bitter dispute between the king and the Long Parliament in 1640, was terrible. From the first, the church shared the unpopularity of the crown. The causes which led to this unpopularity have already been pointed out. Three days after the assembling of the Long Parliament, a Grand Committee for Religion was formed, and to this committee were referred the various petitions and complaints against individual ministers. The Church had relentless enemies, largely drawn from the bitter political foes of Strafford and Laud. The charges contained in the petitions and complaints were of many descriptions. The most cruel, and for the most part utterly baseless, were those bearing upon immorality, it being openly asserted that great numbers of the clergy were living scandalous lives. No opportunity was given them for refutation of these accusations, and the calmer judgment of posterity has set aside the great majority of them as utterly without foundation. As a specimen of the treatment which the accused were likely to meet with at the hands of a hostile and embittered committee, the words of Mr. White, one of the four principal chairmen of the committees into which the Grand Committee for Religion was divided, are worth quoting, from their extraordinary virulence and shameless exaggeration. They occur in his preface to a book he published, entitled "The First Century of Scandalous Ministers." He termed the clergy "dumb dogs, ignorant drunkards, whoremongers and adulturers, men unfit to live, crawling vermin, popish dregs, priests of Baal, sons of Belial, unclean beasts," etc.

Two thousand petitions were got up in different parts of the country, it is said, and sent up to the Grand Committee. By far, however, the greater number of these charged the clergy with some description of ceremonial scandal; indeed, these ritual complaints were well-nigh universally mixed up with the cruel but comparatively rare accusations of evil living. The ceremonial scandals were generally connected with

curiously insignificant charges, as it now seems to us; such as bowing at the name of Jesus, causing the communicants to come up to the rails placed round the holy table, moving the table to the east end of the church. Sometimes merely a vague accusation of popery was made. Such petitions were simply signed by two or three, in some cases by only one of the parishioners. On these ceremonial charges not being satisfactorily disproved—they were probably true in the majority of cases—the accused minister was committed to prison, his goods sequestered, and his benefice was voided. The numbers of deprived ministers soon became very great, and as the war went on the number was constantly increasing. In the early years of the bitter dispute between the king and the Parliament, vast numbers of the clergy were thus deprived on charges which were mainly ceremonial. When the war was actively proceeding, however, a second means of removal was found in the simple accusation of these ministers of the church being well disposed to the king. They were "malignants" (the term in use to describe such as were well disposed and loyal to the king); that was sufficient. Then came the acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the establishment of the Directory. This was even a simpler method of ousting those clergy of the establishment who had escaped the first two dangers. Local committees were formed in the several counties. The "covenant" was offered for subscription; and upon the clergyman refusing to sign the fatal document, in the acceptance of which he virtually abjured and renounced his church, he was at once deprived. It has been computed that not less than two thousand were deprived of their livings by this last shameless device.

The Ministers and people solemnly take the Protestation in all Churches over the Kingdome,
Mr Burton, Dr Bastwick & Mr Prinne, triumphantly from perpetuall captivity, those 3 famous witnesses of Truth, return home to London, attended with thousands of horse and foot.

FROM "TRUE INFORMATION OF THE BEGINNING AND CAUSE OF ALL OUR TROUBLES: HOW HATCHED AND HOW PREVENTED."

(*A Puritan Pamphlet published in* 1648.)

Among the more notable of these summary ejectment proceedings was the action of the Parliamentarian leader, the earl of Manchester, who was shortly after himself superseded by Oliver Cromwell's strange device of the "self-denying ordinance" already described. Lord Manchester, who

in 1643 was supreme in the eastern counties, ejected well-nigh all the masters and fellows of the Cambridge colleges, sequestrating the revenues of the several houses. The university of Oxford, being during a large portion of the Civil War the head-quarters of the Royalists, and consequently not in the power of the Parliament, was spared a little longer. In the middle of 1646 Oxford surrendered to the Parliamentarian forces, and in the following year a terrible retribution for the steadfast loyalty of the ancient university to the Church of England and the crown was exacted. In the years 1647–48 six hundred members of the various colleges, including ten professors and all the heads of houses save two, were summarily ejected. The deprived heads, professors, and fellows of the two universities included many of the most distinguished men of their day for learning and theological attainments.

The execution of the primate-archbishop Laud, who had long languished in prison, stands out prominently in these stormy years of persecution and anarchy; but the special circumstances connected with his end have already been sufficiently related.

The great cathedrals fared no better than the universities and parish churches. As examples of the treatment meted out to them we may instance Norwich, which was spoiled and defaced in 1643 under the very eyes of its bishop, Dr. Hall. We even read of a sacrilegious procession on a market-day, when the organ-pipes, vestments, service-books, were publicly burned amid circumstances of extreme profanity. The bishop's property was seized, and all his goods exposed to sale—"not leaving," to use his own words, "so much as a dozen of trenchers or my children's pictures." Early that same year (1643) Cromwell "did most miserably deface the cathedral of Peterborough." At Canterbury the sacred memories of well-nigh twelve centuries were powerless to avert the same desecration and ruin from the cathedral. We read how "the soldiers, entering the church and choir of Canterbury, overthrew the

The Souldiers in their passage to York, turn unto reformers pull down Popish pictures, break down rayles, turn altars into Tables.
the English and Scotts Armies at first ready to fight, lovingly embrace each other, & part Kinde freinds.

FROM "TRUE INFORMATION OF THE BEGINNING AND CAUSE OF ALL OUR TROUBLES: HOW HATCHED AND HOW PREVENTED," 1648.

communion table, tore the velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly screen or tabernacle work, violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, broke down the ancient rails and seats, with the brazen eagle which did support the Bible, rent the surplices, gowns, and Bibles, mangled the service-books and Books of Common Prayer, and exercised their malice on the arras hangings representing the whole story of Christ." In many an ancient church and stately cathedral, the marks of the fury of the excited and frenzied Independents and Presbyterians in the days of the supremacy of Oliver and the Ironsides, are still unhappily visible: they are, alas! indelible.

To the mind of Oliver Cromwell and his extreme school the worship of the Church of England, her stately ritual, her ancient churches, were simply intolerable. "To him the Book of Common Prayer contained but the weak and beggarly elements of an outworn creed."* His conduct when governor of the Isle of Ely is a well-known instance of his intolerant behaviour to the church. He visited Ely cathedral with the intention of ordering one of the cathedral staff, who persisted in using the choir service, for which he had an especial dislike, to be silent. The clergyman refused to obey him. Oliver left the church, and returned at once with a guard of soldiers. Then the stern Puritan soldier rudely called to the officiating minister, "Leave off your fooling and come down." His soldiers peremptorily drove the Ely congregation from the choir of the great Fen church.

* Gardiner: "History of the Great Civil War," chap. xv.

For some ten years after the execution of Charles I. a wild anarchy in religious matters prevailed in England. Most of the churches were occupied by Presbyterians and Independents, or by the smaller sects of Baptists, Fifth-monarchists, and other less known sectarians. The spirit of general toleration, which was peculiar to Oliver Cromwell, after a time did away with the obligation of signing the Covenant, and in its place a much easier obligation was substituted, called the "Engagement." In this, ministers of the various denominations only swore that they "would be true and faithful to the government established, without king or House of Peers." This novel oath, which by substituting a simple undertaking to be faithful to the government of the Commonwealth, did away altogether with religious tests, was most obnoxious to the Presbyterians, to whom its broad spirit of toleration was positively impious; while to a poor remnant of the hapless clergy of the crushed and ruined Anglican communion it offered a possibility of still exercising their ministry. Some of the more prominent of the divines of the fallen church, such as Dr. Sanderson, late Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, had pronounced that to take such an oath as the "Engagement" was lawful for an English clergyman, as it simply bound them to be loyal to the existing government of the land. Dr. Gauden,* afterwards one of the Restoration bishops, thus writes of the sad remnant of Anglican clergy, who availed themselves of the "Engagement" in order to resume ministerial work:

* Dr. Gauden is principally known as the reputed author of the famous "Eikon Basiliké," attributed to king Charles I.

"These poor ministers had gained some little plank or rafter, possibly a little refuse living or a curateship, or a school, or a lecture, or some chaplain's place in a gentleman's house, by which to save themselves from utter shipwreck and sinking."

But even these few clergy exercised their ministry under the greatest difficulties. The old liturgy was strictly forbidden, and the prayers could only be said from memory. A kind of form as nearly identical with the Prayer-book as possible was composed by Dr. Sanderson and used by some, but, so far as the Anglican clergy were concerned, even these sorry expedients were soon rendered impossible. Oliver Cromwell, disposed as he was to a broad toleration of sects, intensely disliked the Church of England, and determined to crush out even these few sad relics of the hated communion. He caused an ordinance to be passed in 1654, in which it was stated that many weak, scandalous, popish, and ill-affected persons had intruded themselves into vacant posts. To remedy this state of things, a body of commissioners, named "Triers," were appointed, whose duties were carefully to examine clergymen and satisfy themselves of their fitness, before suffering such candidates to exercise their ministry. The questions propounded by these "Triers" were of such a character as to exclude ministers of the Anglican communion, and as the "Triers" possessed retrospective powers, many of the Anglican clergy who had obtained positions under the "Engagement" were ejected.

But even this exercise of tyranny was not deemed sufficient. Oliver was well acquainted with the general feeling of the Anglican clergy; knew well how they regarded him, and with what fervid loyalty they hoped for a restoration of the banished house of Stuart. He considered, not without some reason, that the existence of such a body of religious teachers was a source of danger to his government. So in 1655 a stern and bitter edict was passed, forbidding "any person keeping in their houses or families as chaplains or schoolmasters for the education of their children to be taught by such, . . . any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college," etc. . . . It went on to say "that no person, who had been sequestered or ejected, shall keep any school, either public or private, nor that any person, who shall be ejected for the causes aforesaid, shall preach or administer baptism or the Lord's Supper, or marry any person, or use the Book of Common Prayer or the forms therein contained." This drastic edict closed the door effectually upon almost every clergyman of the Church of England ever obtaining any position whatever as minister or teacher in England. Effective measures were taken to put this law into force without delay.

It is interesting to read the estimate formed of this commission of "Triers" by Mr. Carlyle, whose influence has been enormous in the last half century. The famous philosopher and historian is a passionate admirer of Oliver, and never can he see aught but the purest motives as the basis of all his acts. Political motives, as we have seen, very largely indeed coloured Oliver's bitter hatred of the Church of England. The humiliation and destruction of the Anglican Church was, as he perhaps rightly deemed, necessary for the preservation of the form of

government he had established, and the board of "Triers" was simply an unscrupulous instrument he created for his purpose. But this is the great historian's view of it:—"A rather satisfactory arrangement. Thirty-eight chosen men, the acknowledged flower of English Puritanism, are nominated a supreme commission. . . . Any person pretending to hold a church living or levy tithes or clergy-dues in England, has to be tried and approved by these men. . . . Independents, Presbyterians, one or two of them even Anabaptists, . . . they were men of wisdom, and had the root of the matter in them . . . the acknowledged flower of spiritual England at that time, and intent as Oliver himself was, with an awful earnestness, on actually having the Gospel taught in England." * It seems curious to read of this singular medley of Independents, Presbyterians, and Anabaptists being "the acknowledged flower of spiritual England at that time," although scholars and divines like Jeremy Taylor, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Prideaux, archbishop Usher, bishop Juxon, Mr. Pocock, Dr. Gauden, and others were then living and working amongst us!

Evelyn, in his contemporary diary, gives us some little pictures of this sad time for the Church of England and those who loved her. His entry on the 25th December, 1655, runs as follows:—"There was no more notice taken of Christmas day in churches. I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach schools, etc., on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen or the Church of England herself since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of Papist and Presbyter. Myself, wife, and some of our family received the communion; God make me thankful, who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies. The Lord Jesus pity our distressed church, and bring back the captivity of Zion." *

In 1657 we find the following entry in the diary, dated December 25th:—"I went to London with my wife to celebrate Christmas day, Mr. Gunning preaching (this was, of course, in defiance of the law) in Exeter chapel. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. . . . In the afternoon came colonel Whalley and others from Whitehall to examine us. . . . When I came before them, they examined me, why, contrary to the ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the nativity (so esteemed by them), I durst offend, and particularly be at common prayers, which they told me was but the mass in English. . . . In the end." Evelyn tells us, "they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. . . . These were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's nativity. As we went up to receive the sacrament, the miscreants held

* "Cromwell's Letters, etc.," part viii. (1654).

* "Diary of John Evelyn" (1655).

OLIVER CROMWELL PREACHING TO A PURITAN CONGREGATION.
(*From a Dutch Satirical Print published in* 1651.) (*British Museum.*)

their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar."

In less than a year from the date of the above-quoted entry in Evelyn's diary, Oliver Cromwell died. With him, as we have said, Puritanism in its many forms ceased to be the dominant power in England. For a few months went on almost of itself the vast machinery of government devised by the great Puritan who had passed away in the zenith of his power, still vigorous and apparently strong, and, as men thought, with long years of life before him; the shadow of the mighty Protector, his son Richard Cromwell, occupying his seat at Whitehall, and the "Rump," the remains of the famous Long Parliament, for a brief interval taking up the reins of government once more. Dominated by the spirit of the old Parliament, Presbyterianism was in favour again, but only for a few months. Another Parliament was elected, and under the influence of General Monk and his army the Restoration of the ancient monarchy was decided upon.

Many of the clergy of the down-trodden church, anxious not to delay or endanger the carrying out of the Restoration of the Stuarts which they so earnestly desired, in conjunction with certain of the nobility and gentry of known Royalist disposition, drew up a "declaration," in which they professed their earnest desire for compromise, not for retaliation. In it they said with great wisdom and forbearance, "We do sincerely profess that we reflect upon our past sufferings as from the hand of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts to those who have been in any way instrumental in them."

RICHARD CROMWELL.

CHAPTER LXVII.

RESTORATION OF THE KINGDOM AND OF THE CHURCH.

Reasons for the Unpopularity of Puritanism—The Puritan idea of Christmas—The Interregnum and Convention Parliament—The Restoration, and Position of the Anglican Church—Action of the Parliament—The Anglican Bishops and Archbishop Juxon—Negotiations and Efforts of the Presbyterians towards Puritan Revision of the Prayer-Book—Their Failure—The Savoy Conference—Anti-Puritan Temper of the Parliament—Final Revision of the Prayer-Book by Convocation—Details of the Revision—The Act of Uniformity—The Great Puritan Secession—Its Essential Necessity—Growing Estrangement between the Church and Nonconformists—The First Conventicle Act—The Five-Mile Act—Second Conventicle Act—The Test Act—Titus Oates and the Anti-Papal Agitation—Deterioration in Morals and Manners during this Period—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—The Caroline Divines—The Puritan Divines—Richard Baxter.

WHEN the king "got his own again," the change was welcomed in England with almost a delirious joy. The nation was weary of its Puritan rulers, their extravagances, and their oppressions. Various reasons contributed to the wide-spread feeling which inspired the majority of Englishmen to welcome the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors.

The government of the country had become a military despotism, although the despotism was thinly veiled under an appearance of constitutional authority. The Parliament, under whose authority the great general professedly ruled, was called into being and summarily dissolved at the will of Oliver the Protector; while such an interlude as the rule of his lieutenants, under the name of major-generals, showed the nation that their fortunes and lives were in the hands of that powerful army, which the famous Long Parliament had called into existence to carry out its will, but which it soon found itself utterly unable to guide, much less to control. Such a military tyranny was utterly hateful to the English mind; and when the mighty soldier and statesman passed away, the jealousies and divisions which immediately sprang up among the military chiefs, enabled the people to express their determination to put an end to a state of things which they abhorred.

Another reason must not be ignored, that powerfully influenced the people in welcoming the return of the ancient dynasty to power. The English nation was especially a religious people. Before the Reformation the church was ever a mighty influence. After the Reformation, as we have already noticed, religion became even more than in the mediæval period a power which swayed men's minds. But the form which religion assumed under the Puritan domination was generally hateful to the majority of Englishmen. We have dwelt at some length upon the nobility of the aims of the Puritans, upon their struggles after a purer life, upon their hatred of all that was low and base and mean and trivial. Nevertheless Puritanism, in its hour of success, became an oppressive tyranny; its very virtues in many instances lost their reality, and became suspected—not without good reason—of hypocrisy.

"Godliness," as it was termed, was required not only in Oliver's army of the new model, but of everyone who was admitted into the service of the state; and the "godliness" in question was of a kind which could be imitated, put on, masqueraded in. It consisted largely in a sad and peculiar dress. It expressed itself in a strange phraseology, unnatural and even hypocritical. It showed itself in a curious renunciation of the ordinary pleasures and recreations which go so far to render life pleasant and agreeable.

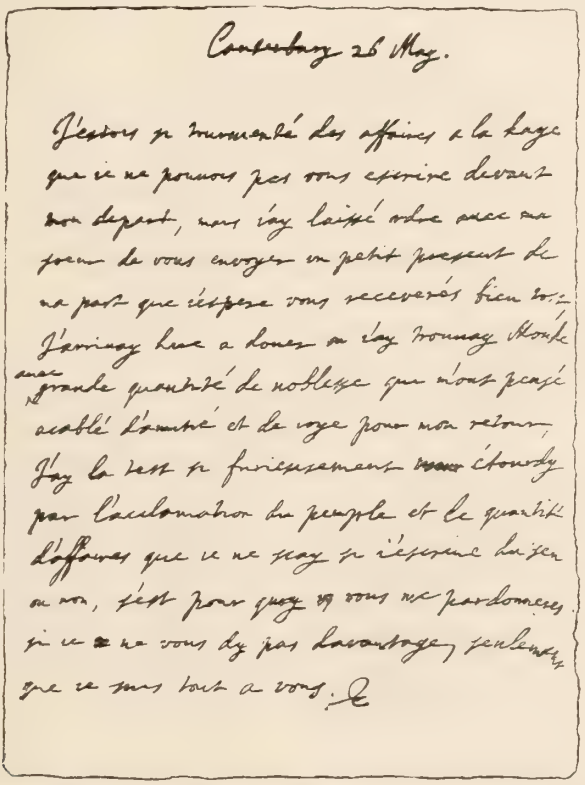
But this was not all. The dominant party insisted on the nation generally submitting to its peculiar and austere view of life. State ordinances were issued forbidding all those rough and somewhat rude diversions which for ages had formed the amusement and relaxation of the people. Some of these were forbidden because the Puritans traced them to ancient superstition, and imagined that they kept in memory a form of religion they were determined to stamp out. Others were abolished because they deemed them frivolous and unworthy of a nation which, on their theory, was made up of the "Lord's people." For instance, all theatrical representations, so dear to many of all sorts and conditions of men, were ever sternly forbidden. Puppet shows, horse-racing, bear-baiting,* curious and rough pastimes, were all done away with. Playhouses were to be demolished; the actors whipped at the cart's tail; the very spectators incurred the penalty of a fine. Time-honoured village observances, such as decorating the Maypole and dancing round it, were swept away. Even the quiet game of bowls was looked askance upon by these votaries of an exaggerated Puritanism—a rigid and even ridiculous austerity which, as we have said, too easily shaded into hypocrisy.

The old feasts and holy-days, loved by Englishmen partly from their associations, partly because their forefathers had loved them, were forbidden to be kept. Even the sacred joyous Christmas festival was changed by these extreme and mistaken fanatics into a day of mourning and fasting, the Long Parliament in 1644 giving directions that the great festival of our home life, the traditional anniversary of the Nativity of the Redeemer, should be strictly observed as a day of mourning for the national sin of centuries—a sin which was specified as untimely and godless mirth, a season of dancing and eating and drinking. Nothing that the Puritans did affecting the matter of the life of the people gave more dire offence, or was more universally unpopular, than this change of Christmas from a season of rejoicing to a season of mourning and restraint. It was resented by high and low; from the child, who ever looked forward to Christmas games and gifts, to the grey-haired old man who, in the joy of the time-honoured festival, for a brief moment renewed the happy, pleasant memories of his youth. With not a few the suspension of the ancient services of

* This not very elevating pastime was in the first half of the sixteenth century a favourite diversion with all classes. Macaulay quaintly characterises the causes of the Puritan aversion to it as having nothing to do with any idea of protecting beasts against the wanton cruelty of man. "He hated it, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. Indeed, he generally contrived to enjoy the double pleasure of tormenting both spectators and bear."

the Holy Nativity was regarded as an insult to the Divine Son of God, whose whole life when on earth was a rebuke to these stern and forbidding precisians.

Many also resented with a fierce indignation that Puritan temper which loved to destroy all works of art; which condemned painting and sculpture, and especially architecture, so long the glory of the land; which spared nothing in its wild, unreasoning fanaticism, not even those graceful and exquisite buildings which the piety of many generations had erected to the glory of God, and where the prayers of a hundred generations of Englishmen had been offered. Thus art, dress, and even the very language of England, felt the withering effects of the strange revolution which had placed the Puritan in power.



Canterbury 26 May.

J'estois si transporté des affaires a la haye que ie ne pouvois pas vous escrire devant mon depart, mais i'ay laissé ordre avec ma sœur de vous envoyer un petit present de ma part que i'espere vous recevrés bien tost. J'arrivay hier a douvres ou i'ay trouvay Monke avec grande quantité de noblesse qui m'ont faict acabler l'amitié et de voye pour mon retour. Jay la teste si furieusement estourdy par l'acclamation du peuple et de quantité d'affaires que ie ne scay si i'espere bien ou non, c'est pour quoy si vous me pardonnez si ie ne vous dy pas davantage, seulement que ie suis tout a vous. C

LETTER FROM CHARLES II. TO HIS SISTER HENRIETTA, AFTERWARDS DUCHESS OF ORLEANS, WRITTEN THE DAY AFTER THE RESTORATION. (*British Museum.*)

["I arrived yesterday at Dover, where I found Monke with a great quantity of the nobility, who seemed to me overwhelmed with friendship and joy at my return. My head is so furiously stunned by the acclamations of the people and the quantity of affairs, that I do not know if I am writing sense or not."]

There were many in England who intensely disliked this meddlesome and unsympathetic interference in well-nigh everything which touched the beauty and the joy of life, and who eagerly welcomed the return to the old state of things, though not caring perhaps very much for the im-

portant constitutional questions which had brought about the great Rebellion. To these must be added the scattered and disorganised, but still numerous and powerful party of the defeated Royalists, who naturally hated with a perfect hate the Puritan, who in their eyes was connected with Oliver the Republican and the stern Ironsides who broke their ranks at Marston Moor and Naseby, and whose hands were still red with the blood of their king. And the crowded ranks of those who welcomed king Charles were yet further increased by the more earnest, and on that account more influential phalanx of Englishmen who were deeply attached to the doctrines and rites of the ancient Church of England, and who regarded the teaching and acts of the lately dominant Puritan party with intense disapproval.

Among the Puritans themselves a rift, which could not be bridged over, divided them into two opposing sects, the one bitterly distrusting the other. These were the Presbyterians and the Independents, the latter numbering in their ranks various other Protestant sects, such as the Baptists, Quakers, Anabaptists, and Fifth-Monarchy men. The army of the Puritan cause, the source of its strength, was mainly composed of Independents ; in the Parliament many, perhaps the majority, of its officials were ranked as Presbyterians. When the great Protector died, the Puritan party he had led to victory found itself without a chief, hopelessly divided in the matter of religion, with its strong and disciplined army owning allegiance to no one general, and hence absolutely powerless.*

* This accounts for the sullen acquiescence of the soldiers of Cromwell in the Restoration.

Oliver Cromwell died in the September of 1658. His son Richard, who succeeded him, being neither soldier or statesman, was unable to control the army, and abdicated in the May of the year following (1659). Then followed a short time of anarchy. The Long Parliament, or rather that small remnant of it termed the Rump, ejected forcibly by Cromwell in 1653, was restored by the army. After a short existence, under the strong pressure of Monk, one of the most far-seeing of Cromwell's generals, who had fairly gauged the temper of the country, the sorry remnant of the Long Parliament voted formally its own dissolution. A new Parliament, composed of the two Houses of Lords and Commons, known in history as the "Convention" Parliament, because the House of Commons was elected without any crown writs, determined to give effect at once to the will of the majority of the nation, and to restore the monarchy. Charles II. signed at Breda a declaration conspicuous for its moderation, which was warmly received by the "Convention" Parliament. On the 29th of May, 1660, the third Stuart monarch was once more at Whitehall. How enthusiastically he was welcomed and some among the reasons of this welcome, we have briefly traced.

Of the policy of Charles II. during his reign of some twenty-five years, we have only to concern ourselves here with that portion which directly or indirectly relates to the Church of England. The position of that church at the Restoration was somewhat singular. The Anglican Church had apparently been destroyed ; the bishops had been forcibly thrust out of their several jurisdictions ; the primate had been

publicly put to death; and the various dignitaries and incumbents of benefices had been expelled by the dominant party. The cathedrals, and parish churches generally, were either closed, or, what was more usual, were occupied by Presbyterian or Independent* ministers. No Act of Parliament was, however, necessary, when Charles II. became king, to repeal the various ordinances which had abolished episcopacy and driven out the Anglican clergy. These ordinances, being clearly illegal, needed no formal repeal. They had emanated in some instances from a Parliament composed of two Houses, the House of Lords being represented by a small number of peers who had sided during the troubles with the Commons; but in the majority of instances from the House of Commons only, the consent of the crown being, of course, ignored during the Civil War and after. At the Restoration the spiritual position of the church was at once acknowledged, but the difficult question concerning its temporal possessions remained to be settled.

The temper of the "Convention" Parliament did not leave the matter long in doubt. Almost directly, an act was passed replacing in their benefices all those Anglican incumbents who, having been illegally driven out, still survived. About a thousand were thus restored. In cases when the Anglican incumbents were dead,† the Puritan occupants were for the present left in possession. The ancient liturgy, so long forbidden, was, of course, permitted to be used. The intruders were removed from the universities, and in the desolated cathedrals the old beautiful services, which had been, as we have seen, so bitterly objected to by Cromwell at Ely and other places, once more were heard again. The estates of the bishops and chapters were taken out of the possession of those who had acquired them, and returned to the church. But a complete settlement was still far from being accomplished, and the Presbyterian party, which, although in a minority, was still strong in the Convention Parliament, hoped to make such terms with the new government as would secure to them some of their influence; and they expected much from the well-known desire of the king to bring about a general toleration. Their hopes were doomed to disappointment, however, when the temper of the new Parliament which succeeded the Convention Parliament in the year 1662 was manifested. But in the meantime various important ecclesiastical events which preceded the final settlement must be related.

The "Convention" Parliament, which had recalled the king, continued to sit for nearly a year after the Restoration. Largely Presbyterian though it was, it reflected the mind of the majority of Englishmen in being fervidly loyal. Following out the terms of king Charles's Declaration of Breda, it passed an Act of Indemnity; but the act contained many exceptions, and thirteen of the regicides, with Vane, who had been a distinguished Republican, were executed. Others of the

* Under the name of "Independent" we here include the various other denominations who more or less asserted the right of congregations to choose their form of government, in contradistinction to the Presbyterian central rule.

† It must be remembered that eighteen years had passed since the bishops had been excluded from Parliament, and fifteen since the Book of Common Prayer was suppressed.

"traitors" were punished by imprisonment and confiscation, and some escaped to foreign parts and expiated their offences by a life-long exile. These acts of retaliation were no more than might have been looked for, considering the tremendous reaction which succeeded the Puritan victory, and the Puritan methods of using their victory. What, however, was deeply regrettable, and indeed admits of no excuse, was the pitiful warfare with the illustrious, even if guilty dead. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were torn up from their graves in Westminster abbey, and hanged. The remains of other leading personages of the era of rebellion, such as Pym, and the great seaman Blake, through whose splendid gallantry and wonderful ability the flag of England had become honoured and feared on all the seas, were also rudely disinterred and carelessly buried in a pit outside. There is no loyal son of the Church of England but regrets intensely these merciless and useless acts of a stupid revenge, which must for ever stain the proceedings of the Restoration Parliament.

When the Anglican communion, with scarcely an effort, resumed its position as the national church, to the great satisfaction of the majority of Englishmen, nine of the bishops who had been contemporaries of Laud still survived. One of them, Wren, had been a prisoner in the Tower for nearly twenty years. Their thinned ranks were speedily recruited by a group of men, all of them more or less distinguished for their literary or administrative powers. These included Sheldon and Hammond (who unfortunately died before his consecration), specially illustrious for the help they had given to the suffering and dispirited clergy during the Protectorate; Cosin, the most illustrious liturgical scholar of his day; the scholar Walton, the editor of the great Polyglot Bible which bears his name; Gauden, the compiler and probably the writer of the far-famed "Eikon Basilike" of Charles I.; Sanderson, a great theologian; and Morley.

The archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant. No successor had been appointed to the illustrious man whose memory the church will ever hold in honour, who fifteen years before had expiated his political errors on Tower hill. For the high post of primate of the restored church the choice fell on one, well-nigh an octogenarian, infirm and worn out with years and cares, who in happier days had presided over the difficult see of London. But, old and worn out though he was, bearing about indeed a dying body, the church with one voice designated Juxon as the only possible primate. He had indeed a matchless record. The intimate friend of Laud, and depositary of his far-reaching plans for the church; the trained and scholarly divine; the stainless even if mistaken minister of Charles I., the one whom the fallen monarch had summoned to his side in those solemn hours which went before the tremendous tragedy of Whitehall; the wise and saintly comforter of his monarch in the prison chamber of St. James and in the last sad progress through the royal park; the faithful and courageous companion of the king on the scaffold; the friend who whispered the last solemn prayer over the coffin of his sovereign in royal Windsor. While

Juxon, bishop of London, lived, no other primate was possible.

He lived to take the chief part in the coronation ceremonies, and place the crown on the brows of Charles II. Too ailing to preside himself in the Convocation which he summoned in 1661 and he followed him subsequently in the see of London, and finally in the archbishopric of Canterbury.

It was about a year before Juxon closed his eyes on the world, where he had seen so many and such varied things, and had

DR. WILLIAM JUXON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*After a picture in St. John's College, Oxford.*)

which completed the ecclesiastical settlement of the restored church, the archbishop shared in and largely guided the proceedings of that important assembly, which restored the English Prayer-book, and he quietly passed away in 1663, full of years and honour. Juxon rests in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford, hard by the grave of his friend Laud, whom he followed in the headship of the House, as

experienced such strange vicissitudes of fortune, that the relations between the Church of England and Puritanism in its many forms, were finally settled in the Savoy Conference. Before Charles II. left Holland for England in the early days of the eventful May of 1660, some eminent Presbyterian divines, representing their powerful Puritan sect, accompanied the Parliamentary commissioners who were

sent to bring the king back. These men hoped to enlist Charles's sympathies, in order that he might be on their side when the ecclesiastical relations of the future came to be discussed. They saw him on several occasions, and especially expressed their earnest desire that he would not in his own private chapel revive the use of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer; but they obtained little satisfaction on this point. They then urged that the surplice might not be adopted by his royal chaplains; again they were met with a refusal. When Charles arrived in England, he was again pressed by the same party. His reply was that he desired to receive in writing a statement of their wishes and views generally upon church matters. They then presented to the king a lengthy address embodying their objections to the Book of Common Prayer and to the Anglican ceremonies generally. In this formal Presbyterian address, among other matters, was pressed the desirability of freedom being given to the ministers to use extempore prayer. It was suggested that a new liturgy might be drawn up more consonant with Presbyterian views; that ceremonies, such as kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the use of the surplice and the sign of the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, might be abolished, or at all events not insisted upon. To these requests, or rather demands, the Anglican bishops replied. Their reply was virtually a refusal to change in any way the Anglican uses as embodied in the Book of Common Prayer.

The king, however, temporised, and issued a declaration in which, pending a formal settlement, considerable licence was allowed to the Presbyterian party. In the meantime a royal warrant was issued appointing twelve bishops and the same number of Presbyterians, with nine other divines on each side as assistants or assessors, to meet together to discuss the questions at issue. These met in the spring of 1661 in the Savoy hospital, and this conference is known in history as the Savoy Conference. Again the points above referred to were brought up, with various other questions, such as the omitting altogether the religious observation of saints' days, the substitution in the Prayer-book of the title "minister" for "priest," and the appellation "Lord's day" for "Sunday"; the recasting of offices where the language used presumes all persons within the communion of the church to be regenerated and in an actual state of grace; and the expunging of the rubric which permitted parts of the service to be sung or said. The Presbyterians also desired that preaching should be more strictly enjoined. In the baptismal office, especially, they objected to much. Alterations were further required in the catechism and in the rite of confirmation; other and less important changes were also claimed. Generally, the free use of extempore prayer was desired. Baxter, the most learned and prominent of the Puritan side, brought forward a new liturgy, embodying the Presbyterian requirements, which he proposed should be adopted as the basis of the compromise.

The differences, however, were too great to admit of any agreement, and the church felt itself, in this hour of reaction in which they knew that the majority of Englishmen were on their side, powerful enough firmly to reject any suggestion

of compromise in matters which its advocates felt were vital. So the Savoy Conference came to nothing.

Uncompromising as the bishops and their assessors showed themselves in the Conference, a yet greater and more authoritative assembly was expressing itself more strongly by far in the same direction. The "Convention" Parliament had given place to a new Parliament, elected according to the ancient constitutional precedents. It met in the May of 1661, while the Savoy Conference was in session. This House of Commons, elected in the first fervour of the Royalist reaction, "was made up for the most part of young men, who had but a faint memory of the Stuart tyranny of their childhood, but who had a keen memory of living from their manhood beneath the tyranny of the Commonwealth. Their bearing was that of a wild revolt against the Puritan past. . . . The zeal of the Parliament at its outset, indeed, far outran that of Charles and his ministers."* The action in ecclesiastical matters of this so-called Cavalier Parliament was peculiarly marked with extreme zeal for Anglicanism, and an extraordinary bitterness towards all the Puritan sects. It has been computed that not more than fifty Presbyterians were to be found among the ranks of its members, and the bishops were at once restored to their seats in the House of Lords.

More singular, however, was their zeal lest the bishops and their assessors should be induced to make any concessions in liturgical and ceremonial uses to the Puritan representatives in the Savoy Conference. To guard against any such contingency, the Commons passed a Bill of Uniformity, enforcing the old unaltered Prayer-book. On the understanding, however, that the king was about to issue letters to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, desiring the Convocations of the two provinces to make a review of the Book of Common Prayer, the House of Lords laid the bill in question aside.

Before the end of the year a careful report was prepared by a strong committee. This report, which suggested certain points in which it was desirable that the Prayer-book should be revised, was approved by both Houses before the close of 1661. The amended Prayer-book was finally accepted by Parliament in its entirety, and an Act of Uniformity, which received the royal assent on May 19th, ordained that the Prayer-book in question should be used in all the churches of England on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1662

The work of this final revision of the Prayer-book, although it was all completed in a few months, was the result of long and careful research. The principal hand in it was that of bishop Cosin, the famous liturgical scholar, who for well-nigh forty years had been engaged in this particular study, bringing ever the results of his researches to bear upon the Anglican Prayer-book. He had been the librarian of Andrewes and Overall, and was cognisant of the wishes of these two eminent theologians in the matter of the liturgy of their church. After Cosin, Wren, the bishop who had (in consequence of the special dislike of the Puritans) so long languished in captivity, and Sancroft, Cosin's chaplain, who subsequently filled

* Green: "History," chap. ix., sect. ii.

himself the highest place in the Anglican Church, were the most active and influential members of the small committee to whom the revision work was entrusted. It is computed that some six hundred or more corrections and additions were made in this last and final review of the book. But though these may seem to be very numerous, the book as it left Convocation, and which shortly after Parliament approved and accepted, was substantially the same as the book revised and corrected by the Elizabethan divines, known as the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., the original work of Cranmer, Ridley, and their companions.

The more important alterations which were introduced in this last revision by Cosin and his coadjutors, were as follows. Among the chief additions to the old book was a preface drawn up by Dr. Sanderson, the new bishop of Lincoln. An office for the administration of baptism to such as were of riper years was added, as were also the final benediction and the occasional prayers. Forms of prayer were supplied to be used at sea, and also for the 30th of January, the day of Charles I.'s execution, and the 29th of May, the day of Charles II.'s restoration. A few additional prayers appear in this book, such as the prayer for Parliament, the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, and the General Thanksgiving. Two or three new collects were also appointed; an Epistle was provided for the Purification; the first of the short anthems for Easter day was added, and certain names were added in the calendar to the list of "Black-letter Saints." Certain changes are also noticeable in the book of 1662. The absolution was to be pronounced by the *priest* instead of the *minister*. The prayer for the king and the following prayers were printed in the order of morning and evening service. The words "bishops, priests, and deacons" were substituted for bishops, pastors, and ministers of the church. In the communion service the last clause respecting saints departed was added. to the prayers for the church militant. The order in Council, dated 1552, respecting kneeling at communion, which had been removed by queen Elizabeth, was again placed at the end of the office, with the explanation "that no adoration was intended to any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood"—the doctrine of a real spiritual presence being thus implicitly retained.

These are among the more distinctive changes, but the book virtually remained the same. No real concessions of any kind were made to Puritan feeling. Convocation retained all the ceremonies and expressions to which the gravest exception had been taken by the now vanquished and unpopular party; such as the form of the Litany, certain expressions in the services for baptism, marriage, and burial, the ring in marriage, the absolution for the sick, the sign of the cross in baptism, especially the declaration touching the salvation of baptised infants. This last was among the points deeply objected to by the Puritan commissioners. The Act of Uniformity also required Puritan ministers not only to conform to the regulations of the Prayer-book, but also to confess the illegality of their past practice. They were also directed to submit to episcopal ordination.

tongues, lighting upon the apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all trueth, giving them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldnesse with fervent zeal, constantly to preach the gospel unto all nations, whereby we ~~are~~ brought out of darknesse and errour, into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Sonne Jesus Christ. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ Upon the feast of Trinitie onely.

IT is ~~very meet, right, and our bounden duty,~~ that we should at all times, and in all places give thanks to thee, O Lord, Almighty and everlasting God, which art one God, one Lord, not one onely person, but three persons in one substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, without any difference, or inequality. Therefore, &c.

¶ After which prefaces, shall ~~follow~~ immediatly be sung, or said,

THerefore with angels, and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnifie thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts, Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most High. *Amen.*

¶ Then shall the priest kneeling down at ~~Gods board~~ ye Lords Table, say in the name of all them that shall receive the communion, this prayer following.

WE do not presume to come to this thy table (O mercifull Lord) trusting in our own righteousnesse, but in thy manifold and great mercies. ~~We be~~ not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table. But thou art the same Lord, whose propertie is always to have mercie: grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinfull bodies may be made clean by his body, and our soules washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. Amen.

¶ When ye priest, standing before ye Table, hath so ordered ye Bread, & Wine, that he may, with ye more reuidnes, & decency break ye Bread before ye people, & take ye Cup into his hands, he shall say ye prayer of Consecration, as followeth.

The Communion.

¶ ~~Then the priest standing up, shall say as followeth,~~

ALmighty God, our heavenly Father, ~~which~~ who of thy tender mercy didst give thine onely Sonne Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the crosse for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy gospel command us to continue a perpetuall memory of that his precious death, untill his coming again: Hear us, O mercifull Father, we ~~beseech~~ humbly desire thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christs holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood: who in the same night that he was betrayed, (a) took bread, and when he had given thanks, (b) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (c) this is my body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper (d) he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drinke ye all of this, for this (e) is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sinnes: Do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me. *Amen.*

(a) Here ye priest is to take ye paten into his hands.
(b) And here, to break ye Bread.
(c) And here, to lay his hand upon all ye Bread.
(d) Here he is to take ye Cup into his hand.
(e) And here to lay his hand upon every vessel, be it Chalice, or Flagon, in wch there is any wine to be Consecrated.

¶ Then shall the minister first receive the Communion in both kindes himself, and ~~next deliver it to other ministers (if any be there present) that they may help the chief minister, and after to the people in their hands, kneeling.~~ then proceed to deliver ye same to ye Bishop priests, & Deacons in like manner (if any be present) & after ye to ye people also in order into their hands, all meekly kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread, he shall say,

THe body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: ~~and~~ take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving.

¶ And

PAGES OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE, FROM THE COPY OF THE BLACK LETTER PRAYER BOOK OF 1636, THAT WAS CORRECTED TO FORM THE PRAYER BOOK OF 1662. THE ORIGINAL IS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Copies of the Prayer-book thus revised were carefully examined by commissioners appointed for this duty, and then sealed with the Great Seal. These copies are known as the "Sealed Books," and are preserved as the standard of liturgical worship in the Church of England, containing as they do the exact form of words which was signed by members of Convocation and ratified by Parliament.

Since 1662 the offices of the Church of England have never been revised. "Attempts have been made to introduce certain changes in its language, but hitherto it has resisted the efforts both of latitudinarianism and of Romanising innovation."* The only unimportant alterations that have been made since that date are the following:—In 1859 the forms of prayer for November 5th (anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot), for January 30th, and May 29th were removed by royal warrant. Two royal proclamations in 1837 and 1859 respectively inserted the form of prayer for the 20th of June (the date of the accession of queen Victoria). In 1871 a revised system of "Lessons" was introduced; and in 1872 a special Act of Parliament allowed the shortening at discretion of the prescribed forms for morning and evening prayer, except on Sunday, Christmas day, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and Ascension day.

The Act of Uniformity, 1662, required all ministers before St. Bartholomew's day (August 24th) to read publicly the morning and evening prayer from the revised Prayer-book, and to declare their unfeigned assent to everything contained in the book. They were also compelled to make declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant, and, if not episcopally ordained, to obtain ordination from a bishop. As might have been expected, the deepest sorrow and indignation pervaded the Puritan ranks, which included Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and other sects far more extreme. In vain the king, and even his chief adviser Clarendon, who was a steadfast friend of Anglicanism, endeavoured to find some loophole by which some of the provisions of this tremendous Act might be dispensed with by the crown. The Cavalier Parliament had made up its mind, and was inflexible.

On the appointed 24th of August, the ever memorable day of St. Bartholomew, 1662, the nobler and more earnest of the Puritan party—Presbyterians, Independents, and others—to the number of 2,000 (some writers give the somewhat smaller number of about 1,600), refusing to conform, went out into the wilderness, giving up their positions at the universities, their benefices, their lectureships, and any preferment they happened to be holding. Very many of them were confessedly men of learning and eloquence—were divines distinguished for piety and earnestness.

Such a vast secession was necessarily a severe blow to the cause of religion in England. "Such an expulsion," writes the popular and philosophic historian of the English people, "was far more to the Church of England than the loss of their individual services. It was the definite expulsion of a great party. . . . It was the close of an effort, which had been going on ever since Elizabeth's accession,

* Procter: "History of the Book of Common Prayer," Appendix to chap. v., section i.

to bring the English communion into closer relations with the reformed communions of the Continent, and into greater harmony with the religious instincts of the nation at large. The Church of England stood from that moment isolated and alone among all the churches of the Christian world. The Reformation had severed it irretrievably from those which still clung to the obedience of the Papacy. By its rejection of all but episcopal orders, the Act of Uniformity severed it as irretrievably from the general body of the foreign Protestant churches, whether Lutheran or Reformed." *

We may deeply sympathise with the regret with which this severance was regarded by the great latitudinarian historian, but we cannot endorse his sweeping condemnation of the famous Act of Uniformity. What else could the theologians of our church have done? The time had arrived when the final "parting of the ways" was inevitable. The hour had come when the church had full power to choose its future course. Was it, for the sake of including the Puritans of all sects within its pale, for the sake of a doubtful union with the Lutherans and Calvinists of foreign lands, to give up its cherished connection with all Catholic antiquity, its continuity with the primitive church—a connection and continuity which Cranmer and Ridley, Parker and Jewel, Hooker and Andrewes, Whitgift and Laud, had struggled after and maintained? Was it, by ceasing to insist upon episcopal ordination, to declare among things indifferent that sacred tradition of apostolical succession, which the Elizabethan bishops had guarded with so much reverent care? Was it to eliminate from that Book of Common Prayer which the martyr reformers of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had composed out of the immemorial formularies of the Catholic Church, rites and uses dear to the heart of the majority of the English people, because they were the heritage of a thousand years; dear because they believed they were the usages of the primitive church? Be it remembered that this and no less than this was demanded by the Puritan divines at the Savoy Conference; this and no less than this was the price which the Church of England must have paid to compass the union of the Puritan party with the Anglicans. It was a sad necessity, and one which every true-hearted son of the Church of England regards with a true mourning, to part with so many earnest and devoted men; but, alas! there was no alternative. The story of the succeeding years, the present position, the future prospects of the Anglican Church, have amply justified the wisdom of the Act of Uniformity of 1662.

It is also clear that the Act was in accordance generally with the mind of the English people at the time. The expulsion of the Puritans, good and earnest men though many of them were, excited little disturbance, scant opposition. The country, as a rule, acquiesced quietly, contentedly, in the change of pastors. No doubt there were many regrets, here and there grave discontent; it could not have been otherwise, but it soon settled down.

There were many others among the various Puritan sects who held preferments, who consented to conform. Notably

* Green's "History," chap. ix., section ii.

we have instances in Northampton, Gloucester, Norwich, Chester, Northumberland, the Isle of Wight. The majority of the bishops of the Restoration period were tolerant and kindly disposed, and desired to render conformity easy for the members of the lately dominant party. Still, in spite of kindness and goodwill on the part of most of the bishops—not of all, it must be confessed, for archbishop Sheldon, who succeeded the aged Juxon at Canterbury, was bitterly opposed to Puritanism in whatever form it showed itself—in spite, too, of the evident bias of king Charles II. in favour of an extended toleration, there is no doubt but that many severe hardships were endured by the Nonconforming ministers after the passing of the Act.

As time went on, largely owing to the strong anti-Puritan feeling manifested by the Cavalier House of Commons which sat from 1661 to 1679 when at length it was dissolved, the feeling between the church and the Puritan sects grew more bitter. A succession of persecuting Acts were passed between 1664 and 1673, which in the history of the English Church have obtained a painful notoriety. By these Acts the Roman Catholic and the Nonconformist were not only sternly forbidden to worship God with their peculiar rites, but were rigidly excluded from all positions in which they might serve their country, in the army, navy, and civil service; even in the civic corporations were they prevented from holding office. So intense was the dread and hatred excited by the government of the Commonwealth and the dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell, that every attempt made by the king to ensure a measure of toleration, was shortly after made the pretext by the Commons for making the yoke borne by the Nonconformists yet harder and more galling.

Nor was the church itself by any means guiltless in these stern acts of retaliation and unwise repression. The first Conventicle Act, for instance, passed in 1664, was the response to a prayer of the clergy, headed by archbishop Sheldon, to the House of Commons. Briefly, the series of these unhappy pieces of legislation, which have so sadly widened the gulf between the Church of England and the Puritan sects, was as follows.

The Act of Uniformity came into operation, as already stated, in the August of 1662. Charles II., in the December of the same year, issued a declaration in favour of toleration, and hoping to soften the rigour of the Act, asked Parliament to pass an act by which he could legally exercise that dispensing power which he conceived to belong to the crown. There had been, he considered, various precedents for such an exercise of royal power in former reigns. The reason of the king's zeal for toleration of Nonconformity throughout his reign, was however suspected, and not without cause, to be based on his known inclination towards Roman Catholicism. Charles II., in 1662, married a Roman Catholic princess; that he died in communion with that church is now generally admitted. The religious zeal of his brother, afterwards James II., eventually cost that sovereign his crown. The intimate alliance of Charles II. with, and his degrading subservience to the great king of France, Louis XIV., a fervid Romanist, is the sinister feature of the reign.

The Catechisme.

Question.

what is the outward part or signe of the Lords Supper?

Answer.

Bread and wine which the Lord hath commanded to be receyved.

Question.

what is the inward part or thing signified?

Answer.

The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and receyved of the faythfull in the Lords supper.

Question.

what are the benefits whereof we are partakers therby?

Answer.

The strengthening and refreshing of our soules by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.

Question. who

what is required of them which come to the Lords supper?

Answer.

To examine themselves whether they repent them truly of their former sinnes, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life, have a lively faith in Gods mercy through Christ, with a thankfull remembrance of his death, and be in charity with all men.

¶ So soon as the children can say in their mother tongue the Creed, articles of the faith, the Lords prayer, & the ten commandments, and also can answer to such questions of this short Catechisme, as the Bishop (or such as he shall appoint) shall by his discretion appose them in: they shall then be brought to the Bishop by, or else shall be their Godfather, or Godmother, that every childe may have a witnesse of his confirmation. And the Bishop shall confirm them on this wise.

¶ And whensoever the Bishop shall give knowledge for children to be brought unto him for their Confirmation, the Curate of every parish shall either bring, or send in writing with his hand subscribed therunto, the Names of all such persons within his parish, as he shall think fit to be presented to the Bishop to be confirmed. And if the Bishop approve of them, he shall confirm them in Manner following.

¶ THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION,
or laying on of hands, upon those that are baptized, & come to years of Discretion.

¶ Upon ye day appointed, all that are to be then Confirmed, being placed, & standing in Order before ye Bishop: He (or some other Minister appointed by him) shall read this preface following.

To the end that Confirmation may be ministred to the more edifying of such, as shall receive it; the Church hath thought good to Order, That none hereafter shall be confirmed, but such, as can say ye Creed, ye Lords prayer, and

¶ The Curate of every parish shall diligently upon Sundayes & Holy-dayes after ye second lesson at Evening prayer openly in ye Church instruct, & examine so many Children of his parish sent unto him, as he shall think convenient, in some part of this Catechism.

¶ And all Fathers, Mothers, Masters, and Dames shall cause their Children, Servants, & Prentices (which have not learned their Catechism) to come to the Church at the time appointed, & obediently to heare, & be ordered by ye Curate, until such time as they have learned all, that is here appointed for them to learn.

one the ten Commandments, & can also answer to such other Questions out of the short Catechism as are contained w^th^ Order is very convenient to be observed to the end that Yong Children being now come to ye years of Discretion & having learned what their Godfathers & Godmothers promised for ye in Baptism did by their office, with their own mouth & Consent, openly before ye Congregation, may then openly ratify & confirm the same, & also promise that by ye grace of God they will more & more endeavour themselves faithfully to observe such things as they by their own Confession have assented unto.

Confirmation, or laying on of hands.

The Bishop Minister.

Our help is in the Name of the Lord. who

Answer.

which hath made heaven and earth.

Bishop. Minister.

Blessed be the Name of the Lord.

Answer.

henceforth world without end.

Bishop. Minister.

Lord hear our prayers.

Answer.

And let our cry come unto thee.

Bishop.

Let us pray.

¶ Then shall the Bishop say

Dost ye here in the presence of God, & of this Congregation renew ye solemn promise, & vow, that was made in ye Name at ye Baptism ratifying & confirming in your own persons, & acknowledging yourselves bound, to believe, & to do all those things, w^ch^ your Godfathers & Godmothers then undertook for you?

¶ And every one shall audibly answer,

I do.

Almighty and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgivenesse of all their sinnes: strengthen them, we beseech thee, O Lord, with the holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsell and ghostly strength, the spirit of knowledge and true godlinesse, and fulfill them (O Lord) with the spirit of thy holy fear, Amen. now, & for ever. Amen.

¶ Then the Bishop shall lay his hand upon every childe severally, saying,

Defend, O Lord, this childe with thy heavenly grace, that he may continue thine for ever, and daily increase in thy holy Spirit more and more, until he come unto thy everlasting kingdom. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Bishop say

Let us pray.

Almighty and everliving God, who makest us both to will and to do those things that be good and acceptable unto thy Majestie, We make our humble supplications unto thee for these thy servants, upon whom (after the example of thy holy Apostles)

¶ Then all of them in order kneeling before ye Bishop, he shall lay his hand upon ye head of every one severally, saying,

Defend, thy servant

The Lord be with you

Answer.

And with thy Spirit.

¶ And (all kneeling downe) ye Bishop shall adde,

Let us pray.

Our Father w^ch^ art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily Bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespasse against us. And lead us not into temptation: But deliver us from evil. Amen.

¶ And the Collect.

PAGES FROM THE COPY OF THE BLACK LETTER PRAYER BOOK THAT WAS CORRECTED TO FORM THE PRAYER BOOK OF 1662, CONTAINING THE CATECHISM AND THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION. THE ORIGINAL IS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The reply of Parliament to the king's Declaration and openly expressed wishes, was the passing in 1664 of the "First Conventicle Act," by which anyone, having arrived at years of discretion, attending a Nonconformist conventicle, was liable to a penalty which in some cases was actually transportation. A conventicle was defined as a religious meeting not in accordance with the use of the Church of England, at which more than four persons were present besides the household. "Transportation" was a terrible doom. The convicted Nonconformist was banished, generally to the West Indies, where in a tropical climate his doom was to work practically under the conditions of a slave. Pepys, in his diary, thus comments upon this cruel procedure: "I would to God they would conform, or be more wise and not be catched." In the event of the condemned person returning from exile without leave, he was subjected to the penalty of death. This cruel measure also sanctioned the forcible entry of officers of justice into suspected houses.

Charles now suggested that toleration might be sold to Nonconformists, and that by these means the public revenue might be increased. The bishops, however, stoutly resisted such an infamous proposal, Clarendon, the minister, much to the king's indignation, supporting them. His opposition to it is said to have lost Clarendon the king's favour for ever. In the year following (1665), the Parliament, which while the plague was raging in London sat at Oxford, passed the Act known as "the Oxford or Five-Mile Act." In this piece of legislation every Nonconformist minister was required to take the oath of non-resistance to the king; he was required, too, to swear that he would never endeavour to alter the government in church or state. If he declined to take the oath, he was not allowed to come within five miles of any city or borough town, or of any place where he had once held a cure, and might therefore look to finding a congregation. Any infraction of this stern rule was to be punished with fine and imprisonment. This cruel and vexatious Act was especially levelled at the ministers who, refusing to conform, had been ejected from their benefices after the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

In 1667 the king again, in his speech at the opening of Parliament, requested that some measure of relief for Nonconformists might be framed. But the House was obdurate, and in reply passed what is termed "The Second Conventicle Act," which, while it mitigated the penalties of the first Act, was, if possible, more harsh in its provisions, such as the encouragement it gave to informers, etc.

In 1672 king Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence, again claiming the disputed dispensing power. In it he suspended all penal laws in ecclesiastical matters. The effect of this "Declaration" would have been, that complete religious liberty would be assured to Roman Catholics as well as to Protestant Nonconformists. Although modern public opinion would heartily endorse the spirit of such a pronouncement, it was confessedly quite unconstitutional, and was said to violate forty statutes. Such an exercise of royal authority was respectfully but firmly resisted by the Commons, and in their resistance they were supported by the House of Lords; so the king, as

usual, gave way, and recalled his Declaration in the following year, 1673.

The "Long" Cavalier Parliament was still sitting. Throughout the period of its continuance it had been distinguished for its resolution at all costs to maintain the position of the Church of England, and if possible to stamp out Puritanism. At this juncture the growing power of the Roman Catholics was looked on as a more pressing danger to the church than even the opposition of the Puritan sects. James, Duke of York—the king having no legitimate descendant—was the heir to the crown, and he was known to be a bigoted Romanist. The House therefore proceeded to pass the "Test Act." Its provisions required anyone who held office of any kind under the state to receive the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church, and also to make a solemn declaration against transubstantiation. The "Test Act" was not a persecuting Act like the "Conventicle" and "Five Mile" Acts; but it excluded, so long as it remained in force, from all offices held under the state, civil or military, persons holding conscientiously certain religious opinions. In its operation it fell with principal severity upon the Roman Catholics, for they were of course precluded from making the declaration of disbelief in transubstantiation, as well as from receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The king's brother James, for instance, at once gave up his post as head of the Admiralty. Nonconformists, on the other hand, of course rejected transubstantiation, and many of them would consent to receiving the sacrament as administered in the church.

During the last ten or twelve years of the reign of Charles II., religious questions continued to occupy a prominent place in the thoughts of the people, and largely to influence the policy of public men, both in and out of Parliament; but that extraordinary bitterness against Puritan Nonconformists, the heritage of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth, which characterised the early and middle years of the reign, and which so painfully coloured so much of the Parliamentary legislation, gave place in great measure to open hostility towards Roman Catholicism. The revelation of the so-called Popish plot by a shameless intriguer, one Titus Oates,* in 1678, the details of which were generally received with a strange credulity, showed clearly what was the temper of the nation. This pronounced hostility on the part of the public, to which Parliament gave utterance, was no baseless feeling. The danger was very real, as the subsequent history of England showed. The undisguised preference of the careless and indifferent king for a form of religion utterly distasteful to the majority of Englishmen; the position of the king's brother the heir of the monarchy being a Roman Catholic himself, and the fact of his being married to a Roman Catholic princess,

* Titus Oates was originally, before the Restoration, a Baptist minister, afterwards an Anglican curate, and then a navy chaplain. His infamous character deprived him of his posts in the church, and he turned Romanist, and in the Colleges of St. Omer and Valladolid he became cognisant of some of the Jesuit schemes. Using them as a framework, he pretended to discover a widely-extended plot, which had for its object the destruction of Protestantism, the death of the king, and the substitution of James. The details were utterly false, but Oates's pretended revelations were largely credited, and had at the time an enormous influence over public opinion, already greatly excited.

which naturally suggested the prospect of a Roman Catholic race of sovereigns; the close though secret alliance with powerful Roman Catholic France, which became gradually suspected—all these things sank deep into the heart of the nation.

The once devotedly loyal Cavalier Parliament passed a fresh "Test Act," which excluded Roman Catholic peers from their seats in the House of Lords; and when at length this Parliament, which had sat since 1661, was dissolved in 1679, the "Short Parliaments" of 1680–1681 were even more vehement than their predecessor in their determination to crush Romanism, and endeavoured—though unsuccessfully—to pass an "Exclusion Bill" which would have shut out the Duke of York (James), the king's brother, from the succession. Curiously enough, all through the long Parliamentary agitation for the exclusion of the Roman Catholic James from the succession, the Church of England threw in the weight of its great influence on the side of the king, who was steadily opposed to the idea of excluding his brother from the succession to the crown. This action of the church was not owing to any feelings of friendship or even of tenderness towards Roman Catholicism. The policy which declined to support the Exclusion Bill was adopted because the church upheld, as a doctrine, hereditary right, which could not be interfered with, even though the heir was a bigoted Romanist. In tracts and sermons the clergy persistently taught this doctrine, inherited in part from some of the more extravagant divines of the days of Charles I., continually urging upon the people the imperative duty of passive obedience to the crown.

Thus, in the later years of Charles II., we find the church siding with the king and opposing Parliament, which for so long had ever fanatically upheld their position in the nation. A public declaration under the authority of archbishop Sancroft was read in the churches, condemning as absolutely sinful all resistance to the crown. Indeed, the fact of the final rejection of the Exclusion Bill was, no doubt, greatly owing to the steady opposition of the church to the principle. As might have been expected on this question, the Nonconformists were prominent in the anti-Roman agitation, and their policy in the matter of the exclusion of James, duke of York, was exactly opposite to that of the church.

We have dwelt at some length upon the action of the Church of England during the earlier and middle years of Charles II.'s reign, in the matter of the persecuting acts of the Cavalier Parliament—viz. the "Conventicle" Acts, the "Five-Mile" Act, and the "Test" Act. This unhappy legislation was undoubtedly the work of the reactionary "long" Parliament of the Restoration, but there is no doubt that a considerable portion of the Church of England welcomed the spirit of the acts, if it did not actually suggest them. The effect has been disastrous. When the monarchy was restored, and when with the monarchy the church regained at once its old position, Puritanism was split up into various sects—Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists; and the Independents were again subdivided. The bitter and cruel persecution which followed the passing of the above-mentioned Acts of Parliament, had

the effect of welding into one great phalanx of Nonconformity, sects nearly as much opposed in doctrine and in practice to one another as to the Church of England ; and its enemy, never its friend. The persecuting acts, it is true, no longer disgrace the statute-book ; but the unhappy spirit of bitter, irreconcilable enmity aroused by

LORD CLARENDON.
(*From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely.*)

henceforth these divided communions were more or less knit together in their dislike and opposition to the church. From this time onward, Anglicanism has been confronted by Nonconformity—alas ! ever as them has never been laid. To this day, on too many subjects of public interest, Nonconformity joins hands in resolute and determined opposition to the church ; and the sad spectacle is often witnessed

of a strange, unnatural Nonconformist alliance even with the community which denies the divinity of our Lord, when questions arise concerning such matters as the education of the poor. This unnatural enmity between Anglicans and the often noble descendants of the devout and earnest Puritans, paralyses not unfrequently the truest and best work of God's servants, alike in the camps of Anglicans and Dissenters.

The reaction from the excesses and extravagances of Puritanism, which had offended so deeply all sorts and conditions of Englishmen, brought in its train, besides that spirit of persecution which we have commented upon as living all through the long Cavalier Parliament, much else that was deeply regrettable. A licence hitherto unknown pervaded the court, the capital, and to a lesser extent the provinces. Godliness, which in many cases had passed into hypocrisy, was scornfully regarded. A general laxity in morals became the characteristic feature in the society of the capital. Duelling, swearing, debauchery in its most degrading features, became too common among the nobles and gentlemen of the Restoration court. The king, who is ever looked upon as the type and model of society, set the evil example. The head of the court was himself a notorious offender against all the recognised rules of propriety and even decency. Nowhere in the annals of the monarchy do we possess such a shameless record as that of the second Charles. "Mistress followed mistress, and the guilt of a troop of profligate women was blazoned to the world by the gift of titles and estates. The royal bastards were set among the English nobles. . . . Gambling and drinking helped to fill up the vacant moments when he could no longer toy with his favourites, or bet at Newmarket. No thought of remorse or shame seems ever to have crossed his mind."*

The example of the sovereign was only too faithfully copied by the nobles and gentlemen of his court, and the evil example, alas! filtered into society outside the charmed circle of royalty. The popular drama of the period but too conspicuously reflects the low tone unhappily prevailing. Nothing too severe can be said of the teaching of the favourite playwrights of the day. Wycherley, the best known of them, has acquired a painful prominence among immoral writers, and his evil suggestions were listened to with delight and applause by thousands. There were, of course, noble exceptions among the great and influential to this general profligacy, such as Clarendon, the great minister; and in the provinces, it is true, the sad deterioration in morals was less observable.

The church was powerless to arrest this wild delirium, which succeeded the unnatural restraints of the generally hated Puritanism; but it will ever be a grave reproach that sterner rebukes were not publicly administered by the restored Anglican divines. No doubt a feeling of gratitude for the support and patronage of the government and leading personages, disposed the church for a season to look too gently upon the faults and excesses of men, who had raised their communion from the misery and impotence to which it

* Green: "History of the English People," chap. ix.

had been reduced by the Puritan domination and tyranny. But though the comparative silence of the ecclesiastical teachers, when their voices of warning and remonstrance were so sorely needed, may find apologists, it must ever remain a dark blot upon the fair fame of the church of that period, that more earnest efforts were not made to stem the wild torrent of licence and evil living which so painfully characterises the epoch of the Restoration.

The story of the century generally is, after all, a saddening retrospect, and sternly forbids anything like pride, or even content and satisfaction, on the part of either Puritan or churchman. The triumph of the Puritans had been marked by utter lack of sympathy in and with the life of the people. It was a dreary, sunless existence to which they would have condemned all sorts and conditions of men. They saw, or thought they saw, evil in all harmless recreation. As a party and a sect,* they were strangely blind to all the ennobling influences of art, whether exemplified in painting, sculpture, or architecture. Godliness and religion, in the sense these men understood them, became bywords of scorn among the people. Hypocrisy crept in when it became clear that a profession of sanctity was necessary to obtain favour in the eyes of the dominant party in the state. The burning disputes between Presbyterian and Independent swept away even the semblance of order and discipline, and a number of wild and fanatical sects contended among themselves for the position of religious guides to the nation. The Church of England seems to have been the especial object of hate and persecution among all these communions, and in a lesser degree, because fewer in number, the Roman Catholics. To stamp down anything like serious opposition, the Puritan saints were simply merciless in the methods they used. It would be difficult to match the cruel severity which distinguished Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan leaders in the well-known Irish campaign, while the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford are memorable instances of the shameful crimes which a vengeful and conquering force thinks itself justified in perpetrating. We have dwelt, it will be remembered, upon the noblest and best side of Puritanism, and have shown how lasting has been its effect on English life and character; but, alas! Puritanism triumphant had a darker side.

The triumph of the Church of England, again, we have sorrowfully noticed, was contemporaneous with a marked increase in immorality and in the general dissoluteness of society, especially in the court and capital. In literature, in the pursuits and pleasures especially of the higher ranks of society, a lower standard was aimed at; and a marked deterioration in English social life becomes apparent, when a comparison is made with the days of Elizabeth, even of the first two Stuarts.

The English Roman Catholics, too, can only view with sadness the part which Romanism played during the reign of the second Charles. The king notoriously favoured Rome, and died in her communion. But the influence of this comparatively small body was ever exercised in

* There were, of course, exceptions, notably in Oliver Cromwell himself in the latter years of his life.

favour of the pretensions of the powerful French monarch, Louis XIV. Little cared the majority of the English Romanists whether or no England was the vassal of France. The sinister power which the great French king exercised during most of this reign over England, was in no slight measure due to Rome. The prevailing feeling in England, that a Romanist was no patriot—where his religion was concerned—was by no means baseless.

Yet although the Anglican, the Puritan, the Roman Catholic, in reviewing this period, finds alike abundant material for self-abasement, and little for self-congratulation, the picture of the irreligious side of English society which the reign of Charles II. presents is so sombre in its hues, that the thoughtful student trembles when he thinks what the country would have been without the restraint and teaching of the church or Puritanism, even such as they were. His chief cause of complaint against the church is that it seems to have failed at this juncture to exercise the whole of that mighty power of restraining vice, and the dissoluteness so general after the Restoration, which to a great extent it undoubtedly possessed.

Within the church, after it had become again the recognised church of the land, much was done. Generally its restored ministrations were warmly welcomed. But only very gradually, especially in the country districts, was church order properly restored. The long domination of the several sects of Puritans had accustomed the people to various kinds of divine service, all more or less alien to the Anglican spirit. Especially had the fabrics of the churches, and even of the cathedrals, been suffered to pass into a state of shameful neglect, even of decay. Evelyn's words are well known when he says (he is speaking of Suffolk), "Most of the houses of God in this county resemble rather stables and thatched cottages than temples in which to serve the Most High."* This state of things was by degrees largely amended, and among the restorations of the fabrics of the churches the cathedrals deserve special mention. Not a little renewed care and thought in the period following the Restoration of 1660 was devoted to the fabrics of the cathedrals and churches. There is no doubt that much of the decay and desolation in these noble buildings, which has attracted so much attention and called forth such splendid offerings during the last twenty or thirty years of the nineteenth century, was due to the spirit of neglect, almost of aversion, with which the Puritans had regarded those noble homes of prayer which the Church of England has inherited from a remote past.

Conspicuous among the repairing and rebuilding work done in the days of Charles II. was the almost entire rebuilding of the cathedral of St. Paul's in the metropolis. This magnificent pile had suffered greatly from fire in the days of queen Elizabeth; after remaining partially in ruin for a long period, Laud did much towards restoring the vast cathedral. The great fire of 1666 again destroyed it. Evelyn† writes of it thus: "I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly church, St. Paul's—now a sad ruin, and that beautiful portico, for structure comparable to any in Europe . . . now rent in pieces."

* Diary of John Evelyn (1677).
† *Ibid.* (1666).

CHARLES II. VISITING WREN DURING THE BUILDING OF ST. PAUL'S.
(By permission of the owner, W. G. King, Esq., from the picture by Seymour Lucas, R.A.)

The new church was commenced in 1675, and the present magnificent building, the largest in England, was completed in about twenty-five years. Evelyn, in 1681, tells us also how Sir Christopher Wren, the king's architect—"this incomparable personage," as he terms him—"was in hand with the building of fifty parish churches" in the city of London. Throughout the kingdom, indeed, the works of church restoration and rebuilding were actively carried on in the years succeeding the Restoration, but, alas! were not sufficient to arrest much of the decay which Puritan neglect and even destructive fanaticism had brought about.

This period also witnessed the first efforts of what was subsequently known as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.* Missionary work in America had been commenced during the Commonwealth by John Eliot, whose name will ever be held in honour as the pioneer of that work for which the Anglican communion has always been distinguished among churches; but it is to Robert Boyle, a son of lord Cork, that is owing the first real organised effort. By his efforts a large portion of the New Testament was translated into the Malayan tongue, and another version of the Holy Scripture was also made into Arabic, or rather Turkish, for circulation in the Levant, then becoming a great field for English commerce.

Among the difficulties which met the restored Anglican communion was the lack of sufficiently trained ministers to fill the many posts vacated by the expelled Nonconformists; and many, no doubt, were ordained who possessed little learning or fitness for their sacred calling. In spite of this grave hindrance to its progress and usefulness, the Church of England maintained its ancient reputation for learning and erudition, owing to the presence in its ranks of a band of extraordinarily learned and devoted leaders. No age, perhaps, produced so famous a group of English theologians. Amongst these eminent Caroline divines, as they are termed, may be cited the names of Bull, afterwards bishop of St. David's, the author of the "Defence of the Nicene Creed," a monumental work of erudition and research, famed far beyond the limits of England; and Pearson, the expositor of the Creed, whose book is still the text-book, alike for the young student and for the ripe theological scholar. Jeremy Taylor, too, Cosin, Barrow, Ken, Tillotson, South, Stillingfleet, and Sanderson are still household words among us. Hammond, perhaps one of the most distinguished of them all, died very shortly after the fall of Puritanism, just before he was about to be consecrated bishop of Worcester; but he left behind him writings which exercised a most enduring influence in the restored church.

Sanderson is a good example of this brilliant and saintly company, although by no means the most illustrious of these Caroline bishops and divines. He was a type of the great church leaders of the time, and in Isaak Walton's simple and beautiful little memoir we gather what those who lived in the same age thought of him. Sanderson was a distinguished Oxonian in the days of Charles I., who at the request of Laud made him his chaplain. The king valued him much, and subse-

* The charter of the S.P.G. was granted formally in 1701.

quently preferred him to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford. As a teacher and writer on casuistical divinity he was perhaps unrivalled. Driven by the Puritan party in their day of power from his university chair, he betook himself to the quiet seclusion of his country living at Boothby-Pagnel in Lincolnshire, where during the troubles he was left unmolested. During the period of the church's deepest degradation, Sanderson, with Hammond and a few other like-minded men, kept alive the fading torch of the ruined Anglican Church. He was the spiritual guide and adviser of numbers in those days of gloom and bitter anxiety. His biographer relates how by his beautiful life, "his peaceful moderation and sincerity, he became so remarkable that there were many that applied to him for resolution in perplexed cases of conscience, some known to him and many not, some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters; so many that his life became almost as restless as their minds." On the Restoration he was appointed bishop of Lincoln. Although he only occupied his see for a short time (dying in 1662), he was most energetic in carrying out the royal injunction directing the repair and restoration of all church buildings, including the houses of the clergy. The restoration of Lincoln cathedral was particularly his object of care.

Sanderson's sermons are still models of style, written in vigorous English. He left behind him the reputation of a scholar, a preacher, and a learned theologian, and, above all, he set to the English Church the high example of a devoted friend and parish priest, fearless and self-denying. His above quoted biographer* closes his little sketch of Sanderson with the following touching words, which well represent the popular estimation in which the great divine was held by churchmen of that time —he had been telling the story of Sanderson's last hours: "Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life. It is now too late to wish that mine may be like his (for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age, and God knows it hath not), but I most humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may."

In this great church revival and triumph it must not, however, be supposed that the Puritans, though persecuted and driven from all positions of honour and emolument, and looked on with disfavour generally, in the country as in the metropolis, lost entirely their influence among the English people. Among their leading divines were not a few men of great learning, of devoted earnestness, and of deep piety. These, in that period which was indeed to them a time of clouds and darkness, scarcely lit up with a passing ray of sunshine, by their writings and exhortations, private as well as public, amid surroundings of discouragement and even danger, kept alive the Puritan tradition, handing on to future

* *Isaak Walton*, whose biographies, especially that of Hooker, have been several times quoted, was born in 1593 and died in 1683, in his ninetieth year. He is best known as "the common father of all anglers," but his literary powers and acquirements were great. His biographies of a few of the noted and distinguished divines of the century are admirable in their simplicity, transparent truthfulness, and exquisite language. He was intimately associated with many of the eminent churchmen who lived during the period of the Stuart kings and the Commonwealth.

generations the doctrines and teachings which had been so long dear to many of the most earnest of their Puritan countrymen. The old Puritan God-fearing spirit, with all its many grave errors, was too deeply cherished in the hearts of thousands of Englishmen to be uprooted even by

(*After a contemporary engraving by Robert White.*)

years of unpopularity, accompanied with bitter persecution. England, as a whole, emphatically preferred the church, with its immemorial traditions, with its primitive rites and doctrines, and its greater sympathy with the mass of the people generally. The real joy which welcomed its restoration in 1660–1 tells us this with a voice none can mistake. But there was something in Puritanism which was deathless, and which survived even the great Restoration reaction. Among the two thousand who refused to conform, and who for conscience sake gave up possessions, place, and rank, were not a few very learned and eloquent men, some of whom during the Commonwealth had filled with honour and distinction professors' chairs at Oxford and Cambridge; some of them, as great preachers, and writers and pastors, had won a deserved reputation and a commanding influence. Among these ejected Puritan divines, such names as those of Baxter, Howe, and Owen are still household words among the English Nonconformist communities. A brief picture of the first of these, who may be considered as the leader of the Nonconformists during the days of the second and third Stuart kings, will give a fair instance of the spirit which lived in these men.

Richard Baxter, the son of a well-to-do Puritan Shropshire yeoman, was born in 1615, and trained for the ministry of the Church of England. His mind, however, was largely influenced by Puritan teaching, though it is said that the study of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity" reconciled him to episcopal ordination and the order of the Church of England. Ordained at Worcester in 1638, he soon obtained a reputation as a preacher. He was also an indefatigable student, and his Puritan bias soon led him to question certain of the rites and ceremonies of the church in which he was a minister. He continued, however, to perform his duties, and at Kidderminster, where with some interruptions he worked for years, his work was attended with conspicuous success. During part of the Civil Wars he acted as chaplain to the

Parliamentary regiment of colonel Whalley. In spite of his fervid Puritanism he by no means sympathised with the ecclesiastical measures of the dominant party, and was, especially, strongly opposed to the Solemn League and Covenant. Nor did he hesitate openly to oppose even Cromwell. After the Restoration, when Charles II. hoped to effect a union between the more moderate Puritans and the Anglican Church, Baxter was appointed a royal chaplain, and as he was looked upon as one of the most learned and influential of his party, was even offered the mitre of Hereford.

Then came the famous Savoy Conference, between the church in the hour of its sudden but complete triumph, and the Puritans, dismayed at the tremendous change in their position. But there was at that historic meeting no attempt at conciliation, no movement in the direction of yielding, on either side. The leading position among the Puritans seems to have been taken by Baxter; and while on the one hand the church conceded nothing, on the other Baxter, the great representative of Puritanism, stoutly contended for the abolition, or at least for the merely

JUDGE JEFFREYS AND RICHARD BAXTER.

(*By permission, from the picture by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield.*)

optional use, of most of the ritual and practice which so long had been objected to by Puritanism.

The final rejection by the church of the Puritan demands, determined Baxter to throw in his lot henceforth with the men who refused to submit to the stern Act of Uniformity passed after the failure of the Savoy Conference. Henceforth, as the recognised leader of Nonconformity, he became the object of bitter persecution, and "in the forty-seventh year of his age (after a life spent in ceaseless and noble work), bowed down with infirmities, was driven from his home and his weeping congregation, to pass the remainder of his life in loathsome jails and precarious hiding places, there to compose in penury and in almost ceaseless pain, works without parallel in the history of English theological literature, for their extent and prodigality of intellectual wealth."* The tremendous catalogue of his printed works comprises one hundred and sixty volumes, the subjects on which he wrote covering the entire field of theology, and comprising doctrinal, practical, polemical, and casuistical treatises. Of course, they are very unequal, but many of them are vigorous and powerful, and contain passages of great majesty and beauty. Of these the famous "Saint's Rest" is perhaps the best known and most enduring.

Towards the end of his busy, toil-worn life, occurred that well-known scene at Guildhall, when Baxter, then an old man, appeared before the notorious chief justice Jeffreys, accused of advocating sedition in his writings. It was in a commentary on the New Testament that the obnoxious words occurred. The scene was a remarkable one. Never had that unrighteous judge been more violent than when he tried Baxter. He did not scruple to term the great Puritan an old rogue, an old schismatical knave, an hypocritical villain; and when the counsel for the defence alluded to Baxter's noble record, and how king Charles was willing to have conferred a bishopric upon him, if he would have consented to conform, "Aye," said the judge, "we know that, but what ailed the old blockhead, the unthankful villain, that he would not conform? Is he wiser or better than other men? He hath been ever since the spring of the faction. I am sure he hath poisoned the world with his doctrine—a conceited, stubborn, fanatical dog!" As might have been expected in such a court, Baxter was condemned to a great fine and imprisonment, from which, however, after about two years he was released, and his fine remitted.

He survived this last cruel stroke some five more years, working, writing, preaching to the last. None of the Puritan leaders in the days of the great persecution came up to him in power, self-denial, and endurance; but he had many imitators and followers, who kept alive the torch of Puritanism until better and calmer days, when a measure of toleration was extended to these men, who, with all their errors and mistakes, have ever played, and are playing still, a great part in the religious training of their countrymen.

* Sir James Stephens: "Richard Baxter."

CHAPTER LXVIII.

JAMES II. AND THE REVOLUTION.

Last Days of Charles, and Accession of James II.—The King a Roman Catholic—His Religious Zeal—Appointment of Romanists to Various Posts—Restores the Court of High Commission, and Suspends the Bishop of London—The King's Declaration of Indulgence—Tyrannical Proceedings at Oxford University—Magdalen made a Romish Seminary—Various other Absolutist Measures—Resistance of the Anglican Clergy—Petition of the Bishops Against Reading the Declaration of Indulgence—Imprisonment of the Seven Bishops—Their Trial and Acquittal—Attitude of the Puritans—The Birth of a Prince Precipitates the Crisis—William of Orange Invited to England—The King's Too Late Concessions—Flight of James—The Convention Parliament Confers the Crown upon William and Mary.

THE reign of Charles II. came to a sudden end early in the year 1685.* For about a quarter of a century, as we have seen, light and shadow alternated in the history of the Church of England. Never in the long course of its existence had it been so triumphantly shown how deep a lodgment it possessed in the hearts of the people. The wonderful expressions of joy and deep content which had welcomed its restoration to its old place of power and influence in the realm, can never be forgotten. The work and teaching of the great Anglican divines during that period contributed largely to its consolidation, and deepened and widened its commanding influence. Puritanism, in the more extravagant and exaggerated forms which it had assumed in the period immediately preceding and during the Civil War and the Commonwealth, though by no means extinct, or ceasing to be a great force in the religious life of the country, was no longer a grave source of danger to the church. On the other hand, the broad rift between Anglicanism and Puritanism had been seriously widened by the cruel series of persecuting acts levelled against all Nonconformists, passed by a Parliament smarting under the remembrance of the Presbyterian and Independent tyranny of the Commonwealth. This deplorable policy, however, weakened instead of strengthening the position of the church, which certainly acquiesced in, if it did not actually promote, these unhappy measures.

The reign of Charles II. had lasted about a quarter of a century, and will be for ever memorable in the annals of the church which had in his days experienced so marvellous a revolution in its fortunes. The end of that brilliant, kindly, thoughtless life came with startling suddenness. The too true pictures painted by John Evelyn in his diary, of the last Sunday evening of the king's life at Whitehall, faithfully depicts the wild and dissolute society of the Restoration period, to which we have

* As our history proceeds, we have less and less cause to trace the civil history of the time. The rise and fall of the different ministers of Charles II. and their administrations, the selfish life of the king, his miserable subservience to France, are more or less well known, and have been fully painted in the well-known history of Macaulay, and at less length by Green, and have been described in the lucid and admirable précis of Gardiner in his "Student's History of England"—all works within the easy reach of students.

already alluded, and of which the king and his court were the examples and models, sadly and faithfully copied in a thousand less

REVERSE OF ANTI-POPERY MEDAL STRUCK IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. REPRESENTING THE HEADS OF THE POPE AND THE DEVIL JOINED IN ONE. (*British Museum.*)

distinguished circles. "I can never forget," wrote Evelyn, "the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of; the king sitting and toying with his concubines the duchesses of Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, a French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least £2,000 in gold before them. Upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after, was all in the dust."*

That very Sunday night when Evelyn looked on the gay and wicked scene, was king Charles seized with his brief but fatal illness. In his dying moments, it will be well remembered, the king declared that he was a Roman Catholic, and received the last sacraments at the hands of the Papist Father Huddleston. A new and unexpected time of trial now lay before the church. The duke of York, better known as James II., followed his brother on the throne. James had avowedly become a "convert" to Roman Catholicism, and, like many converts, was intensely in earnest to promote what he considered the welfare of his new faith. For it he risked all, and justly lost three crowns in his attempt to re-introduce it into England.

He began his reign well, with an unstudied address to the Privy Council, in which he acknowledged his debt to the Church of England, "which he knew to be eminently

REVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK IN 1688 REPRESENTING JAMES IN THE FORM OF A DOG WEARING A ROSARY, SWALLOWING A BOOK INSCRIBED M. J. (MAGNUM JURAMENTUM), TRAMPLING ON ANOTHER WITH L. C. (LIBERTAS CONSCIENTIÆ), AND THROWING DOWN FROM A COLUMN A THIRD WITH S.R.P. (SALUS RELIGIONIS PROTESTANTIS) AND SEALS T. P. (TEST AND PENAL LAWS). (*British Museum.*)

loyal; it would ever be his care to support and defend her." But very soon he forgot

* Diary of John Evelyn, 1685

THE ANTE-CHAMBER, WHITEHALL, DURING THE DYING MOMENTS OF CHARLES II.

(From the picture by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.)

his words, and planned a deliberate attack on that church which had been for so long devotedly attached to his cause, determining by a series of such attacks to thrust her from the commanding position she occupied in the country.

The "Test Act," passed in 1673, required from all officers, civil and military, a declaration against transubstantiation. In Parliament, which after a short session in May had re-assembled in November, 1685, he announced that he had dispensed with the provisions of the Act in question in the case of some officers he had appointed to posts in the army. The Commons at once ventured to remonstrate with the king. In the House of Lords, Compton, bishop of London, declared that in consequence of the royal procedure the constitution was in danger. The answer of the king was the prorogation of Parliament, and the removal of bishop Compton from his position of dean of the Chapel Royal and his status as Privy Councillor.

Even previous to this, James had scandalised the Protestant members of his court by ordering a public celebration of the Roman Catholic rites in the private chapel of the palace, and by having a series of sermons preached before him by Papist ecclesiastics. At his coronation, which was performed in Westminster Abbey with great pomp and ceremony, certain significant omissions were noticed. By the king's command the Communion Service was not used, and the ceremony of the presentation to the monarch of a copy of the English Bible was left out. To preserve some show of legality for his proceedings, James II. procured an opinion from certain of the judges who were devoted to him, that the Crown might dispense with laws, and thus set the provisions of the obnoxious Test Act at defiance. Acting at once upon this opinion, the king proceeded to appoint to the Privy Council certain Roman Catholic peers, and even one or two Romish priests who held office at court. The royal chapel at St. James's was decorated with all the magnificence which belonged to the proscribed religion. A Jesuit school was established in the Savoy, and colonies of Benedictines, Franciscans, and Carmelites were placed in different centres in London. Emboldened by the success of his armies in Scotland, and still more by his signal triumph over the duke of Monmouth,* who had raised in the west of England the standard of revolt and assumed the title of king, James proceeded to take further steps to restore Romanism, and to degrade the Church of England. He especially directed his attention to the two great universities, and at Oxford made some significant changes, appointing Romanists to various important posts.

The country was now thoroughly alarmed, and many of the clergy openly preached against the errors of Rome—notably Dr. Sharp, the dean of Norwich, who also held in London the rectory of St. Giles. Compton, the bishop of London, was ordered to suspend Sharp. On the bishop's demurring, he was summoned before the Court of High Commission, a tribunal which the king on his own authority re-established. This court had been formally abolished by two Acts of Parliament. The "High Commission" was entrusted with great and undefined

* The duke of Monmouth was a natural son of Charles II.

powers, and suspended the bishop of London for his disobedience to the royal orders.

These extraordinary and imprudent measures of the king were viewed with apprehension by the most eminent foreign Roman Catholics of that day. The imperious and unstatesmanlike character of James was well known at Rome and in the cabinets of Europe. In the early days of his reign he was urged to be cautious and prudent, notably by the Pope, Innocent XI., and by the cabinet of the Escurial, the two principal centres of Roman Catholicism. The great Continental Romish statesmen felt that the true interests of the Romanists in England would never be permanently advanced by sudden and sweeping measures in their favour. Such would, they felt, only alarm the great majority of the English, and the reaction, they were well aware, would be terrible. If James II. received no warnings from the third great Romish power, which issued its despatches from Versailles, it was because the relations which had long existed between Louis XIV. and the house of Stuart were of a peculiar and dangerous description, Charles II. and his brother being secretly subsidised by France. Rome and Spain, however, had had long experience of the temper of the English nation; they were well aware of the dread and repulsion felt in the great island kingdom for Roman Catholicism; and the results, which with strange rapidity followed the policy of the Roman Catholic Stuart king, more than justified the wise and statesmanlike cautions which came from both.

At first sight nothing is stranger in history than the expulsion of the Stuarts. It seems incredible that the wonderful reaction which brought about and welcomed with a truly national welcome the return of the royal family in the person of Charles II., could have worn itself out in less than thirty years; incredible that the enthusiasm which received the king in 1661 could have been exchanged for the hatred which culminated in the expulsion of his brother James in 1688—a hatred shared by statesmen and people of all ranks and orders, and so intense that for a brief period it united in one object the triumphant Church of England and the persecuted Nonconformists. It needed, indeed, something of no ordinary force, something which could appeal at once to the reason and passions of Englishmen of all sorts and conditions, to weld into one such apparently discordant elements. But this was supplied by James's wild infatuation, by his imperious determination to re-introduce Romanism as *the* religion of England.

For the last Stuart king was deaf to the temperate warnings of Continental statesmen, as earnest as he was for the advancement of Roman Catholicism, only wiser and more far-seeing; deaf to the prudent advice of his kinsmen, the lords Clarendon and Rochester, who occupied the highest place among his ministers and confidants; deaf to the counsels of tried and veteran Royalists like Ormond. He ignored the opinions of the wisest judges and lawyers; and, more than all, he flouted and hopelessly alienated the most powerful and devoted ally of his royal house, the Church of England, which in its extreme reverence for loyalty to the crown, had long preached

consistently from a thousand pulpits the doctrine of passive obedience. Nothing but the fear of Rome could ever have touched the blind loyalty of men like Clarendon, Rochester, and Ormond, or the conscientious devotion to the throne of ecclesiastics like Sancroft of Canterbury, Compton of London, and Ken of Bath and Wells. But "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*" ("Whom God has marked for ruin, he first allows to become insane"), and well did James II. exemplify the truth of the saying.

Without relenting he pursued his headlong, ruinous course. In the April of 1687 he published his famous "Declaration of Indulgence." In it he stated his conviction that conscience was not to be forced, that persecution was harmful to commerce, and such like platitudes; and then went on to sweep away by his own sovereign authority, by a dispensing power which he claimed as belonging to the crown, a long series of statutes. By this "Declaration" he suspended all penal laws against Nonconformists, authorising all sects—Independents, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics—publicly to perform their worship according to their own peculiar rites and uses.

The re-establishment of the Court of High Commission, with its vast vague powers, the publication of the Declaration of Indulgence, the arbitrary acts of James in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge—particularly in the former university, showed all thoughtful men what was in the Roman Catholic king's mind, in spite of his protestation that he intended to protect the Church of England in the enjoyment of her legal status and rights. It was evident that he aimed, if not at the destruction, certainly at the degradation of the church so dear to the English nation. At Oxford he had already changed the ancient foundation of University College into a Roman Catholic seminary, while the magnificent Christ Church had been placed under the rule of a Roman Catholic dean. With little pause the king went on with his Oxford changes. He determined to appropriate for his co-religionists the great foundation of Magdalen, at that time perhaps the wealthiest of the Oxford colleges.

This important society, when James II. was king, consisted of a president, of forty fellows, and of a number of scholars, chaplains, and choristers. It was in the March of 1687 that the president of this powerful college died; and by a royal letter James recommended for the vacant headship one Anthony Farmer, a Romanist. According to the statutes of the college, Farmer, not being a fellow, was ineligible for the post. Other matters connected with the character of Farmer rendered him also unfit for the headship. The fellows, who formed the governing body of electors, respectfully remonstrated, begging the king, if he was pleased to recommend them a president, that one might be found whom they could legally elect. James never replied, and the fellows proceeded to elect as president an eminently suitable candidate, who afterwards became well known—John Hough. For this disobedience to the royal wishes, the offending fellows of Magdalen were summoned to appear before the newly-constituted Court of High Commission; and the Commission, with an insolent defiance of law and custom, pronounced Hough's election void. A royal letter then recommended Dr.

His Majesties

GRACIOUS

DECLARATION

To all His Loving Subjects for

Liberty of Conscience.

JAMES R.

IT having pleased Almighty God not only to bring Us to the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms through the greatest Difficulties, but to preserve Us by a more than ordinary Providence upon the Throne of Our Royal Ancestors, There is nothing now that We so earnestly desire, as to Establish Our Government on such a Foundation, as may make Our Subjects happy, and unite them to Us by Inclination as well as Duty; Which We think can be done by no Means so effectually, as by Granting to them the free Exercise of their Religion for the Time to come, and add that to the perfect enjoyment of their Property, which has never been in any Case Invaded by Us since Our coming to the Crown: which being the two Things Men value most, shall ever be preserved

A in

FIRST PAGE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE, 1687. (*British Museum.*)

Parker, bishop of Oxford, as president. Parker, if not actually a Romanist, in heart at least was with the Romanist party. He was rejected by the electors on the ground that Hough had been legally elected. Shortly afterwards the king made a progress through a large part of England, and in the course of his progress visited Oxford. The fellows of Magdalen were summoned to meet their king, who in person haughtily required their submission to his expressed wishes in the matter of the election of a president. He was met, much to his surprise, with a direct though courteous refusal. A commission under the High Court, armed with special visitorial powers over Magdalen College, was appointed to deal with the matter; and in the end the president Hough and the body of the fellows were ejected. Bishop Parker dying shortly after, the college became a Roman Catholic seminary under the presidency of the Roman bishop Giffard, twelve Popish fellows bearing rule under him.

This episode is here related with some detail, because none of James's high-handed proceedings so disturbed and disgusted the Church of England, as did this treatment of one of the most famous colleges of the loyal university of Oxford. Every minister of the church, from the vicar of the humblest parish to the highest dignitary of the proudest cathedral, was sensible that his freehold in the church might be any moment taken from him, and given at the arbitary will of the sovereign to a member of another church. James, by his treachery to the Establishment, had justly forfeited the loyalty, and had lost for ever the support, of the powerful church whose devotion to the house of Stuart had been proverbial.

Nor did the king in his mad infatuation by any means limit the sphere of his high-handed arbitrary proceedings to the universities and the church. The great officers of state, who declined to assist him in his determination to restore what he deemed the true religion, were rapidly removed from their positions and replaced by devoted Romanists. Neither the claims of near kinship, nor the traditions of a long and unbroken loyal service, sufficed to maintain the chief servants of the crown in their posts. His brothers-in-law, the earls of Clarendon and Rochester, the one lord lieutenant of Ireland, the other lord treasurer, fell. The Romanist lord Bellasys became first lord of the treasury, no lord treasurer being appointed when Rochester was dismissed. Lord Arundel, another Roman Catholic, became privy seal. Father Petre, a Jesuit, received a seat at the privy council. The nuncio of the Pope was even received in state at Windsor.

A yet more offensive and illegal procedure took place in the case of the lords lieutenant of the counties. These officers were commanded to effect such a "regulation" of the governing body in the boroughs, as would ensure the return of candidates for the House of Commons pledged to the repeal of the Test Act. Many of them at once refused, and these were at once relieved of their offices.

The church, in the person of some of its most famous preachers, now more and more openly inveighed against the errors of Rome. Evelyn in his diary notes how, thanks to the efforts of the church, "by God's providence the Papists made small

progress among us." The king, in the meantime, apparently emboldened by the absence of any open resistance to his illegal doings, proceeded to an act which at length roused the whole nation to an active resistance—a resistance which brought about the revolution, and precipitated the fate of the Stuart dynasty. In May of 1688 he issued an order directing the famous Declaration of Indulgence, which, as we have seen, among other provisions, suspended all penal enactments in ecclesiastical matters, to be published in all the churches of the kingdom. The bishops were directed to cause the said Declaration "to be sent round and distributed through their dioceses to be read according."

POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK AT THE TIME OF THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS, REPRESENTING THE CHURCH BEING UNDERMINED BY A JESUIT AND A MONK BUT SUPPORTED BY A HAND FROM HEAVEN. (*British Museum.*)

The Anglican clergy hesitated to obey. For a brief season it hung in the balance whether or no the king's tyrannical mandate would be complied with. The High Commission Court was a powerful and terrible tribunal, and many an incumbent would naturally hesitate, lest by disobedience to the royal order he might bring himself under its arbitary powers. At this juncture the leading London clergy came boldly forward, and positively refused to read the royal Declaration. They were supported by the patriotism of the chiefs of the Nonconformists, by such men as Baxter and Howe; who, to their great honour, in this critical juncture stood by the Church of England in defence of the laws of the realm. At a meeting of such of the bishops as could be summoned in haste to Lambeth, and of other eminent divines, a petition to the king was drawn up, in which, while reiterating the fervent loyalty of the church to the crown, earnest protests were made against the illegality of the Declaration of Indulgence, Parliament having both in the present and late reigns pronounced that the sovereign was not competent to dispense with statutes in matters ecclesiastical.

James received the document at the hands of the bishops who had drawn it up with deep anger, saying, "This is a great surprise to me. I did not expect this from your church. This is a standard of rebellion." The saintly Ken of Bath and Wells was prominent in his firm though respectful personal remonstrances to the king. The other prelates present, to the number of seven, were equally firm. James was unyielding. "You are trumpeters of sedition: what do you here?" said the

king. "Go to your dioceses and see that I am obeyed. . . . God has given me the dispensing power, and I will maintain it."*

Not through any official source apparently, but clandestinely, the bishops' petition at once appeared in print. It was read and re-read in London and in every village in the kingdom, and generally with marked sympathy and approval. The Sunday following the presentation of the petition to the king, was the first of the four appointed Sundays for the reading of the celebrated Declaration or Indulgence. The dates were the 20th and 27th May, and the 3rd and 10th of June, 1688. What happened was as follows: — In the city and liberties of London at that time were about a hundred parish churches. In only four of them was the royal order complied with. In Westminster Abbey Dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester, a creature of the king, officiated as dean. When he began to read the Declaration the congregation rose and left the great choir where the service was being held. The same refusal to read the royal manifesto was again general on the three succeeding appointed Sundays. The provinces followed the example of the metropolis. Not one parish priest in fifty complied with the order in council directing the public reading. Seven bishops originally had signed, and in person presented the petition to James, but in addition to these the bishops of Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, and Winchester had subsequently signed copies of the petition, to show their full approval of it. As we have already noticed, the leading Nonconformists stoutly and bravely supported the Church of England in this resistance to the unconstitutional demand of the crown.

OBVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK AT THE TIME OF THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS. REPRESENTS THE BISHOPS (ON THE LEFT) APPROACHING THE TOWER, POPULACE ON THE OTHER SIDE. (*British Museum.*)

The king still, in spite of this strong expression of the national will, refused to yield. The question with him was, What action should he take in the case of the seven bishops who, as the first signatories of the petition against the Declaration, had placed themselves at the head of the resistance to the royal will? Several courses were suggested in the council. The more prudent of the royal advisers, aware of the strength of the opposition, were of opinion that the king would best consult his dignity by leaving the bishops for the present alone. The lord chancellor Jeffreys, however, was in favour of a

* *Cf.* Macaulay ("History of England," chap. vii.), who relates the strange scene at length.

decided course of action, and induced the king to cite the seven before the Court of King's Bench, on a charge of seditious libel. Jeffreys expected they would be convicted, and that the infliction of a ruinous fine and imprisonment would strike terror into the hearts of the less distinguished offenders, who would in the end be content to comply with the king's wishes in the matter of publishing the Declaration. Summoned before the council, the seven bishops were informed of the royal determination. They behaved on this occasion with dignified firmness, and the same day a warrant was made out committing them to the Tower. They were at once conveyed in a royal barge from Whitehall to the historic prison of England.

REVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK AT THE TIME OF THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS. IT REPRESENTS SIX OF THE BISHOPS WITH COMPTON, BISHOP OF LONDON, IN THE CENTRE. COMPTON HAD BEEN SUSPENDED BY JAMES (*see p.* 187). (*British Museum.*)

The names of the seven illustrious bishops who had stood forth as the champions of their church and of the constitutional rights of Englishmen were—the primate, archbishop Sancroft, Compton of London, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells,

REVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK AT THE TIME OF THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS. IT REPRESENTS THE CHURCH ON A ROCK BUFFETED BY THE FOUR WINDS. (*British Museum.*)

Trelawney of Bristol. The progress of the barge down the river with the seven accused bishops partook of the nature of a triumphal procession. The river was crowded with craft, thousands being anxious to catch a glimpse of the heroes of the hour. Many as they thronged the banks even waded some way out into the stream to get nearer the captive prelates. Their blessing was invoked, and many earnest prayers went up from excited hearts for their safety. A deputation of Nonconformist divines visited the Tower after the bishops were lodged there. Some of these Nonconformists were sent for, and personally rebuked by the king for their unlooked-for disloyalty at such a moment. Their reply was a memorable one. They felt all past disputings should be forgotten, and that their solemn duty was to rally round men who imperilled themselves for the Protestant religion; thus showing that among the Puritans the dread of Rome was a stronger and deeper feeling than even the hope of a complete toleration of their

own forms of religion. Anglicanism they had good cause to dislike, and in its too ready acquiescence in the cruel persecution of Nonconformity, to dread; but Anglicanism, with all its errors, in their eyes was still Protestantism. The triumph of Roman Catholicism would have been, in the eyes of true Puritans like Baxter and Howe, too dear a price to pay even for the toleration of their own cherished form of faith.

The trial of the seven confessors was hurried on. On the 15th June of that same memorable year 1688, they were formally committed for trial at Westminster, and liberated on their own recognisances. On the 29th of the same month the trial took place. The crowds outside the hall of justice, choking up all the approaches, were remarkable; but within "such an auditory had never before and has never since been assembled in the Court of King's Bench. Thirty-four temporal peers of the realm were counted in the crowd."* Three at least of the four judges on the bench were obsequious servants of the king. The most eminent counsel of the day either conducted the prosecution or were retained for the defence. The jury were mostly composed of persons of good station, several of them of high rank. There was at first some difference of opinion among them, a minority pressing for a conviction. They consulted for a whole night, and when in the morning the verdict of acquittal was pronounced, the rejoicings not only in the metropolis but also in the remote districts of the country were loud and deep. It was a signal victory over a carefully considered attempt on the part of the Stuart king at absolutism; but it was, too—and that is peculiarly what interests us in our history—a signal victory of the Church of England. The attempt of the Roman Catholic king to degrade that church had utterly failed, and the result was that she stood higher in the estimation of the people than ever.

REVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK IN 1688, SHOWING PAPAL EMBLEMS BEING BURNT IN LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS. THE WEST SIDE IS SEEN WITH THE PORTUGUESE CHAPEL IN DUKE STREET IN RUINS. (*British Museum.*)

Among the general rejoicings which followed the acquittal of the bishops, one significant incident deserves mention. In several parts of the metropolis the Pope was burnt in effigy: in more than one instance the effigy was surrounded by a train of cardinals and Jesuits. No serious Churchman for a moment would approve such a wild exhibition of popular anger; but it serves to show what, after two centuries and a half of freedom from the weight of the dead hand of Rome, were the feelings of the populace towards the hated

*See Macaulay's "History," chap. viii. His "story of the seven bishops and their trial" is wonderfully graphic, though somewhat drawn out.

despotism. More than two centuries have elapsed since that attempt of James II., and the times have changed: new thoughts, sights, and scenes are presented to the gaze of those who live in the last years of the nineteenth century. But the same feeling towards Rome lives still, and is as strong as ever in the hearts of the English people.

Thus in 1688, James II. had succeeded in alienating well-nigh all his subjects. Lords and Commons were alike in bitter opposition to his government. He had deeply affronted all parties, all sects. His one end and aim was the exaltation of his church, and that church was regarded with feelings of intense mistrust by most Englishmen. To advance its interests he had recklessly trampled upon the constitution, and had claimed for the crown prerogatives which had in the days of his father, Charles I., stirred up the fires of the great Civil War. Above all, he had recklessly quarrelled with the Anglican communion, ever devotedly loyal to his house even in the most hopeless days of the great Rebellion. All might, however, still have been endured, and James II. might have gone down to the grave as king of England, so fervid was the feeling of loyalty to the crown, and so intense was the general dread of another civil war and a possible renewal of Puritan tyranny, had it not been for an event which happened just at the moment when all England was thus stirred with indignation by the arrest of the seven bishops who were the special objects of the king's wrath. That event was the unlooked-for birth of a male heir to the Stuart dynasty.*

The prince of Wales, subsequently known as James III., or the Old Pretender, was born on June 10th, 1688, and the birth of a male heir to the throne brought on the final crisis. The boy would naturally be brought up in the religion of his father and mother. A Roman Catholic dynasty would probably be established in England; and the prospect of a line of Romish kings similar to James II. on the throne, disregarding, for the sake of a religion detested by the majority of Englishmen, all Parliamentary and legal restraints, determined the leaders of the several parties, united by a common national danger, to invite William of Orange, who had married James's eldest daughter, Mary (until the birth of the prince looked upon as the future queen), "to intervene in arms for the restoration of English liberty and the protection of the Protestant religion." The invitation, signed by a group of representative men, was sent from London to the prince of Orange (the Stadtholder), the chief magistrate of the great Dutch Republic, on the day after the acquittal of the bishops, at the end of June, 1688.

The events which followed, known as the Revolution of 1688–89, were crowded into the short space of a few months, and we can only most briefly recapitulate them. The invitation from the English leaders of different parties was accepted by William of Orange, who prepared for the expedition. He was, however, delayed by the presence of a French invading army which threatened the Spanish Netherlands, who were then allied with Holland. Again

* James II. had two daughters: Mary, afterwards queen, married to William of Orange (William III.), and Anne, afterwards queen. When in 1688 the prince was born, five years had elapsed since the last pregnancy of James's queen, Mary of Modena.

James II.'s infatuated conduct was his worst enemy. He rejected somewhat rudely the proffered assistance of Louis XIV., who immediately withdrew his invading force from the frontiers of William's dominions, thus leaving the prince of Orange free. Early in November the Dutch prince landed with his troops at the

OBVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE FLIGHT OF JAMES IN 1689. THE BEAR WEARING ROSARY REPRESENTS JAMES, THE THREE HIVES THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE BEES THE VOTE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS JAN. 28, 1689, DECLARING THE THRONE VACANT. (*British Museum.*)

haven of Brixham in Torbay, and marched at once upon London. He was joined by great numbers of the gentry of the counties he passed through on his march, while a great rising in the midlands and in the north emphatically showed how deep was the feeling against the Roman Catholic king.

In the meanwhile James made concessions; abolishing the High Commission Court, restoring the expelled fellows of Magdalen, etc., but it was all too late to restore confidence. He marched to meet the invaders, and had reached Salisbury, when the great majority of his forces, many of his courtiers, and his daughter, the princess Anne, and her husband, prince George, deserted him. Left thus almost alone, he returned hurriedly to London. Feeling all was well-nigh lost, he secretly sent away his wife, queen Mary of Modena, and his infant son, to France. This was in December. Almost directly he followed them, but was arrested in his flight by some fishermen at Sheerness. For a brief moment all was in confusion; we read of riots in London and the sacking by the mob of the Roman Catholic chapels. Accompanied, as such riots too often are, when religious fury has been excited, by acts of sacrilege abhorrent to all earnest and devout minds, sacred pictures, images, and even crucifixes were carried along the streets in a vulgar triumph, with wild and exultant cries of "No Popery!" The house of the Spanish ambassador was singled out especially by the rude crowd and burnt, as peculiarly connected with the country of the Inquisition and with Philip II., who equipped the Armada. James again attempted to fly the country—this time successfully and with the connivance of the Dutch prince, whose plans would have been interrupted by the presence of James.

After consultation with the House of Lords, William summoned an assembly, to be composed of the House of Lords and men who had sat in any of the Parliaments of Charles II., together with the aldermen and common councillors of London. This assembly advised William to summon a Convention Parliament, taking upon himself the provisional government of the

JAMES II. IN HIS PALACE AT WHITEHALL RECEIVING THE NEWS OF THE LANDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE IN 1688.

(From the picture by F. M. Ward, R.A., in the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank.)

kingdom. Letters were forthwith sent out to the electors of towns and counties, to send up representatives to the Convention Parliament. This met in the January of 1689. No question was seriously raised by any party as to opening any communication with the discredited king. More than one device, however, was suggested for the settlement of the future government —notably that of archbishop Sancroft, who, with some of his suffragans and other influential personages, conscientiously objected to break their oath of allegiance to king James. Sancroft suggested that James should be pronounced unfit to rule, but that he should continue king in name, while Parliament should choose a regent who should exercise the royal power. The Convention Parliament, however, at once rejected any such device, and declared the throne vacant. Two grounds were alleged—the one, that king James II., by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, had violated the fundamental laws; the other, that having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, the sovereign had abdicated the government. A Declaration of Rights was prepared, which condemned the dispensing power as recently exercised, together with other illegal acts of James.

The throne was then offered to and accepted by the prince and princess of Orange as joint sovereigns. William, in accepting the crown in his own and Mary's name, expressed the resolve of both to maintain the laws and to govern by advice of Parliament as representing the nation. The scene of the singular and important ceremony of offering the vacant throne to William and Mary was the well-known Banqueting-house of the palace of Whitehall, built by Inigo Jones. Outside one of its great windows had been erected the scaffold for Charles I. The stately building is with us still, and, with its many memories, is the only relic of the old palace of the kings of England.

REVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL EXECUTED AT NUREMBERG TO COMMEMORATE THE PASSING OF THE TOLERATION ACT. BRITANNIA CROWNED AND TRAMPLING ON CHAINS GRASPING WILLIAM'S RIGHT HAND AND ACCOMPANIED BY RELIGION WITH THE BIBLE AND CROSS, AND LIBERTY WITH SCROLL INSCRIBED "TEST"; BEHIND WILLIAM THE BELGIC LION. (*British Museum.*)

CHAPTER LXIX.

LAST PURITAN ATTEMPT TO REVISE THE PRAYER BOOK. THE NON-JURORS AND LATITUDINARIANS.

Connection of William III. with the Stuart Dynasty—His Character—Religious Views and Sympathies—The Toleration Act—Bill for Religious Union—Opposed by the Clergy—Commission appointed for Revising the Prayer Book, so as to embrace the Nonconformists—Extent of such Changes and their Failure—Scruples of many Anglicans Concerning the Divine Right of James II.—The Non-Jurors—Dangers of a Schism—The Latitudinarian Party in the Church—Its Character and Aims—Robert Nelson and other Influential Anglican Laymen—Bishop Ken—Other Eminent Anglican Divines—Religious Activity of this Period.

WILLIAM, Prince of Orange, subsequently known in England as king William III., stadtholder and chief magistrate of the Dutch Republic, was great-grandson of the illustrious William the Silent, Prince of Orange, who in the last half of the sixteenth century had successfully combated the vast power of Spain, under the most famous commanders of Philip II., and succeeded in founding the confederation of provinces known as the Dutch Republic, a confederation that for a time was mistress of the seas, and the principal commercial state in the world. The prince, who after the deposition of James II., mainly through the hereditary claims of his wife Mary, the eldest daughter of the deposed Stuart king, was called to assume the crown of England, was himself also closely connected with the Stuart dynasty, being a grandson through his mother, another Mary, of king Charles I.

The following little tables will show the connection of William of Orange with the royal house of England, and the claim of his wife Mary to the English crown. (William and Mary were, as will be seen on reference to the tables, first cousins.)

Charles I.

Charles II. | MARY = William II. of Orange. | James II.

William of Orange (William III.).

Charles I.

Charles II. | Mary. | JAMES II. = Anne Hyde.

MARY = William of Orange. (William III.) | ANNE (Queen).

A brief description of this prince seems called for, as through his work and influence the present strong though constitutional position of the crown was established, while at the same time the status of the Church of England was consolidated, and large measures of toleration of other Protestant sects were also conceded.

King William III., to give him the title which, a very few months after the events already recorded, became his with the almost unanimous consent of the nation, although far from being a popular or beloved prince, was one of the ablest and wisest men who ever sat on the throne of Alfred and William the Conqueror. Early left an orphan, his was a desolate and loveless childhood and boyhood. Carefully trained in statecraft, he found himself at the early age of twenty-one in the position of chief

magistrate of the Dutch Republic. By the time he was twenty-three years old he was already famous among the great ones of Europe, alike as a soldier and a statesman. In his marriage, politically as well as socially, he was singularly fortunate. Mary, the eldest daughter of James II., and the heiress to the English crown until the birth of the ill-fated boy-prince whose advent precipitated the crisis which led to the exile of the English sovereign, was not only beautiful, but distinguished for all the womanly virtues and qualities which constitute a great princess. Brought up, too, in the doctrines and traditions of the Church of England, she largely made up for what was lacking in the religious training of her husband William. A devoted wife, she won by degrees the passionate love of the cold and somewhat self-absorbed William, who subsequently mourned her too early death (she died of malignant small-pox, then ravaging England, in 1694) with a mourning singular for its intensity.

Our great statesman and warrior-king had much to contend with. Gifted with few of the graceful and pleasant qualifications which so often win popularity even for the most worthless, he also suffered all through his work-filled life from wearing and distressing ill-health. Alike in the field and in the cabinet, his was one long struggle against pain and sickness. As a politician, we need not dwell here on his undisputable merits. Ample justice has been done to his distinguished career in the pages of the many histories we possess of his times. Sufficient it is for us to say, that in his reign and in that of his sister-in-law and successor, queen Anne, England more than recovered the position among the countries of Europe which it had lost during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., while the same period saw the fall of France from the lofty pinnacle of power she temporarily occupied during a large part of the reign of Louis XIV.

The religious views and sympathies of William are more important to us here. The Prince of Orange, as might have been expected in the chief magistrate of Holland, was himself a follower of Calvin. But here his statesmanship modified his views. He accepted episcopacy as a reasonable and lawful form of church government, but accepted it, of course, without enthusiasm or zeal. To him, although a Calvinist, the ritual of the English Book of Common Prayer was no offence, though perhaps too much inclined, he probably thought, to Romish superstitions, which he abhorred with the temper of a Calvinist and the feelings of a politician, the life-long enemy of the powerful France and her ambitious and aggressive Roman Catholic monarch, Louis XIV. Such a wise ruler as was William III., even with his Calvinistic bias, proved no enemy to the church of the nation over which he was called to rule. The Toleration Act, which, owing to his influence, was accepted generally, really assisted the church, as it took away from the other Protestant sects most if not all of the causes which placed them in an attitude of hostility to Anglicans; while under his wise foresight the Bill for "Union," which included many proposals for drastic changes in the Prayer-book, was dropped at once, when William clearly discerned the strong opposition of the church to its provisions.

Prominently in the public "declaration"

published in Holland by the Prince of Orange, justifying his armed intervention, was expressed his intention to provide for the security of the Protestant religion, and of two important bills: one for "Toleration" and a second for "Union." An attempt was also made to do away with the Test Act; but this last project was

WILLIAM SANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*From a contemporary print by Robert White.*)

to establish a good agreement between the Church of England and Protestant Dissent. Following out this purpose, one of the first proceedings of the advisers of the crown in the Convention which had become a Parliament, was the introduction almost at once negatived in the House of Lords.

The Toleration Bill went through both Houses with little debate. All parties in the church and state were generally anxious for this righteous measure. The time had

passed now when men could calmly acquiesce in the persecution of the Nonconformist bodies for simply worshipping with rites received from their Puritan fathers. The Toleration Act, passed in 1689, gave to Dissenters the legal right to worship publicly on complying with certain not very onerous formalities; but from this freedom to worship as they thought fit, Roman Catholics and Unitarians were excluded. The act was almost universally accepted and welcomed by churchmen and Nonconformists alike, and thus the chief cause of religious strife was removed.

The second of these bills, however, met, and rightly met, with the gravest opposition on the part of the majority of churchmen, and after considerable discussion was allowed to drop. The opposition in the first instance came from the House of Commons. Burnet tells us "they were much offended with the bill for Union or Comprehension, as containing matters relating to the church, in which the representative body of the clergy (Convocation) had not been so much as advised with." The Comprehension Bill thus wisely rejected by the Commons on the plea that Convocation had not considered it, contained provisions which, had they become law, would have seriously changed the character of the Elizabethan settlement. Its most drastic changes included clauses dispensing with the necessity of subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles, allowing the use or not of the surplice, save in a few churches of peculiar dignity, as the clergyman thought fit; sanctioning the omission of the sign of the cross in baptism; permitting the reception of the Eucharist by persons who had a scruple, sitting and not kneeling; and partially recognising the validity of Presbyterian orders, on condition of the Presbyterian ministers submitting to the imposition of the hands of a bishop before being admitted to the privileges of a priest of the established church.*

On the failure of the "Comprehension" or "Union" Bill,† a commission was issued to ten bishops and twenty divines to prepare for Convocation suggestions for such a revision of the Book of Common Prayer as would be necessary for the comprehension of Nonconformists, this revision when formulated to be presented for consideration to Convocation. Among the commissioners were several most able and learned men, such as Tillotson, the dean of St. Paul's; Tenison, afterwards primate; Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester; Patrick, bishop of Chichester; and other well-known latitudinarian divines. It was no secret that the king wished them well, and would have gladly welcomed the success of their labours; and it says much for the far-sighted wisdom of William III. that he acquiesced in dropping the whole scheme of the comprehension project, as soon as he clearly saw that the alterations proposed were utterly distasteful to the majority of the church.

As this was the last serious attempt to bring the Puritan sects within the pale of the Church of England, it will be well very briefly to summarise the principal alterations deemed necessary to effect this object; bearing in mind that the scheme of these

* *Cf.* Macaulay: "History of England," chap. xi.

† *Cf.* here Procter: "History of the Book of Common Prayer," who gives a lengthy and exhaustive account of the work of this commission in appendices, p. 141 and p. 425.

alterations was drafted, no doubt after consultation with the Nonconformist leaders, but still by the hand of Anglicans themselves; thus the alterations in question may be fairly accepted as the minimum of what would be required for any union.

In number the alterations were very numerous; they have been computed as about six hundred. But the principal were the following:—Chanting to be discontinued; the use of the sign of the cross in baptism to be omitted altogether when desired; the Eucharist to be administered to persons who might object to kneeling; the word "minister" to be substituted for "priest"; the rubric enjoining the daily reading or hearing of Common Prayer to be changed into an exhortation; sponsors in baptism to be disused; the names of saints which have not a service, and the table of vigils, etc., to be struck out; considerable latitude in the use of the surplice; a complete and extensive revision of all the collects, scarcely one to remain without some change; large facilities for the reception of men into Anglican orders who had only been ordained by presbyters. Had the Prayer-book of the Church of England undergone the process of change sketched out in this scheme, the grand continuity of the Anglican services with the services of the pre-Reformation church, so carefully preserved by the wise Edwardian, Elizabethan, and Caroline divines, would have been indeed hopelessly lost.

But the scheme came to nought. Happily, upon the throne at this juncture sat a king who, although a Presbyterian by training and associations, was too wise and far-seeing to wish to impose upon a church like the Anglican communion changes evidently in the highest degree distasteful to the majority of those who were the best exponents of its principles. When Convocation met, its temper was speedily shown by the choice of a prolocutor. Two candidates were put forward—Tillotson, the able dean of St. Paul's, subsequently primate, and Jane, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, the dean of Gloucester. Tillotson was well known as the "Latitudinarian" leader who had been a principal mover in the Comprehension scheme, which proposed the sweeping revision of the Prayer-book; Jane, the dean of Gloucester, had openly taken the other side. The latter was elected by a majority of two to one. In his address to Compton, the bishop of London, who was acting as president, he extolled the excellency of the Church of England, as established by law, above all other Christian communities, and ended with the significant words—"*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*" ("We are opposed to any change in the laws of England"), thus signifying his intention to oppose all changes in the established ritual and practice of his church.

Then followed some disputing between the Upper and Lower Houses as to the terms of the address of Convocation to the king. The Upper House, sorely weakened by the absence of the nine non-juring bishops (of whom we must speak directly), gave way here to the wishes of the Lower House. So emphatically had that Lower House shown its feeling in the matter of the Comprehension scheme of alterations in the ritual and liturgy, that its advocates thought it prudent never to introduce the

scheme in question formally into that assembly.

The spirit with which the last real attempt to change materially the ritual and liturgy of the Church of England had been quietly but firmly resisted by the country as represented by the House of Commons, and by the clergy as represented by the Lower House of Convocation, is an index to the position occupied by the established church in this country towards the close of the seventeenth century. The opinion of Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, who was largely concerned in the framing of the alterations suggested by the commission, is thus summarised by a contemporary: "When he observed with what resolution the body of them (*i.e.* the members of Convocation) from the very first declared against any alterations, . . . he was convinced that the method he had been for, was really impracticable as things then stood, and therefore was not for repeating the dangerous experiment, or having any more to do with Convocation all the while he continued archbishop."*

A graver and most unexpected danger, however, threatened the power and influence of the church at this epoch of the bloodless Revolution of 1688–89. The feeling of loyalty to the crown was deeply ingrained in her. The lessons of the great teachers, Andrewes and Laud, had sunk deep into the hearts of churchmen. Many of the most earnest and devout among the bishops and clergy, among whom were the primate Sancroft and the universally revered bishop of Bath and Wells, the saintly Ken, shrank from taking a fresh oath of allegiance to William and Mary while king James was still living, still claiming the rights of kingship. These good, even though mistaken men, after long and painful consideration, made up their minds that so indelible was the sacred office of king, no exercise of Parliamentary authority could touch it. In vain was it argued that James, by leaving the country, had abdicated. They could not persuade themselves that this was the case. They acknowledged that by his deliberate breaking of the laws he had forfeited the right to rule; but they held he was still king. They clung to the theory of a regency, which should continue during his lifetime, but they could not bring themselves to take the oath of allegiance to another king of England.

When, therefore, the new oath of allegiance was proffered, nine bishops refused it. A considerable time of grace was allowed them to change their minds, but they held firm to their resolve, and submitted to be deprived of their sees. Three of their number died before the term of grace expired, but in the end six bishops, including the primate and bishop Ken, as well as four hundred beneficed clergy, were ejected from their positions. These martyrs to their conscientious scruples are known in history as the Non-jurors. They were, as a body, distinguished for their learning, piety, and devotion, and the wound which their deprivation inflicted upon the church was a deep one, and was long felt.

But besides the injury which the church sustained by the sudden loss of so many devoted and conscientious men, not a few of whom were scholars and persons of conspicuous ability, there was the danger, by

* Calamy's "Autobiography."

no means a groundless one, of a schism in the hitherto un-rent church itself. There was a strong feeling, no doubt largely made up of earthly motives, on the part of some of the leading Non-jurors, that they and they only represented the Church of England, while all others were apostates and time-servers. Clandestinely three of the number of non-juring bishops went so far as to consecrate two other clergymen to the episcopate, as suffragans to the non-juring bishop of Norwich. Thetford and Ipswich were taken as the titles of their sees. These never claimed any authority or acted pastorally in their dioceses, and were merely consecrated for the purpose of continuing the non-juring succession ; but both Ken of Bath and Wells, and Frampton of Gloucester, gravely disapproved of such a step. These great and good men foresaw the evil of a perpetuated schism, and recognised that on the other side, among the great majority who conscientiously took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, there were many men of equal holiness and of equal loyalty to the Church of England with themselves. But the mischief, in spite of the opposition of

JOHN TILLOTSON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(After the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.)

Ken and Frampton, was done, and the schism became an accomplished fact. Fortunately it never took any firm root in the church, though it continued for many years. In the small number of non-jurors, before the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, a separation took place, one party among them desiring to revive the use of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. These adopted the name of "Usagers," and formulated a new Communion office. But before the eighteenth century had run its course, the non-juring schism had finally died out, and was no more heard of.

Strongly favoured by king William III., and under the powerful hand of court favour, after the Revolution of 1688 arose a party in the Church of England which has considerably influenced much of her subsequent teaching. The title of Latitudinarian, which was given to this section of churchmen, inaccurately designates men, not a few of whom were among the most distinguished ecclesiastics of that day. With them, amongst others, Stillingfleet and Burnet, Tillotson and Tenison, were reckoned. The name of "Latitudinarian" suggests to us the idea of indifference, if not of unorthodoxy, in the person so designated. It would be the grossest injustice which could charge such a typical Latitudinarian as Burnet with indifference, or Tillotson with want of orthodoxy. The episcopal life of Burnet, with its tireless pastoral efforts, is the best answer to the first charge of indifference; the sermons and works of archbishop Tillotson, still read by us, testify abundantly to the falseness of the second, that of unorthodoxy.

Some half a century before the days of William III., this Latitudinarian party had become somewhat conspicuous, more perhaps owing to the ability and position than to the numbers of its members. It included such names as lord Falkland, and that William Chillingworth whose writings and career we have already noticed. In the troublous times of the Commonwealth they virtually disappeared, and became reckoned in the ranks of the persecuted churchmen; the Puritan tyranny of Presbyterian and Independent in the days of their supremacy being peculiarly hateful to the Latitudinarians. Under the protection and favour of William of Orange, after 1688 the Latitudinarians became a great power in the church, and for many years the majority of the chief posts in the hierarchy were filled with men openly professing, or at least inclined to, their peculiar views. They were especially distinguished in the years that followed the Revolution of 1688 by their efforts, not always wise efforts, as we have seen, on behalf of ecclesiastical comprehension and union.

They advocated in matters of belief and practice, within certain limits, considerable latitude, both for individuals and for churches; hence their name. They accepted and taught that episcopacy was the most venerable as well as the best form of church government; but they hesitated in pressing its divine character, as did the high churchmen of the school of Andrewes and Laud, and even of Hooker. On sacramental doctrine, again, they were less definite than were the recognised Anglican leaders; but on these points they erred rather by their silence than by any direct teaching. The Latitudinarians of the reign of William III., and, somewhat later, are often generally

classed as "low churchmen," in contradistinction to the high Anglican school. But such an appellation is misleading in the highest degree; because the Evangelicals of a later period, to whom the name of low churchmen is usually appropriated, belong to a very different school of thought from Latitudinarians like Burnet, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Tenison. These very terms, "high church" and "low church," first appear in the course of the reign of William III. and Mary.

It may be remarked in passing, that the influence of the queen Mary during her lifetime in some degree modified the strong and even exaggerated latitudinarian tendencies of the king. Party spirit was extremely high in those days, and much political rancour was infused into theological disputes. There were many churchmen who, in spite of the conduct of James II. to the Anglican communion, for a long while looked with regret, mingled perhaps with some hope of a future restoration, upon the exiled court of St. Germains. The Latitudinarians were ever closely identified with James's supplanter, William of Orange; and this probably intensified the dislike with which the high church party regarded them. They did not hesitate to charge them with Arianism and infidelity; and even in the letters of the earnest and gentle Ken, we come upon such an expression of opinion as the following, in a letter dated February 21st, 1703, from Ken to his dear friend Dr. Lloyd, the non-juring bishop of Norwich, on the occasion of the appointment of Dr. Hooper to Ken's former see of Bath and Wells, after the death of Dr. Kidder, whom Ken had ever regarded as an intruder:—"You cannot imagine," wrote Ken, "the universal satisfaction expressed for Dr. Hooper's coming to my see: and I make no doubt but that he will rescue the diocese from the apostasy from the 'faith once delivered to the saints,' which at present threatens us, and from the *spirit of latitudinarianism, which is a common sewer of all heresies imaginable.*" This is a fair specimen of the polemical rancour of the day. Such expressions, coming from one like him, so deservedly held in the highest honour, indicate the feeling towards the Latitudinarians which at the time lived in the hearts of the high Anglicans.

Such words as those of Ken's above quoted were, however, utterly undeserved. The Latitudinarian leaders were far from being the heretics and false teachers of the pictures painted by Ken and his school of Anglican thought. Archbishop Tillotson, their acknowledged leader, has been well described lately by a distinguished scholar and divine* of a school of thought very alien to that of the Latitudinarians, of a school in sympathy with Ken rather than with Tillotson, as a "true preacher of righteousness," as "an orthodox believer;" as one who "with sound practical sense, with pure unaffected piety, in unadorned but persuasive language, gave utterance to religious ideas which to a wide extent satisfied the reason and came home to the conscience of his age." And Tillotson, who was thus described, was looked on by all parties as the type of a "Latitude man."

That much of their teaching, perhaps, as we have hinted, owing to their silence rather than their voices, was erroneous, is

* Mr. Abbey, Fellow of University College, Oxford.

clear; but the estimate of posterity, ever fairer than the estimate of contemporaries, because calmer, and farther removed from the din and dust of heated controversy, has done them more justice, and recognised the true nobility of their aims and purpose, in their earnest, even passionate longing to compass a union and to effect a comprehension of opposing schools of thought. They failed, as we have seen, in their efforts at union, and justly failed, for the task was an impossible one, and the differences were too great, and demanded sacrifices which no true churchman could ever dream of making.

The result of the determined opposition of the Lower House of Convocation to the scheme of comprehension and union, which would have involved such sweeping changes in the Book of Common Prayer, determined the Latitudinarian prelates to have nothing further to do with Convocation. During the primacy of Tillotson (1691–1694), who succeeded the non-juror Sancroft, Convocation, though summoned by writ, was not permitted to meet and to discuss ecclesiastical affairs. This same state of things continued during the first six or seven years of the rule of his successor in the arch-see of Canterbury, Dr. Tenison. Much discontent was aroused in the church by this strange and arbitrary policy of the Latitudinarian prelates, who during the reign of William III. were in power. What is known as the Convocation controversy, the consequence of this singular policy, was chiefly carried on by published letters issuing from both parties in the church, High Church and Latitudinarians, in which various arguments were adduced by laymen and ecclesiastics, attacking or defending the legitimacy of the policy of silencing the constitutional assembly of the church in England. The best known of these once celebrated letters and pamphlets, some of which were of a portentous length, were Sir Bartholomew Shower's (somewhile recorder of London) "Letter to a Convocation Man," and the reply of Dr. Wake, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who, arguing from the Latitudinarian point of view, maintained that Convocation had only a right to meet, and when assembled to debate, when the king issued his licence. Francis Atterbury, a well-known scholar, replied to this curious pronouncement. The controversy was continued by bishop Burnet, Wake, and others. In 1701 archbishop Tenison, who followed Tillotson in the chair of St. Augustine, a prelate of Latitudinarian views, thought it prudent, in view of the growing dissatisfaction of churchmen, after an interval of eleven years, again to summon the long silenced Convocation. This Convocation met, and was especially memorable for the disputes between the Upper and Lower House on certain privileges of independence claimed by the Lower House. These strange and unfortunate disputes were closed by the death of William III., which put an end to the life of this Convocation of the clergy in 1702.

But such dull broils in Convocation, painful and regrettable enough, little affected the inner life of the Church of England. The story of the work and influence of the church during the latter years of the seventeenth and earlier years of the eighteenth century is a strangely bright episode, coming as it does before a period of comparative dulness and apathy.

A rare group of scholars and divines, with a few devoted laymen, cast a lustre upon the church; and their work, literary as well as practical, has left an enduring mark upon the national life. Of such laymen the quiet and unassuming career that his example has been followed, consciously or unconsciously, by an almost countless number of others, and much of the splendid work in the fields of philanthropy and religion during the last two centuries in England, has been done by

THOMAS KEN, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.
(*From a contemporary print*)

of Robert Nelson is an admirable example. Undistinguished either by conspicuous rank or fortune, unendowed with any striking abilities or scholarship, Nelson has left behind him an enduring reputation, and may deservedly be quoted as an instance of the good and noble work which may be effected by a God-fearing English gentleman. It is not too much to say Christian men of various schools of thought in the church, largely laymen, who have trodden in the footsteps of this true man of God, who flourished in the reigns of William III. and queen Anne; roughly, between the years 1688 and 1714.

Robert Nelson was born in 1656, when Oliver the Protector was supreme. He had the rare advantage of being long the

pupil of Mr. Bull, who in late life became bishop of St. David's; but Bull is better known as one of the most profound and learned of the many theologians who have adorned the Church of England; and no doubt Nelson's life-long interest in ecclesiastical and religious matters was greatly owing to his early training under such a master. When still, comparatively speaking, a young man, he became the intimate friend of Tillotson, with whose Latitudinarian views he had little sympathy; but the friendship was a life-long one, and archbishop Tillotson literally died in the arms of his friend, who was ever a consistent high churchman of the noble type of Ken and Beveridge. Nelson was for many years a non-juror; but, ever moderate in his opinions and gentle in his judgment of others, he worked loyally in his many philanthropic schemes with Conformists like Tillotson, and even with Dissenters. He was the centre of that illustrious band of servants of God who in the reigns of William III. and Anne were busy in those noble works which have made that period so famous for practical religious movements.

We have already alluded to the deplorable laxity of morals and to the general dissoluteness in society which prevailed after the Restoration, and which long disgraced the society of that age. To check this fatal and too general laxity, "societies for the reformation of manners" were formed as early as the year 1678. These were, as years went on, developed by Robert Nelson and his circle of friends, who also had been largely instrumental in forming these noble associations, to which English society has indeed been deeply indebted. From this faithful band of churchmen, too, sprang those companies which have since done such true and useful religious work in the country—the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" and the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," the former of which was formally constituted in 1699 and the latter in 1701. Round this quiet, undistinguished Robert Nelson were gathered, as we have said, a little circle of friends of very different characters, but whose spirit has strangely influenced the Church of England long after the men themselves had fallen asleep.

First and foremost was Ken, the perfect type of the Anglican high churchman, perhaps one of the purest souls ecclesiastical history ever tells us of. Preacher, scholar, theologian, all schools of thought delight to do him honour; he was a favourite with kings and princes, as with the poor and unlettered. The courtly biographer tells with wonderment how the fearless divine indignantly refused to allow the beloved royal favourite, Nell Gwyn, to enter his house at Winchester, and repeats the well-known words of the gay and thoughtless king Charles II.: "I must go and hear little Ken tell me of my faults." Another of his biographers finds in Ken's copy of Grotius's "*De Veritate*" the words of the prophet Jeremiah, which the student made his own when favours were being thickly showered on him, "*Et tu quæris tibi grandia? Noli quærere*" ("Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not"). Without reluctance he accepted the mitre of Bath and Wells; with the same readiness he vacated palace and dignity rather than against his conscience take the oath of allegiance to William of

Orange, whom he honoured, while he considered himself bound to James II., whom he feared and distrusted. So little did he care for place and power, that in later days, after James's death, when he might without wounding his conscience have reassumed his position as an Anglican bishop, he declined all honours and dignity; preferring his life in poverty, as the quiet humble friend and counsellor of all good and pious souls, to any episcopal throne.

To uncounted thousands of the English-speaking peoples is Ken known as the writer of the beautiful morning and evening hymns—at least, in the abridged forms found in every hymn-book. But few among all these thousands who have sung or listened to the well-loved "Awake, my Soul," and "Glory to Thee, my God, this night," are conscious that in the writer of the oft-sung hymns we possess the truest and noblest type of the high churchman, to whom the Anglican communion owes so deep a debt. Ken, the great example of the school, exemplified what some consider its shortcomings as he did its virtues. To him the Church of England was the faithful copy of the Anti-Nicene church—the church of the first three centuries. Free from the errors alike of Rome and Geneva, it possessed an apostolical succession, with the sacred privileges attached to it. It rejoiced in the treasure of the primitive truth, unalloyed and untarnished with mediæval superstition. It was indeed, thought the saintly non-juring bishop, a church for which earnest and devout Christians could live and die. The misfortune of Ken's school lay in the fact that it left them "unable to understand the merits of any form of faith which rejected, or treated as a thing indifferent, what they regarded as all but essential."* The school of Ken, with all its undoubted virtues and intense spirituality, had something to learn from the Latitudinarianism of men of the high type of Tillotson.

Closely linked with Ken in that noble group, was Dodwell, somewhile Camden Professor of History, one of the most profoundly learned men in Europe; and Hickes, the non-juring dean of Worcester, also a renowned scholar; and, perhaps more eminent than these, Kettlewell, who assisted Nelson in the work on "Festivals and Fasts" which will ever be connected with his name. It is this Kettlewell whom Ken once described, after he had passed away, as "that holy man who is now with God." But these men, great and good though they were, were inferior to Ken in that gentle saintliness which has made the bishop of Bath and Wells so justly famed among our churchmen.

Another of this famous group of friends was Beveridge, bishop of St. Asaph, also a learned scholar and divine, whose conscience, however, less susceptible than Ken's, suffered him to take the oath of allegiance to William III. and Mary. The writings of Beveridge, though nigh two centuries have passed since they appeared, are still read with delight and profit by our divines. Nelson, in his life of bishop Bull, writes of Beveridge as "a pattern of true primitive piety," as one whose way of gaining people's hearts and touching their consciences bore some resemblance to the apostolical age.

Sharp, archbishop of York, was another distinguished member of the group which

* "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century": Abbey and Overton, chap. ii.

did so much to strengthen the Church of England at the close of the seventeenth and in the early years of the eighteenth centuries. He, too, like Beveridge, took the oath of allegiance to William III., and did much by his wise and sympathetic influence to heal the breach between jurors and non-jurors, which at one time threatened to divide the church by a permanent schism.

One more of this group of scholars and divines must be mentioned: we have reserved him to the last. Never will the name of George Bull, the tutor and life-long friend of Nelson, be forgotten, whenever the roll of those distinguished men who have adorned, loved, and defended the Anglican church, is rehearsed in the ears of its faithful sons. For some seven-and-twenty years, in a little remote parish in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds, Bull faithfully discharged the humble undistinguished duties of a parish priest. But in those years the then unknown scholar composed that masterly and exhaustive treatise on the "Defence of the Nicæan Creed" *(Defensio Fidei Nicænæ)*,* which for lucidity, learning, and accurate research, is perhaps the most famous work extant among Christian apologetics. So great was it that, although written by a Protestant divine, it was deemed worthy of the public thanks of the whole Gallican (Roman Catholic) Church. This unique expression of gratitude from a hostile communion was communicated to the unknown Anglican clergyman through Bossuet, the illustrious bishop of Meaux. The words of Bossuet, contained in a letter of Nelson written in the year 1700, are worth quoting, as they show the estimation in which the Protestant divine was held by the most illustrious of the Roman Catholic prelates of the day, and by his brethren of the Gallican Church—"Quant à l'ouvrage du docteur Bullus (Bull) . . . il est admirable et le matière qu'il traite ne pouvoit être expliquée plus savamment et plus á fond. C'est ce que je vous supplie de vouloir bien luy faire savoir, et en mesme temps les sincereres congratulations de tout le clergé de France assemblé en cette ville (St. Germain en Laye) pour le service qu'il rend à l'Eglise Catholique."* Bossuet goes on in the same letter to express his surprise that so great a man (un si grand homme), who could write so nobly of the church, could remain outside the Roman obedience. His own communion but tardily did him justice. At the age of seventy he was raised to the bishopric of St. David's, but although he survived his well-merited promotion some four short years, his life-work was virtually done before his elevation to the episcopate. He died in 1709.

These are only a few typical churchmen of that age, which roughly includes the reigns of William III. and queen Anne, so distinguished for the number of its distinguished churchmen—famous alike for their scholarship, as for their zeal in

* The catalogue of Bull's works is a long one, but the "Defence of the Nicæan Creed" is certainly the most important.

* (Trans.) "As for the work of Dr. Bull, it is simply admirable; and the subject-matter of his treatise could not by any possibility be more learnedly or exhaustively handled. I would beg you to express this to him, and at the same time convey to him the sincere congratulations of the whole body of the Clergy of France assembled in this town (St. Germain en Laye) for the service he is doing the Catholic Church."

promoting useful and philanthropic work. As usual, London possessed the most prominent among the clergy. Nor was this general religious movement by any means confined to ecclesiastics. Not a few laymen

GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

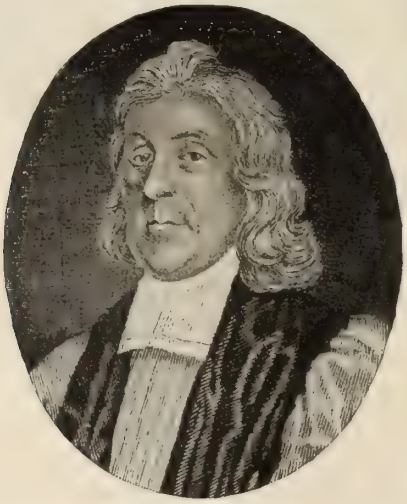
of the type of Robert Nelson, for the most part loyal sons of the Church of England, were equally zealous in all these good and true movements, and bore a conspicuous part in the newly-formed guilds for the reformation of manners and morals, as well as in the recently constituted church societies, missionary and otherwise, and in those other endeavours to improve the condition of the people, of which we are about to speak briefly.

The leading Anglican clergy, some of the more prominent of whom we have been writing about, were, it will be observed, of no one school of thought. They were made up of jurors and non-jurors; of high churchmen like Ken and Hickes; of Latitudinarians such as Tillotson, Burnet and Tenison; of moderate men like archbishop Sharp and bishops Beveridge and Bull. As might have been reasonably expected, under the influence of so many devout and learned leaders, a growing religious move-

ment was the result. Besides the formation of the important religious societies known now familiarly among us as the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., and the guilds and brotherhoods for the reformation of morals, many of which at this time were formed in London and in the provinces, we hear of fresh missions being set on foot, new churches being built, systematic education, in which religious teaching formed a special element, being taken seriously in hand by the same earnest and religious men. Under these influences schools known as "charity schools" sprang up in various localities; in eight years some five hundred of them were founded. These schools for the poor were watched with interest in foreign lands, and even imitated.

A distinct revival in church life was also perceptible in a vast number of centres. The administration of the holy communion in churches became more frequent; in many of the London churches daily service was said; more ceremonial observance in the reception of the Eucharist became general. We read that "some would not go to their seats in church until they had kneeled and prayed at the rails of the communion table." An even exaggerated reverence was observable in certain churches. "Services with choral accompaniments were preferred to sermons, and even pictures about the altar began to be the books of the vulgar."* But this religious revival, so noticeable in the last decade of the seventeenth and in the earlier years of the eighteenth century, gradually faded as that group of eminent men and those whom they had inspired with their fervour and zeal passed away, leaving no successors.

* Compare Canon Perry's "History of the English Church," and references, chap. xxxix.



THOMAS TENISON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE PERIOD OF CONTROVERSY AND SPIRITUAL DECAY.

Renewed Persecution of Nonconformists under queen Anne—Dissensions in Convocation, which is indefinitely Prorogued—Prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell—Stagnation in Spiritual Life—Its Causes—The Deistical Controversy—Shaftesbury, Collins, and Woolston—Tindal and Bolingbroke—Bishop Butler and his "Analogy of Religion"—Dr. Warburton and "The Divine Legation of Moses"—Bishops Sheriock and Berkeley—John Locke—The Arian Controversy—Produces the Treatises of Waterland—Subsequent History of the Unitarian Heresy—Absence of Earnest Religious Teachers during this Period—Suppression of Convocation—Influence of Walpole—Pluralities in the Church—Degraded Position of the Poorer Clergy—Goldsmith's Dr. Primrose—Bishop Butler's Picture of the State of Religious Opinion—Neglect of Sunday Observance and of Public Worship—State of the Universities—The Eve of the Great Revival.

AT the death of William III. there seemed every prospect of the church increasing in usefulness and influence; but the story of the first half of the eighteenth century is, on the contrary, in every way a disappointing recital. The record of what took place in Parliament and Convocation, even during the reign of queen Anne, is a gloomy one; and although progress, especially during the earlier years of her reign, went on to some extent, the action of churchmen generally in both of these assemblies, with other causes we are about to detail, gradually produced a paralysing effect on all church life.

The Nonconformists, including all the various sects of dissenters from the established church, had become very impotent and uninfluential in England. They seemed to be in a hopeless minority; but though in a minority and as a rule unpopular, they were still numerous and had to be reckoned with. Instead of making attempts at even a partial reconciliation, instead of making efforts to heal the terrible wounds inflicted by the Restoration policy of repression and even of persecution, the High Church party, in the first parliamentary session of queen Anne, set themselves to make the condition of all Nonconformists yet more intolerable. In this unhappy policy, they were strengthened by the queen's evidently strong church feeling. The cruel and unwise provisions of the Test Act, to which we have already alluded, were very often partially evaded, by Nonconformists consenting to receive once the Lord's Supper according to the use of the Church of England, and thus qualifying according to the provisions of the Test Act, as it were, for office of various kinds, and after this one reception going on as before with their dissenting worship. To put a stop to this practice, a bill was introduced in 1702, and warmly supported by a majority in the House of Commons, known as the "Bill for preventing occasional Conformity." It contained some most severe provisions, such as exacting heavy fines from any officials who should attend a conventicle; and holding any incapable of office, until by the reception of the Holy Communion *three times* in the year they had qualified themselves. This bill was, however, lost

in the Lords, mainly through the opposition of the majority of the Latitudinarian bishops, among whom Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, was the most conspicuous. The queen, however, openly manifested her wishes in favour of the cruel measure.

In 1703, with slight modifications, the bill

Oratory Chappel
Repaired and Beautifyd by
Subjects to night
Battle of
Bishops
Heaven with Butchers place thy Priestly stall · Poor humble Faith to mangle hack & maul. price 6d

(From a print by Hogarth.)

was again introduced and passed by the Commons, and again rejected, owing to similar influences, by the Lords. A similar effort was made in 1704, with like results. Powerful arguments were used on both sides in the course of this bitter contest. The church party, and even strict dissenters, spoke of the practice of receiving the Holy Communion once after the use of the Church of England, in qualification for office, as a scandalous evasion of the law; while others considered it as an act of partial allegiance to the national worship, perfectly allowable. Archbishop Tenison, a Latitudinarian, but by no means a violent partisan, said: "I think the practice of occasional conformity is so far from deserving the title of a vile hypocrisy, that it is the duty of all moderate dissenters, upon their own principles, to do it." Bishop Burnet and others of the Latitudinarian party argued in like spirit; the latter (Burnet) quoting his own practice in former days, when abroad in the service of William and Mary, before they had been called to assume the English crown. He had been accustomed, he said, to communicate with Protestant communions abroad in Holland and in Geneva; so here in England the

dissenters were perfectly right in communicating with the church of the nation. The contest, however, was kept alive year after year with exceeding bitterness, and sorely to the detriment of all spiritual life in the church and nation.

In Convocation, too, a similar bitter spirit was manifested, the Lower House containing a majority of high churchmen, the Upper consisting largely of Latitudinarian bishops. The fierce disputes, to which we have already alluded as occurring in the Convocation under William III., continued, the Lower House insisting upon its independence of the Upper. So bitter were the disputes between the two Houses, that in 1706 queen Anne, in spite of her high church sympathies, was induced to sanction an indefinite prorogation of the Lower House by archbishop Tenison. As might have been expected, many of the clergy were infected with this spirit of controversy and bitterness, which gradually grew in intensity in the Parliament and Convocation. Violent sermons and addresses were constantly heard. The unpopularity of the Latitudinarian bishops was very general, and a cry that "the church was in danger" became a general one throughout the country.

In the year 1709, a Whig ministry opposed to the high church feeling of the majority of the clergy being in power, the government singled out and determined to prosecute a certain clergyman who had, by a notoriously violent sermon, made himself conspicuous among the ranks of the more extreme of the high church ecclesiastics. This was one Dr. Sacheverell, a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, a divine more celebrated for his wordy eloquence than for his learning or prudence; he had preached before the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London a sermon which obtained a marvellous popularity. It is said that in a few days the sale of it reached the enormous number of 40,000. It was from the text "*In perils among false brethren*" (2 Cor. xi. 26). The imagery which the eloquent but shallow preacher employed on this occasion was

DR. SACHEVERELL.

singular. He compared the Church of England to the city of Troy, into which the Latitudinarian bishops and the queen's present advisers, the false brethren of his text, had treacherously admitted her deadly enemies, the nonconformists, concealed in the wooden horse of the old story. These foes thus admitted would endanger the very existence of the holy city—the church. Sacheverell was attacked in the House of Commons for using violent and treasonable language, and the House voted that he should be impeached before the House of Lords for crime and misdemeanour. Early in 1710 he was

tried in Westminster Hall and condemned, a majority of the bishops voting against him; but the comparatively light sentence amounted virtually to an acquittal on the graver charge; it was simply that he should be suspended for three years. The populace sided with the preacher. A wild riot ensued, the mob calling upon every passer-by to shout for high church and Sacheverell; even the queen's sedan-chair was surrounded, and she was summoned to join in the foolish cry. Rich preferment was given to the idol of the hour, and the next election saw again a majority of high churchmen in the House of Commons. Sacheverell was but a sorry hero at best; his enormous popularity, however, was an index of the feeling of attachment to the church on the part of the masses.

It is a saddening record which tells us of the rapid deterioration of the church, in the latter years of the seventeenth and and in the early years of the eighteenth century so full of vigorous life, and which contained at that time so many men of piety and ability. Various causes, besides the spirit of unrest which lived in the Houses of Convocation, led to this deterioration. The group of eminent men of whom we have been lately speaking, and who inspired the church with high thoughts and noble purpose, passed away in quick succession. Tillotson died in 1694, Kettlewell in 1695, Beveridge in 1707, Bull in 1719, Ken and Dodwell in 1711. Queen Anne, ever a devoted daughter of the church, died in 1714, and Tenison, the archbishop, the year following. These and men of like mind with them had no real successors. As one by one they passed away, no new men to supply their places arose. The splendid energy, and the ceaseless endeavour to promote true religion and philanthropy, so noticeable at the beginning of the century, after a very few years was less and less observable; a lower tone generally prevailed; abuses—and they were, alas! too numerous in the church—were defended, not reformed. The energies of churchmen were expended rather in barren theological discussions than in works of piety and usefulness; and a long period of comparative stagnation and apathy set in.

Various other causes, direct and indirect, were at work, especially during the first half of the eighteenth century, which contributed to bring about that age of dulness and stagnation in the established church which has so perplexed many students of ecclesiastical history; succeeding as it did to a period which, though short, was peculiarly fruitful in spiritual fervour and in practical benevolent works, and which was adorned, as we have seen, with a group of profound scholars, saintly thinkers, and practical able workers. We will rapidly enumerate the principal of these causes.

First, *within* the church it was an age, this first half of the eighteenth century, of barren controversies, of speculations utterly unpractical, advanced by men who, under a guise of specious friendliness, were as a rule hostile to all revealed religion, and who, while loudly asserting their friendly feeling to real Christianity, carefully eliminated from their teaching every doctrine which the Catholic Church, from the first century onwards

has considered fundamental. There were two groups of these controversialists who in the eighteenth century exercised a baleful and paralysing influence over the English church; absorbing interests and consuming time which should have been devoted to higher ends and more practical purposes, alienating many from the true orthodox faith which had been firmly held by millions during the Christian centuries, and adding to the immorality of the age by weakening the restraints which Christianity imposed upon the passions and lusts of men.

The earlier group is that connected with the "Deistical" controversy, the name by which the first of these unfortunate disputings is generally known. This included in its meshes large numbers of known and unknown men who were, some in sympathy with, others in bitter antagonism to, its teachings and suggestions. The church historian has sorrowfully to record the effect of these disputations upon the clergy of the Establishment. Practical subjects concerning faith and life were in too many instances neglected. The absorbing question of the hour had little bearing upon the every-day existence of toiling men and women. The sermons of the Anglican divines began to be filled with refutations of this or that heretic, famous for a day and then forgotten; the weightier questions which live along the inspired pages of the Gospels and Epistles, were too often neglected. The bitter saying, often quoted, of an Irish peer, who, when asked why he was no longer seen in his accustomed place in church, replied that in church "once he heard something of his Saviour Jesus Christ, but now all the discourse was about one John Toland,"* reflected with fair accuracy the feelings of many plain English churchmen. The result of all this argument and disputing was unmistakably a rapid declension in the spiritual earnestness of the church.

A very brief summary of the literature which worked such havoc among men, by absorbing them in aimless discussions, to the sore detriment of good and practical work, will be interesting. With most among us now the very names of the disputants are largely forgotten; only the memory of the evil, which for many years they wrought among us, still lives. It was as early as the year 1696 that the wordy war may be said to have begun, by the publication in Dublin of a tractate of inconsiderable length, entitled "Christianity not Mysterious," by an Irishman of dubious religious principles who had once been a Roman Catholic. It was a speculative essay, and tended to show that the mysteries, as we understand the expression, in the New Testament, were introduced into Christianity partly by Judaising Christians, and partly by heathen converts. The little work excited an attention far above its real importance. It was preached against, written against, and eventually burnt publicly in Dublin by the hangman.

A little later, appeared a collection of essays by lord Shaftesbury, subsequently known as "Characteristics of Men and Manners." It was scarcely a polemical work in the ordinary sense of the word; but while professing himself an orthodox

* *Toland* was a young Irish writer who as early as 1696 had published a Deistical tractate, which had in its day extraordinary success and popularity.

Christian, Shaftesbury handled with a clever but hostile hand the most sacred mysteries of our faith, the nature of the Christian miracles, the character of our blessed Lord, the Old Testament presentment of the Eternal. With the practised

THE THIRD EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.
(*From a portrait at St. Giles'.*)

easy grace of a courtier and man of the world, he advises men to float with the stream of popular opinion, smiling all the while at the tales of priests. The book and its contents had a wide and dangerous effect on the society of the time. Pope told Warburton later, that to his knowledge "The Characteristics" of Lord Shaftesbury had done more harm to revealed religion in England, than all the works of infidelity put together. The work in a collected form appeared in 1713.

Almost simultaneously with the collected edition of "The Characteristics" appeared "A Discourse on Freethinking" by one Anthony Collins, in which the necessity of free thought on all matters pertaining to religion was urged, as the only remedy for the acknowledged evil of superstition. The various objections urged against freethinking are dealt with, and a list of noble and eminent men whom the author was pleased to consider freethinkers, nineteen in number, is given. This book, of no great size, but taking and popular in its style, was enormously read and extensively circulated. Its author proceeded to put forth other works showing the same anti-Christian bias. To his most famous book published in 1724, entitled "A Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," it is said that some thirty-five answers and refutations appeared within two years of its appearance.

Shortly after Collins's weightiest book, a yet more famous "Deist" or free-thinking production was published by one Woolston. In it the author throws off all the veneer of restraint which had hitherto generally characterised the outburst of anti-Christian literature in the first thirty years of the century, and openly rails at the beliefs of Christianity. Its title was "Six Discourses on the Miracles," but its fame seems to have been principally gained owing to the persecution to which its ill-starred composer was unwisely subjected. It was indisputably a blasphemous writing, and its author was condemned in the King's Bench for each of the six unhappy discourses separately. Fined and imprisoned,

and unable to pay the fine, he languished in confinement until his death, which happened in 1731. As many as thirty thousand copies of this product of his ill-directed pen are said to have been sold. No fewer than sixty refutations have been enumerated of this freethinking effort of Collins's. The bishop of London of the day even thought fit to make it the theme of several of his pastoral letters to his diocese.

HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

Our brief catalogue of the chief writers of this cheerless school will close with two more names—that of Tindal, and of the far more famous Henry St. John, viscount Bolingbroke. Matthew Tindal, fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, was the author of the once well-known "Christianity as old as the Creation." He had passed through various religious phases. Once a Roman Catholic, then a member of the Anglican communion, Tindal had lived

a long life before he became prominent among the ranks of the eighteenth-century deists, freethinkers, or rationalists, as in later times they would be popularly termed. The influence of his cheerless school of thought was at its highest when Tindal wrote. After his time it seems rapidly to have declined, and during the second half of the century we hear but little of its work and teaching. No Deistical publication perhaps aroused the feeling stirred up by Tindal's writing. The number of answers to its suggestive and insidious infidelity is computed at considerably over a hundred. The book was unmistakably able. The writer set himself to show how, the religion of Nature being perfect, all external revelation was absolutely needless and useless. He was styled in his own times "the great apostle of Deism," and his book is popularly known as the Bible of all Deistical readers. Bishop Warburton even styles him the "mighty author of 'Christianity as old as the Creation.'"

Henry St. John, lord Bolingbroke, possesses another and a very different title to posthumous fame. As a politician of the first rank in the reign of queen Anne, as restless intriguer in the interests of the exiled Stuarts at St. Germains after the accession of the House of Hanover to the English throne, as at once a courtier, philosopher, and historian, during a long and restless life, Bolingbroke will ever rank as one of the most picturesque and prominent figures in the story of the first half of the century, upon the church history of which we are now engaged. His various writings, published after his death in 1754, perhaps first disclosed to the world what a relentless and dangerous foe to Christianity had been long living and working among the English-speaking peoples. His caustic and bitter pen spared nothing. The Old Testament especially was the object of his destructive and hostile criticism; of St. Paul and his great Epistles he writes in terms of extreme dislike and even of bitter hatred. Only in speaking of the Gospels is he respectful, and even there he dares occasionally to find fault with the divine central figure of the story.* After the publication in 1754 of the writings of this most able and dangerous enemy of the faith, the long drawn-out controversy seems to have died away, nothing further of importance being written on the Deistical† side.

* Among the weightier authors of the well-nigh innumerable treatises, replies, and confutations to the Deistical literature of the first half of the eighteenth century, Dr. John Leland, a Presbyterian minister of Dublin, especially deserves an honourable mention. This learned divine consecrated his talents and learning during a long life to the Deistical controversy, and has left us, besides several important replies and treatises, a specially valuable work entitled "A View of the Principal Deistical Writers of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," published in 1754, and other supplementary writings on the same subject. These writings of John Leland constitute an exhaustive "repertoire," and supply us with an analysis of this almost forgotten literature which exercised so important an influence on the theology and church work of this period, roughly corresponding to the reigns of queen Anne, George I., and part of the time of George II.

† The title "Deistical" has been used throughout this little catalogue or *précis* of the writers and writings of this once famous but now well-nigh forgotten school of thought. But the term is euphuistical and even misleading. "Freethinking," "unbelieving," would better convey the idea of what this "school" really was, than the gentler and more euphonious appellation "Deistical," by which historians and biographers have usually designated it. It was, as a whole, a school distinctly adverse and inimical to Christianity and to all revealed religion.

While, however, deploring the general deadening and paralysing effect of the famous Deistical controversy, which we have placed in the forefront of the causes that led to the general falling away in religious earnestness and practical work of the church in that somewhat dreary and disappointing period, we must not omit to notice one good and lasting result of the lengthened and bitter discussion. It enriched the theological literature of our church with some works, which will endure so long as lives the influence of the Anglo-Saxon peoples among the nations of the world.

First among these in acknowledged excellence and in enduring popularity, must be ranked the master-work of bishop Butler, "The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature." The student and critic of this great book must ever bear in mind, however, the circumstances under which it was composed; must never forget the peculiar environment of the author. The Deistical spirit had been influencing England for many years. Much had been said in the course of the long controversy about "Nature," and the comparative excellence of nature's course of action and government. There was then no dispute among the enemies of revealed religion as to *its* divine authorship. Taking this as the starting point of his argument, and admitting, as was then on all hands conceded, the course and constitution of nature to be divine, Butler maintains in language ever lucid and vivacious, occasionally rising into true eloquence, that all the characteristic facts and principles of religion, natural and revealed, are in strict analogy. He shows irrefutably that there was a parallelism throughout, a correspondence of design and fulfilment. If the lower, the course and constitution of nature, be divine, the higher, the facts and principles of religion, must therefore be no less so. "You assert," he says in effect, "that the law of Nature is absolutely

JOSEPH BUTLER, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

perfect and absolutely certain. I will show you that precisely the same kind of difficulties are found in nature as you find in revelation." *

The character of this great Christian thinker has been described as pure and noble, candid and unostentatious, with a tinge of melancholy. His life was, on the whole, a fortunate one, so far as regards public recognition of his eminent services to the church. He was trained as a

* *See* Abbey and Overton, "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century."

Presbyterian, but in comparatively early life he conformed to the Church of England. He was, when still young, appointed preacher at the Rolls, and subsequently obtained very lucrative preferment in the north of England. His studies in the Deistical question, which eventuated in the production of his famous treatise, seem to have commenced as early as the year 1718, and much of the substance of the "Analogy" probably formed part of his sermons in London when preacher at the Rolls. The famous book itself appeared in 1736. He was appointed bishop of Bristol in 1738, and in 1740 the deanery of St. Paul's in addition was conferred upon him. In 1750 Butler was translated to the great northern bishopric of Durham; but he only survived his translation two years, dying in 1752, at the comparatively early age of sixty.

His "Analogy" still holds its place, and that a prominent place, among our principal English classics. It is perhaps a solitary exception; out of all the mass of literature, Deistical and anti-Deistical, which appeared in the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, the profound and brilliant treatise of Butler is alone really read and generally studied in our own day and time. If anything, its popularity even increases as time advances, nor are its luminous and attractive pages only the food of our scholars and thinkers; there are few cultured Englishmen who have not read them with more or less interest and delight, and who either in early or late life have not been sensible of their peculiar charm.

Another monumental work evoked by the Deistical conflict, the name of which at least has survived, and may be said to be well known amongst us, is "The Divine Legation of Moses," by Dr. Warburton. The first volume of this most learned and powerful treatise appeared in 1738. It was a strange and absolutely new argument, which Warburton himself stated as follows:—"Whatsoever religion and society have no future state for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence." It therefore followed that as the Jews had no such future state held out before them, that their religion and society were supported by an extraordinary Providence. Warburton's massive treatise was, so far as the first book was concerned, quaintly dedicated to the freethinkers, thus:—"Gentlemen, as the following discourse was written for your use, you have the best right to the address." The learning and research of the "Divine Legation" is enormous: the arrangement, however, is cumbrous, and lacks lucidity. Bentley's cynical comment was partly deserved: he wrote of Warburton as "a man of monstrous appetite, but of bad digestion." Gibbon in his sarcastic way alludes to it as "a monument, already crumbling in the dust, of the vigour and weakness of the human mind." It is far from "crumbling in the dust," although long years have passed since Gibbon wrote; but while all have been ready to acknowledge the vigour and ability and freshness of the book, the argument is misliked by not a few Christian students of the Old Testament; the assertion that no future state was set before the Hebrews being open at least to grave question. The "Divine

SCENE FROM "THE RAKE'S PROGRESS," BY HOGARTH, SHOWING THE STATE OF MARYLEBONE CHURCH AT THE TIME.

Legation" may, however, still be considered as a classic and enduring work in Anglican theology, although it is perhaps little read by students of our day. And without, perhaps, endorsing the perfervid admiration expressed on the little marble slab in the solemn Norman nave of Gloucester, where the scholar bishop is called "a prelate of the most sublime genius and exquisite learning," the Anglican communion will ever hold in honour the name and memory of Warburton of Gloucester, as one of her goodly company of defenders of the Catholic faith.

Two other names once famous in the long controversy as able and doughty champions of orthodoxy, but over whose writings the dust of forgetfulness has gathered thickly, are those of Sherlock and Berkeley. The first of these, Sherlock, a popular divine of ability and power, such a one as men ever delight to honour, was successively master of the Temple, dean of Chichester, bishop of Bangor, Salisbury, and London. The primacy he declined. In the great controversy of the day he played a distinguished part, and his "Tryal of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus" was deemed a masterly production. But it can scarcely, in spite of its once well-deserved fame, be deemed an English classic. Its name and reputation, but only these, have survived to our times. Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne, whose "Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher" once charmed a multitude of readers interested in the long drawn-out discussions, was one of the most self-denying and philanthropic of the divines of that somewhat lifeless age. A zealous missionary, he sacrificed his bright prospects at home to devote himself to preaching his Master's Gospel to the Indians of the American continent; though his noble efforts in missionary enterprise bore no fruit at the time, owing to the dead hand of the minister, Sir Robert Walpole, being laid upon his earnest and devoted schemes. The "Minute Philosopher" and its gifted and amiable author,

JOHN LOCKE.
(*From the portrait prefixed to his works in* 1703.)

to us now are but the shadows of once illustrious names.

In this brief summary of the Deistic controversy, which, though now well-nigh forgotten, occupied so large a space on the canvas of the picture of the church of the eighteenth century, the name of John Locke must just be mentioned. He died in 1704, some time before the great dispute had become a national calamity. Locke is well known in letters as the father of modern inductive philosophy; and one of his many writings, the essay "Concerning

Human Understanding," still certainly ranks as a European classic. Out of Locke's works, both the Deist and the defender of the orthodox faith culled arguments in support of their opinions. Both schools chose to claim him as "one of them." Locke, however, in spite of certain passages in his writings which seemed to favour what we should now term Rationalistic views, was a devout Christian at heart, and a firm adherent of the Christian faith. When dying, this eminent philosopher told the clergyman from whom he received the blessed sacrament before he passed away, that he was "in perfect charity with all men, and in communion with the church of Christ, by whatever name it was called." Locke went out from among us into that other and grander world, with that serene confidence which the Christian, and only the Christian, is justified in feeling, while the first mutterings of the mighty storm which for so many years convulsed religious England, were being heard. With some confidence we may assert that had his life been prolonged, his devout mind would have been shocked at the deductions which some of the Deistical writers chose to draw from some of his perhaps too bold speculations.

With greater reason, the Deists claim that the noblest poet of the century was one of them. But if Pope was a Deist at heart, which is after all very doubtful, emphatically may we maintain that he had no sympathy whatever with the destructive theories put forth by the men of whom we have been lately speaking as the leading teachers of the unhappy school. That he was the intimate friend and the passionate admirer of the brilliant and versatile Bolingbroke, who, we read, wept over the poet's death-bed, there is no doubt. Henry St. John during many years largely swayed his poet-friend, and to him the sad silences of Pope in the "Essay on Man" and in the "Universal Prayer," in respect to Christianity, are no doubt due. The apostrophe to his dearest friend in the opening lines of the "Essay

ALEXANDER POPE.
(From a contemporary portrait.)

on Man," graven on all our memories, reminds us of this close intimacy:

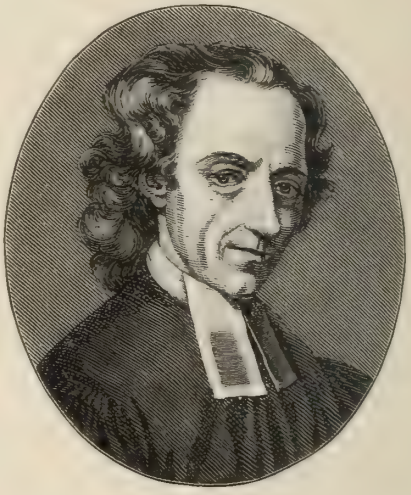
> "Awake, my St. John! leave all meaner things
> To low ambition and the pride of kings.
> Let us (since life can little more supply
> Than just to look about us and to die)
> Expatiate free o'er all this scene of man.
> A mighty maze, but not without a plan."

And in the no less grand peroration of the same deathless song, he again turns to that winning but sinister personality, to whom he clung, to use his own words, as his "guide, philosopher, and friend," closing with—

"Come then, my friend! my genius! come along!
A master of the poet, and the song!
* * * * * *
Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
To fall with dignity, with temper rise,
Formed by thy converse . . ."

But Pope, in spite of the assertion of the Deists, with all his doubts and hesitances, was no unbeliever, still less a scoffer and an infidel; and with his last dying effort, we read of his receiving the sacred memorials of his Lord's dying love from the hands of a priest of his own Roman Catholic communion.

Another controversy of this century, which had less immediate but more far-reaching consequences than the Deistical, must regretfully be alluded to. The Trinitarian disputes, which also belong especially to this period, important though the points disputed were to the belief and life of the church, excited fewer minds than those so-called Deistical questions of which we have been speaking. The Trinitarian questioning of the eighteenth century was indeed an old foe under a new face. Very early in the story of the Christian church, the relation of the Three Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity to each other had been fiercely disputed; indeed, the question may be said to have been the chief cause of most of the early divisions in the church. Under the general title of Arianism,* the principal tenet of which was the denial of the Saviour's Godhead, the adversaries of the Trinitarians were mostly known. Repeatedly condemned by church councils, Arianism was ever regarded as the bitter foe of the Catholic Church. It was a widespread heresy, and occasionally coloured the Christianity of whole nations: for example, it was not until the sixth century that Spain became Catholic and orthodox. It lived, indeed, all through the Middle Ages; but mediæval Christianity was principally occupied with other questions, and we hear comparatively little of the great controversy which rent asunder the early



WILLIAM WHISTON.

church. The heresy, however, was never stamped out, and it appeared and reappeared in different Christian centres at various periods.

Towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, the question seems to have been agitated in England. The special causes of the recrudescence of this ancient heresy among us, it is difficult now to trace. That it existed in a somewhat dangerous form is clear, for it called out the great work of Bull, of which we have already spoken somewhat at length. His "Defence of the Nicene Creed," it is true,

* So named from a famous popular teacher, Arius, who lived in the early part of the fourth century.

only touched a portion of the Arian contention, but it was a most important portion, and dealt, as it had never been attempted before, with the views of the ante-Nicene Fathers* on the subject of the Trinity. In the early years of the eighteenth century, the question began to assume formidable proportions. In 1708 William Whiston, a widely-read but eccentric scholar, put forth a writing claiming for the "Apostolical Constitutions"—a work generally held to be a forgery—a value equal to that of the four Gospels. His strange views, strongly tinctured with Arianism, caused his rejection by the Royal Society, then under

THE SLEEPING CONGREGATION.
(From a print by Hogarth.)

* That is, roughly, with the writings of the Fathers before the year 325.

the presidency of Sir Isaac Newton. Whiston was a voluminous writer, and was widely read in his day.

Of still greater importance in the history of the theologic thought of the period was Whiston's friend Dr. Samuel Clarke, a theologian of very considerable reputation. Clarke has been generally considered the practical introducer of Arianism into England, and his book, "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," was long used as the treasury whence the modern Arian drew his principal weapons of attack and defence.

As in the case of the more generally popular "Deistical" controversy, which drew forth the great classic works of Butler and of Warburton, the "Analogy" and the "Divine Legation of Moses;" so here, the agitation of the Trinitarian question resulted in the great Catholic treatises of Waterland. This eminent scholar and divine, born in 1683, at the somewhat unusually early age of thirty became master of his college (Magdalen, Cambridge). The theological question concerning the Trinity, which was especially agitating the minds of scholars when Waterland was a young and ardent student, had a peculiar attraction for him. The study of the points at issue became his life work. Successively there appeared his "Queries in Vindication of Christ's Divinity," his "History of the Athanasian Creed," "The Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity Asserted"—monumental works which must ever form part of the equipment of every Anglican theological scholar. Following on the profound and exhaustive writings of bishop Butler, the treatises of Waterland may be said to have really extinguished Arianism as a power in England. Waterland received various acknowledgments in high quarters of his merits. He became canon of Windsor, archdeacon of Middlesex, etc., and no doubt he would have risen to yet higher dignity in the church he served so well, had not his somewhat premature death removed him from the earthly scene of his activities. He died from gangrene, after what seemed an unimportant operation, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven, in the year 1740.

But although Waterland may be said to have put an end to Arianism as a real power in England, the doctrine lived on amongst us, as it had done in so many churches all along the Christian centuries. Under the more familiar names of Socinianism and Unitarianism, it is still with us, and in most of the more considerable cities of our land it is still represented by a congregation, but generally speaking small in numbers. Owing, in great measure, to the clear and powerful teaching of Bull at the close of the seventeenth, and of Waterland in the course of the first thirty or forty years of the century following, the boundary line between the Church of England and Arianism, in any form and under any name, is sharply drawn, and the slightest wandering *here* from the path hewn out by the Nicene fathers and followed so undeviatingly by the Catholic Church, on the part of any Anglican teacher, is at once sternly checked. No tampering with this great fundamental doctrine, which asserts the true Godhead and distinct personality of the Second and Third Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity, is ever countenanced in the Church of England.

Among the Protestant Nonconformist bodies in England and on the Continent this deadly heresy, with its insidious arguments, has been, and is still, a greater source of danger than among Anglicans. The liturgy of the Church of England, with its constantly-repeated creeds, with its Catholic prayers and collects—above all, with its solemn litany, is an ever-present safeguard against loose and indefinite expressions of worship.* This safeguard is not possessed by those religious communities who prefer to trust mainly to extemporaneous utterances, rather than to liturgical forms of prayer and praise derived from an immemorial Catholic tradition. Not a few earnest Protestant Nonconformists are sadly conscious of this peril, and bitterly regret that in their communions the line of demarcation is not more strictly drawn between those who believe and those who do not believe in the true Godhead and distinct personality of the Redeemer.†

Thus, while it is undeniable that the effect of these great and long drawn-out controversies had, on the whole, a paralysing influence on the church, drawing away many from more practical work, distracting the energies of the clergy, inducing them to devote their teaching rather to the questions of abstruse theology which were then especially agitating men's minds, than to the more practical questions of simple faith and daily duty; it is equally clear that in the providence of God out of what was an acknowledged evil, came a real and permanent advantage to the Church of England. Had it not been for these interminable contests, never would those distinguished theologians have arisen who have by their writings so materially strengthened not only the Anglican communion, but the whole Catholic Church. And while we mourn over the lower standard of spiritual life and the declension of practical work which is so sadly perceptible in our church at this period of her history, we cannot regard the age as altogether barren which produced the "Defence of the Nicene Creed" of Bull, the "Analogy" of Butler, the "Divine Legation" of Warburton, and the massive works of Waterland.

Although, however, the first half of this century was confessedly an age of distracting controversies, other causes, perhaps more indirect but none the less real, were also at work, which we can now see affected gravely the spirit of devoted earnestness, and sorely hindered the practical usefulness of the church, and for a long time retarded the splendid promise of progress which we have already noticed. Among these other causes may be noticed especially the dearth of distinguished churchmen; the absence of devoted and earnest leaders who could inspire the rank and file with the spirit of enthusiasm and of self-devotion and sacrifice. Butler and Warburton, Bull and Waterland, were profound scholars and great thinkers; but enduring though their work has proved to be, they were toilers for God in the closet and study rather than

* Compare Canon Liddon's Bampton Lectures —"Our Lord's Divinity" (Lectures I.–IV. and Lecture VIII.), where this thought is expanded.

† For a more detailed account of these two great controversies, which so largely occupied the church during the first half of the eighteenth century, see Overton and Abbey: "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," chapters iii. and vi.

in the broad field of active practical life. They were not men who inspired their contemporaries with living, burning zeal. In this comparatively dull and lifeless age no Latimer arose to fire men's hearts with his burning words; no Jewel whose practical life illustrated his teaching; no Andrewes whose saintliness inspired thousands to struggle after some faint imitation of his fair life; no Laud whose far-reaching energy and ceaseless work infused fresh life, and suggested high aims and new purpose to an entire church; no Ken whose singleness of heart and purity of purpose supplied a pattern life to uncounted holy and humble men, who were content to live and to labour unnoticed and unrewarded. A curious absence of such leaders of men is painfully observable in this somewhat sluggish period.

And not only for a long term of years was the Church of England without leaders practical and able, without men of high thoughts and tireless purpose, capable too of inspiring others with something of their own spirit and power; but through the greater part of this century there was no Convocation of the clergy to debate and to plan, to check excesses, and to originate new departures in useful church work. For the first time, save during the troubles of the Civil War, was the voice of the church, expressed through her representatives, hushed. The immediate cause of the arbitrary closing of Convocation by the government of the day was the presenting to the Upper House by the Lower of a report gravely condemnatory of the doctrines preached by Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, as being calculated to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ, as well as to impeach the royal supremacy. The ministers of George I., rightly or wrongly, looked on this action of the Lower House of Convocation as a political act, considered this formal pronouncement as an attack on the Whig ministry of the day, and ordered an immediate prorogation. Convocation thus silenced, was never suffered to meet again until comparatively modern times.

As some justification for this high-handed, arbitrary act on the part of the government, it was alleged, and with some reason, that for a considerable time not only in the reign of George I., but even more conspicuously in the preceding reign of queen Anne, Convocation had been the scene of unseemly disputes between the Upper and Lower Houses, and had tended by its fierce wranglings to promote disorder in the church and state. But these disputes, painful though they were, were after all ephemeral, nor did they by any means represent the real work of the official church assembly. Convocation during the reign of queen Anne and the earlier years of George I.—the years immediately preceding its being silenced—had been singularly busy with the consideration of many good and useful measures, had been occupied with the promotion of works philanthropic and highly beneficial to the people; such as the re-constitution of the office of rural deans, the establishment and maintenance of charity schools for the people, the foundation of parochial charities, the increase of church accommodation; and last but not least, with the inescapable duty of a Christian people to forward and to encourage Christian missions in all the

rapidly growing colonies, as well as among the heathen world beyond the seas, a world daily widening owing to the rapid spread of English commercial enterprise.

We must just allude to one more of the causes which led to the deadness and stagnation so marked a feature in the life of the church of a considerable part of the eighteenth century, notably in the period which lay between the end of the first decade, and the middle years of it. For nearly fifty years Sir Robert Walpole and his policy may be said to have discouraged, if not actively opposed, all religious activity. As early as 1710, Walpole had been appointed one of the chief persons in the matter of the impeachment of Sacheverell; and the disturbing political consequences of that process, it is supposed, permanently influenced his future policy towards the church. Without being positively unfriendly, he

TARTUFF'S BANQUET.
—Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo
Ipse Domi— Horat. Sat. I. 1. v. 2.
Were all obligid to practise what they teach,
Some warm Sleek Clerks would still more seldom preach.
Stall-fed TARTUFF reclining in his Seat,
High heapid his Board, himself Crammfull of Meat,
Yawning, with Pain thus sleepy Silence broke.
And to his meagre Curates Slightly spoke,
My loving Brethren, we should rest content
With the Small Pittance gracious Heav'n has sent.
'Tis better much to want, than much abound;
Manner and Thirst hereafter will be crown'd.
Be we Prunella, which will hang together,
Like the good Baptist, girt about with Leather;
And Bread and Water, we should ne'er complain.
Here, John, give me a — Bumper of Champagne.
Seasonable Reproof.

(*From a print after Hogarth.*)

discouraged all religious activity, and especially in any foreign missionary effort. The influence of the powerful minister's policy of discouragement weighed on the church long after his fall.

There was much in the inner life of the church, at the period on which we are dwelling, that was ugly, and urgently called for the hand of the reformer. There were many abuses which needed correction, much more which sorely needed quickening. There was a general lack of enthusiasm of any kind; everywhere, in cities and in rural districts, a dead level of uniform dulness prevailed. Two reasons have been suggested* for this. The dread of Romanism, always present in England, but recently awakened by the tyrannical acts of James II., induced many of the clergy to avoid anything which might savour of the services and ritual of Rome. Symbolism of all kinds, elaborate and beautiful services, were unpopular with not a few; even frequent services and many communions, were looked upon with some suspicion. In an opposite direction, everything in divine worship which suggested Puritanism was disliked. Fervid and impassioned sermons were avoided, as partaking too much of the kind of religion in vogue in the hated days of the Commonwealth, when Oliver reigned. The result was too often a bald, unlovely service, followed by a dry, dull sermon, bearing too much upon the somewhat abstruse theological controversies of the day, and dealing too little with every-day life, its trials and temptations, its sorrows and joys.

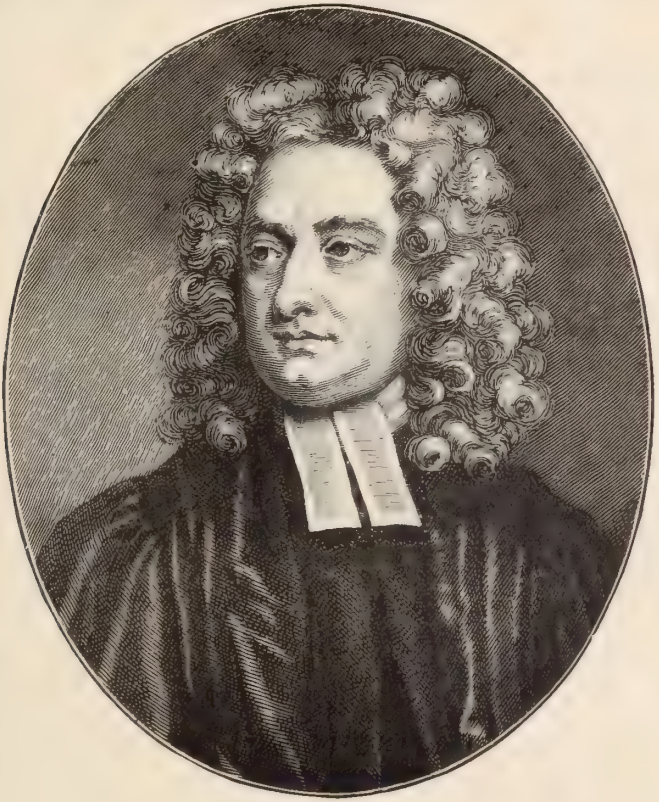
And among the clergy themselves there was much that called aloud for reformation. A great gulf parted the few who held high and lucrative employment, and the many who were living in extreme poverty. The scandal of pluralities and non-residence was a conspicuous blot in church life. The bishops and leading men in the hierarchy were curiously insensible of the cruel wrong which this evil system perpetuated. Even the earnest and really devoted looked upon such abuses calmly, and accepted this state of things without any effort to amend it. Bishops whose record in other respects is singularly white and blameless, often held with their bishopric a deanery and even a lucrative benefice.* Pluralists were common, and the richest posts in the church were held by a comparatively few men. On the other hand, the rank and file of the clergy in numberless cases were exposed to real poverty. The ordinary stipend of a curate was about £30 a year, or even less. A vast number of benefices in all parts of England were wretchedly endowed.† The social position of these ill-paid clergy was often not higher than that of a tradesman in a town, while in the rural districts the status of the poor curates and the yet poorer incumbents was that of the smaller farmers and yeomen.

* Compare Abbey and Overton: "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," chap. viii. While from some pulpits morality was preached without any reference at all to religion, still there were, as we shall point out, many noble exceptions.

* In the case of some of the sees the income was so small that it was really necessary to supplement it from another source; hence this regrettable practice.

† The reason of the poverty of many of these "livings" has already been alluded to, in the account of the confiscation of the abbey lands.

Not only the nobility, but very many of the country squires attached a young Levite, as he was commonly termed, to the household, but this clergyman occupied in his patron's family a subordinate position. He dined, it is true, at the master's table, but was expected to leave long before the repast was concluded. Various seem to have been the services required from him, in addition to his spiritual duties. Among these especially was his presence and assistance at the various games then in vogue, such as bowls in the garden and cards in the house. Not an altogether unfavourable specimen of one of these chaplains is painted in the well-known parson Sampson, in the "Virginians" of Thackeray. Swift, in his caustic writings, gives us several sad and painful contemporary sketches of the lives led by too many of these representatives of the clergy of his time. That great and unhappy man in his own early career had personal experience of such a life, when in the household of Sir William Temple.* Swift



DEAN SWIFT

* "It was at Shene and Moor Park, with a salary of twenty pounds and a dinner at the upper servants' table, that this great and lonely Swift passed a ten years' apprenticeship, wore a cassock that was only not a livery, bent down a knee as proud as Lucifer's to supplicate my lady's good graces, or ran on his honour's errands, swallowing scorn, and submitting with a stealthy rage to his position."—Thackeray: "English Humourists."

tells us of one of these Anglican clergy, for instance, who was admitted as chaplain to a noble family, where his sister was a waiting-woman, and how this chaplain would shake the butler by the hand and teach the page his catechism; how sometimes as a favour he was admitted to dine at the steward's table. His revenue (besides vails) amounted to about thirty pounds a year. Another clergyman whose life he depicts, he tells us, although a man of considerable parts and scholarship, accepted a curacy of thirty pounds a year, and, when he was five-and-forty, had the great felicity to be preferred to a vicarage worth annually sixty pounds. He describes how his spirits quite sank in disappointment, and eventually this scholar married a farmer's widow.*

In another paper† the great dean of St. Patrick's describes the life of a country vicar. After stating that his stipend was forty pounds a year, he went on to say, "he hath a house and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No guest expects more from him than a pot of ale; he lives like an honest plain farmer, as his wife is dressed but little better than Goody. He is sometimes graciously invited by the squire, when he sits at an humble distance; if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little useful presents. He is happy by being born to no higher expectation, for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either than what a poor hungry servitor can be expected to bring with him from his college." Our great pencil-satirist tells us the same story, and the five caricatures* by Hogarth which illustrate this chapter, show us public opinion in regard to both the standing and the shortcomings of many of the clergy at that period.

On the whole, in the eighteenth century the clergy, especially those working in country places, were regarded as a plebeian class. Very few, comparatively, of the higher ranks in society took orders, until about the middle of the century, when a change gradually took place, partly through increase in the value of the benefices, but far more owing to the new spirit which passed over the Church of England, which we are about presently to relate. Bishop Warburton, for instance, in a letter dated 1752, thus writes: "Our grandees have at last found their way back into the church. I only wonder they have been so long about it, but be assured that nothing but a new religious revolution to sweep away the fragments that Henry VIII. left after banqueting his courtiers, will drive them out again." Warburton, when he wrote this, was scarcely conscious what a change for the better was already passing over the church.†

Degraded, however, and insignificant though the position in society of a vast proportion of the Anglican clergy undoubtedly was, at a time when the country attorney and the country

* "Essay on the Fates of Clergy," where other saddening details are given.

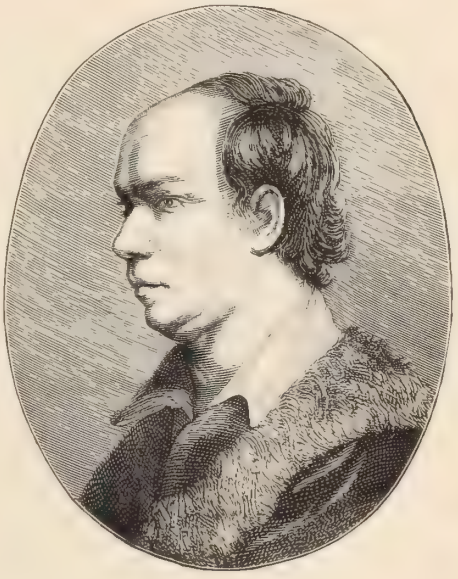
† "Considerations upon Two Bills—relating to the Clergy," written in the year 1731.

* It must not be forgotten that they *are*, professedly, caricatures.

† See Macaulay: "History of England," chap. iii., where a painful though vivid picture is drawn of the state of the clergy at this time.

apothecary looked down with disdain on the country parson, their influence, even during the period when these melancholy pictures of their position were painted, was immense, especially over the lower orders of the people in the rural districts. We must be careful not to exaggerate, or to allow a false impression to be left from, these quotations and references from Swift and Goldsmith and other brilliant satirists and writers of the period. While accepting, on the whole, their description of the lives led by many of the Anglican clergy as fairly accurate, we must remember that there were many among the order of a very different calibre. The London clergy, for instance, were always spoken of as a class apart ; not a few of them were even men of high culture, and possessing no little eloquence and real learning. In the universities, too, were many scholars and divines of high reputation. Attached to the cathedrals, again, were ever found, even in the gloomiest years of this period, theologians and men of high attainments. It should also be remembered that in an age peculiarly notable for laxity in living and for gross immorality, singularly few charges of this kind seem ever to have been brought against the Anglican clergy.

Bishop Burnet, who was severe in his strictures on the faults and errors of his order, especially tells us that he had found the greatest part of the clergy leading exemplary lives. Archbishop Wake, in a letter dated 1726, while lamenting the infidelity and iniquity so generally prevalent, expressed his deliberate opinion that no care was wanting in the clergy to defend the Christian faith. Smollett, a most popular writer (1721–1771) and a vivid and picturesque painter of contemporary manners and customs, declares that in the reign of George II. (1727-1760) the clergy were generally pious and exemplary. Bentley, with some exaggeration, even ventures the statement (in 1713) that the whole clergy of England "were the light and glory of Christianity."



OLIVER GOLDSMITH

Goldsmith's description of Dr. Primrose in the "Vicar of Wakefield" (1764) gives us a singularly interesting and no doubt faithful picture of the simplicity and goodness of some at least of these poor and suffering parsons ; and the beautiful lines in his "Deserted Village" paint the life and influence of the parson of "Auburn" in glowing colours :—

"At church with meek and unaffected grace
His looks adorn'd the venerable place ;
Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,
And fools, who came to scoff, remained to pray.
The service past, around the pious man
With steady zeal each honest rustic ran,

E'en children followed with endearing wile,
And plucked his gown to share the good man's smile.
His ready smile a parent's warmth expressed,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distrest;
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in heaven." *

Goethe (1749–1832), the great German poet, gives us the following striking and beautiful impressions of an English clergyman of that period, derived from Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield" (published in 1764).

"Now Herder came," says Goethe in his interesting autobiography, relating his first acquaintance with Goldsmith's masterpiece, "and told us of the "Vicar of Wakefield," an excellent work, with the German translation of which he would make us acquainted by reading it aloud to us himself. . . . A Protestant country clergyman is perhaps the most beautiful subject for a modern idyll; he appears like Melchizedek, as priest and king in one person. To the most innocent situation which can be imagined on earth, to that of a husbandman, he is, for the most part, united by similarity of occupation as well as by equality in family relationships; he is a father, a master of a family, an agriculturist, and thus perfectly a member of the community. On this pure, beautiful, earthly foundation rests his higher calling; to him is it given to guide men through life, to take care of their spiritual education, to bless them at all the leading epochs of their existence, to strengthen, to console them, and if consolation is not sufficient for the present, to call up and guarantee the hope of a happier future. . . . Dr. Goldsmith can thankfully acknowledge that he is an Englishman, and reckon highly the advantages which his country and his nation afford him. The family, with the delineation of which he occupies himself, stands upon one of the last steps of citizen comfort, and yet comes in contact with the highest; its narrow circle, which becomes still more contracted, touches upon the great world through the natural and civil course of things; this little skiff floats on the agitated waves of English life, and in weal or woe it has to expect injury or help from the vast fleet which sails around it." *

While, however, from these contemporary notices and pictures painted by eminent writers, poets, romancists and satirists, it is evident that even among the ranks of the numerous poor clergy there were many earnest and devoted men, who kept burning the torch of true piety and goodness among their flocks in the darkest days of this period, there is no doubt that a death-like torpor had stolen over our church, a torpor that was by no means confined to Anglicanism. In 1730 the Nonconformist Edward Calamy grieves over this dulness and want of spirituality and life, both in the church and out of it. Dr. Watts, the celebrated hymnologist (1674–1748), also a Dissenter, bears a similar testimony when he tells us how

* Goldsmith published his great poem in 1770, and probably the "revival" of spiritual life had already been felt far and wide. But this striking portrait, no doubt, was of one who had lived years before the date of the poem.

* "Truth and Poetry, from my own Life." Quoted by Thackeray in "The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century," Sterne and Goldsmith.

in his day "there was a general decay of vital religion in the hearts and lives of men." This wide-spread decay or torpor in vital religion in England, testified to from so many unimpeachable sources, was gradually spreading over the church, in spite of many examples of earnest piety among the humbler clergy, and of the brilliant school of divines who maintained the great Catholic doctrines with such conspicuous ability and scholarship.

There was, indeed, a sad contrast between the religious condition of England in the early years of the seventeenth century, and its religious state in the period now considered, covered roughly by the first forty or more years of the eighteenth. We have already noticed how the intense interest in, and warm sympathy for religion in the first of these periods was so marked, that the attention and wonderment of distinguished foreign scholars like Grotius and Casaubon was excited. In the second period the change was so evident, and the declension of all interest and sympathy in religion so painfully apparent, that Butler, in the preface to his "Analogy," wrote that it had come to be taken for granted that "Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious"; and in his charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Durham (1751) the same prelate alludes sorrowfully to "the general decay of religion in this nation, which is now observed by everyone, and has been for some time the complaint of all serious persons. . . . The influence of it [religion] is more and more wearing out of the minds of men, even of those who do not pretend to enter into speculations upon the subject; but the number of those who do, and who profess themselves unbelievers, increases, and with their numbers their zeal." Addison tells us that "there was less appearance of religion in England than in any neighbouring state or kingdom, whether it be Protestant or Catholic." Sir John Barnard* asserted that it "really seems to be the fashion for a man to declare himself of no religion." Montesquieu,† the famous French writer, who was well acquainted with English life, went so far as to say "that there was no religion in England," and epigrammatically summed up his view with the words :—"In France I am considered as caring too little about religion; in England men say I care too much."

Such testimonies respecting the lack of religion in England, are borne out by the formal complaint of the Upper House of Convocation in 1711, that Sunday was generally neglected by the upper classes. For instance, under Charles II. hackney coaches were not allowed to appear in the streets on Sunday. Under William and Mary one hundred and seventy-five out of seven hundred of these hired carriages of London were suffered to ply for hire; and before the close of queen Anne's reign the law restraining the remainder of them passed into disuse. In 1757 it was even

* Sir John Barnard was a celebrated lord mayor and alderman of the city of London, and one of its ablest representatives in Parliament. He was lord mayor in 1737; M.P. for London, 1751; he died in 1764.

† Montesquieu (1689–1755) was one of the great French writers on history and law of the eighteenth century. He was a fellow of our Royal Society. During his stay in England queen Anne treated him with peculiar distinction.

proposed that the militia should be exercised on Sundays; but popular indignation prevented this desecration of a day, the sanctity of which among the lower classes of the people was still jealously guarded. At the same time societies of tradesmen were arranged, whose duty it was to denounce to the magistrates all bakers who ventured to bake or sell bread on the holy day. But among the upper classes in the metropolis, Sunday became more and more disregarded. We have already quoted Evelyn's sorrowful dismay, when he remembered the inexpressible profanity, the gaming, the immorality, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God, of which he was an eye-witness, in the stately gallery of the Whitehall Palace, the eve of the fatal seizure of king Charles II.* This gradually gained ground in the years succeeding Evelyn's grave criticism. We read of cabinet councils and cabinet dinners being constantly held on that day. Sunday concerts, and even Sunday card-parties, became more and more the fashion. Sunday levées were introduced and became usual, the court setting here the example of striking irreverence by the practice of entertaining Sunday card-parties.

As might be expected from this open disregard of the sanctity of the immemorial holy day among the upper classes, a general neglect of public worship was sadly noticeable. Leland, the Dissenting scholar, whose able account of the Deistical writers of the period we have already quoted, calls attention to this. The words of archbishop Secker† also are remarkable: "People of fashion, especially of that sex which ascribes to itself most knowledge, have nearly thrown off all observation of the Lord's day, . . . and if to avoid scandal they sometimes vouchsafe their attendance on Divine worship in the country, they seldom or never do it in town." In the "Spectator" we come repeatedly on allusions to irreverent behaviour in church on the part of fashionable congregations, "bows, winks, curtesies, whispering, smiles, nods, with other familiar arts of salutation," being common and usual.*

In the universities, a consensus of contemporary writers bears witness to the low state into which the ancient seats of learning had fallen at this time. College discipline was relaxed; public examinations, save in the cases of candidates for fellowship, were unknown. The tutors and professors alike slurred over their duties, while religious instruction seems to have been utterly neglected. To this state of utter inefficiency in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge writers of various schools of thought, of very different positions in the world, give their testimony. Revivalists, men of letters, scholars, essayists, all agree here. It is one voice which proceeds from John Wesley and Johnson, Swift and Defoe, Gray and Gibbon, lord Chesterfield, and, a little later, lord Eldon and Simeon.

But a sudden and startling religious revival was at hand; a revival which sprang from a strange and unexpected source, and which in a marvellous way affected the religious history of England. "Although

* Evelyn's Diary (1685).

† Secker was successively bishop of Bristol, Oxford, and dean of St. Paul's, then archbishop of Canterbury between the years 1729 and 1768.

* Compare Lecky: "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," chap. ix., who gives many contemporary references to the profane neglect of this time.

the career of the elder Pitt and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry, form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II., they must yield in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England owing to the preaching of the Wesleys and of Whitefield. The creation of a powerful and active sect, extending over both hemispheres and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the established church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history."*

* Lecky: "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," chap. ix.

FRONTISPIECE TO THE "HUMOURS OF OXFORD."
(From the print by Hogarth.)

CHAPTER LXXI.

WESLEY, WHITEFIELD, AND THE METHODISTS.

Behmen and the Mystics—William Law—The Society at Oxford and its Character—The Wesleys and Whitefield—Influence of the Moravians upon Wesley—His "Conversion"—The New Organisation—Open-air Preaching—Wesley's Connection with the Church, and the Final Breach—George Whitefield—Power of his Preaching—Dislike and Opposition to it—Charles Wesley—Secession of the Calvinistic Methodists—Severance of the Wesleyans from the Church of England.

DURING the first quarter of the seventeenth century (1612–1624) the writings of a German mystic, Jacob Behmen, became widely read, and exercised a considerable influence on religious thought all through Europe. To Behmen the work and office of the Holy Spirit was an intense reality. He felt that the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity was indeed the Lord and Giver of Life, who teaches all things and leads into all truth; and that to him who longs after righteousness, and whose heart is pure, will heavenly wisdom be granted, and all things will become full of meaning. Such mystics felt, perhaps as few others felt, the vast capabilities of human nature, though so disfigured by sin and earthly longings and passions. Much, however, that the great German mystic wrote was confused, and his meaning was often hard to unravel; and such clear and lucid thinkers as Warburton spoke of his writings with some contempt. Warburton's estimate was, however, by no means generally shared; and not a few earnest religious scholars, wearied with the dry speculative theology of the time, found a wonderful fascination in the writings of Behmen, which taught the possibility of a direct communion of the soul with God.

In England the most conspicuous student of the mystic teacher was one William Law. This remarkable man, the real teacher of the great evangelical school whose rise and widespread influence we are about to relate, was born in 1686. A fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he forfeited this fellowship by his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to George I., and for the remainder of his life lived in retirement. He spent his days in study, the results of which he gave to the world in a series of works which were read far and wide. Law was a high churchman, an ascetic, and a solitary, and for long a deep student of Behmen and the mystic school of thought. The theories of his master were reproduced by him with extraordinary force, and with a lucidity never possessed by Behmen. Law taught in language of strange power, that human nature was corrupted and fallen, and soiled with earthly passions, but that in spite of this fallen state, in every human soul still dwelt the fire and light and love of God. The grand object of all life was to purify, by means of self-denial and mortification, the soiled soul, and so to remove all hindrance to the enlightening power of the Holy Spirit.

But Law was no mere contemplative

theologian. His teaching inculcated the most practical virtues. Among his many controversial and devotional works, one especially stands out, which evidently supplied a soul-need; for it was enormously read, and its holy influence was felt for many years far and wide. The "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life," which appeared in 1729, was pronounced by Dr. Johnson "the finest piece of hortatory theology in our language"; Gibbon admired it; and Warburton tells us that its author was the father of Methodism. For a long period the "Serious Call" was the standard devotional treatise, alike in parsonages and in the houses of pious laymen. "It is indeed one of the most solemn and most powerful works of its kind in any literature. . . . It is intended to demonstrate the necessity of a real Christian separating himself altogether in life and feelings from the world that is about him; to show how profoundly the modes of life, the aims, the ambitions, the amusements, the popular types of character in society, are repugnant to the precepts and ideals of the Gospel; to prove that all worldly attainments, whether of greatness, wisdom, or bravery, are but empty words."*

The exalted mysticism of Law led to no narrowing tendency in his teaching; he pressed home to men what he believed to be the truth, and showed them how to make their souls a temple fit for the presence of the Holy Spirit; yet he could admire and reverence great teachers of very different schools of Christian thought from his own. He elected to live and die in the communion of the Anglican Church; but he felt at the same time that he was one in spirit with holy and righteous men in other churches, even though those men were called by the names of Ignatius Loyola, or John Bunyan, or George Fox. His words on "Rome" are remarkable, and worthy of the noble charity of a later age:—"The more we believe or know of the corruptions and hindrances to true piety in the Church of Rome, the more we should rejoice to hear that in every age so many eminent spirits, great saints, have appeared in it, whom we should thankfully behold as so many great lights hung out by God to show the true way to heaven."

At the same time as the "Serious Call" of Law was published (1729), a little band of religious students at Oxford were in the habit of meeting together for the purpose of mutual edification. They were unknown in 1729, but a very few years afterwards, the names of some of them rang through England and her colonial possessions across the sea, as the all-powerful leaders of a new and rapidly spreading school of thought. John Wesley and his brother Charles, and their friend George Whitefield, were the principal figures in this little Oxford coterie. We have noticed already how lax and inefficient had become the student life in the universities, how careless in all religious observances. This little band did nothing specially to attract notice; but their strict lives, their endeavours to observe the rules

* Lecky: "England in the Eighteenth Century," chap. ix. See also the sketch of Law's writings by Leslie Stephen in "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," and also Abbey and Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," where in chapter vii., on "Enthusiasm," a fascinating picture is drawn of the mysticism of Behmen and of his follower, William Law.

of the Church of England, their regular attendance Sunday by Sunday at St. Mary's to receive the Holy Communion, called down upon them the ridicule and adverse criticism of many of the easy-going and careless, if not godless residents in the once religious university. They were surnamed in derision the Holy Club, the Godly Club, the Reformers, the Sacramentarians; and in the end the sobriquet was attached to them which afterwards became so famous, of the Methodists; this last title being applied to the little society from their strict adherence to *method*, from their care in keeping the appointed festivals and fasts of the church, from the regularity and strictness of their lives, and the *methodical* observance of their religious duties.

In their meetings they would read together; now the classics—they were some of them good scholars—now the Greek Testament. Nor did they, in their devotion to the ritual observance of their church, in their constant conferences, in their meetings for study and for prayer, neglect the practical duties enjoined by the Christianity they loved so well. These men were diligent visitors among the poor and needy of the city, and even among the sadly neglected prisoners in the gaol. The spring which moved them, the influence which determined them thus to consecrate their young lives to God and their neighbour, seems to have been the teaching and the writings of that strange and remarkable mystic, something of whose theology we have just been trying to sketch—William Law; the text book, so to speak, which they loved to use being especially the "Serious Call." But they did more than read his burning writings, they came also under his personal influence. They would now and again seek his presence in his retirement, and ask his counsel. Years after the Oxford days, John Wesley wrote in his journal, in 1760, that "Mr. Law, whom I love and reverence now, was once a kind of oracle to me."

There is nothing remarkable to relate in the early life-story of these subsequently famous men. The brothers Charles and John Wesley were sons of an exemplary clergyman who was rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire; their mother was the daughter of an eminent Nonconformist minister, and was a woman of great mental power, of intense piety. No doubt her training, and the religious influence of the Epworth home, did much to form and strengthen the character of the two brothers. They both were scholars of considerable attainments, and John became a fellow of Lincoln College. The strange society already alluded to, and which attained so singular a notoriety in the Oxford of their day, never seems to have numbered more than fifteen members. The originator of it was the elder brother Charles, afterwards celebrated as the poet of the movement. Charles became an eloquent and winning preacher, and although overshadowed by the surpassing talents of his greater brother, for years exercised a powerful and happy influence in the sect. Another well-known name in this saintly Oxford group was that of Harvey, whose writings, in the years which followed, obtained an enormous popularity. The "Meditations," his best known work, went through seventeen editions in as many years; of his "Theron

JOHN WESLEY AND HIS FRIENDS AT OXFORD.

(*From the picture by Marshall Claxton in the Salford Art Gallery.*)

and Aspasia," the very name of which is hardly now remembered, as many as ten thousand copies were sold in nine months. Harvey in the sequel became a leader in the Calvinistic division of the Methodists, and a bitter opponent of his old college friend and leader, John Wesley.

There was one more member of the little group, however, whose name afterwards became famous in all the churches as the greatest of English preachers —George Whitefield. Born in 1714 in the "Bell Inn" at Gloucester, of which his mother was landlady, the boy George was employed in his early days as tapster and in other menial occupations. His boyhood was a wild and stormy one, his surroundings somewhat degrading and debasing; alternately an earnest student and a somewhat dissolute hanger-on at his mother's inn, he became a servitor-scholar at Pembroke College, Oxford, and there, happily for himself, fell under the influence of the Wesleys, and became a well-known member of the "Society of Oxford Methodists." Returning to Gloucester from Oxford with considerable reputation as a promising preacher and scholar, the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Benson, became his friend and patron, and ordained him, admitting him to holy orders even before the canonical age of twenty-three. At once he sprang into fame as a preacher of rare and exceptional power. In his own words he tells us, how he preached his first sermon to a crowded congregation in his native city, with as much freedom as if he had been a preacher for years.

In 1735 the Oxford society was broken up, its principal members, for different reasons, leaving the university. The two Wesleys, on the invitation of General Oglethorpe, the founder of the trans-Atlantic settlement, sailed for the colony of Georgia. On his voyage out John Wesley first met some Moravians,* and was strangely fascinated by their simple, earnest life. Much, too, in their peculiar teaching was based upon that mysticism of Behmen which, as we have seen, was the foundation of the theology of Wesley's loved master, Law. The work Wesley proposed to himself in the colony of Georgia was to act partly as minister to the English settlers there, partly to labour as missionary to the native American Indians. But his career in Georgia, which lasted some three years, was not by any means a success. At this period of his life he was a high churchman, and attempted to enforce rigorously the rules and rubrics of the church in this new and somewhat disorderly colony. Grave dissensions arose between him and his flock, and the result was that Wesley and his brother returned to England, disappointed and somewhat disillusioned.

Again on the return voyage (1738) he fell in with Moravians, and passed more and more under their influence. At one of their meetings, in the same year, in

* The Moravian community traced their origin back to John Huss. In the seventeenth century we hear of them as a sect of some importance after the wave of mystic piety, of which Behmen was the conspicuous apostle and teacher, had passed over Germany. The society endeavoured to lead a Christian life after the primitive model, and, avoiding controversy, invited all sects of Protestants to join them without giving up their distinctive tenets. They were ever earnest and devoted missionaries. Schleiermacher wrote of them as the truest Christian community which he believed existed in the outward world.

London, he tells us how he experienced that change in his heart, known as conversion. "I felt," he writes, "my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ—Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins." Closer and closer now was he attached to the Moravian brotherhood. At Herrnhut* he spent a short happy season, "exceedingly strengthened," to use his own words, "and comforted by the conversation of this lowly people." There was a famous Moravian teacher, Peter Böhler, who was Wesley's guide at this period of his life; and although the great founder of Methodism subsequently separated himself from the Moravian community, not a little of what he had learned from Böhler ever remained among the doctrinal teaching peculiar to the Methodist sect.†

Wesley gives the day and the moment when this assurance of his salvation was given him. His brother, Charles Wesley, with fervour adopted the Moravian theory. Whitefield, with slight modifications, took the same view as the basis of his teaching. So intensely did Wesley feel that he had attained to the right conception of "saving faith," that he positively upbraided his old master, Law, for not having given him "the light." But, in spite of this strange reproof, the loving and grateful nature of Wesley eventually regained the mastery, and, although he never swerved from this the great fundamental doctrine of his teaching, which he had derived from the Moravian Böhler, he continued ever to bear repeated testimony to the power and usefulness of the "Serious Call" and other of his old master's writings.

Very rapidly now the framework of a new organisation was formed. There was no formal separation from the Anglican Church, but much irregular evangelisation was undertaken, which naturally gave great umbrage to many of the clergy of the Church of England. The company of Wesley grew rapidly. Societies were formed somewhat after the pattern of the original little Oxford society, which we have already described as the cradle of the mighty movement. In these "societies" the primitive Christian *agapæ* or love feasts were revived.* We read of the associates passing whole nights in earnest prayer, confessing one to another their various shortcomings, and submitting to a severe examination, not only as to their

* The famous Moravian settlement in Germany.

† "From Böhler he first learned to believe that every man, no matter how moral, how pious, or how orthodox he may be, is in a state of damnation until, by a supernatural and instantaneous process wholly unlike that of human reasoning, the conviction flashes upon his mind that the sacrifice of Christ has been applied to and has expiated his sins; that this supernatural and personal conviction or illumination is what is meant by saving faith, and that it is inseparably accompanied by an absolute assurance of salvation and by a complete dominion over sin. It cannot exist when there is not a sense of the pardon of all past and of freedom from present sins. It is impossible that he who has experienced it should be in serious or lasting doubt as to the fact, for its fruits are 'constant peace—not one uneasy thought,' 'freedom from sin—not one unholy desire.' Repentance and fruits meet for repentance, such as the forgiveness of those who have offended us, ceasing from evil and doing good, may precede this faith, but good works in the theological sense of the term spring from, and therefore can only follow faith."—Lecky: "England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. ii., chap. ix., pp. 556–7.

* These meetings, taken from the Moravians, are an interesting and abiding memorial of John Wesley's former close intimacy with that body.

deeds, but as to their very thoughts. Field-preaching, on the suggestion of Whitefield, was at first reluctantly adopted, but was soon generally made use of as the best means of reaching the masses, to whom they considered themselves sent. The preaching of Whitefield —shortly to be described—had a wonderful effect in popular dissemination of the new thought, and has been well described as the very backbone of Methodism. A passionate enthusiasm was thus evoked far and wide. Still, no open hostility to the church was avowed, and their chapels were represented as simply supplementary to the churches.

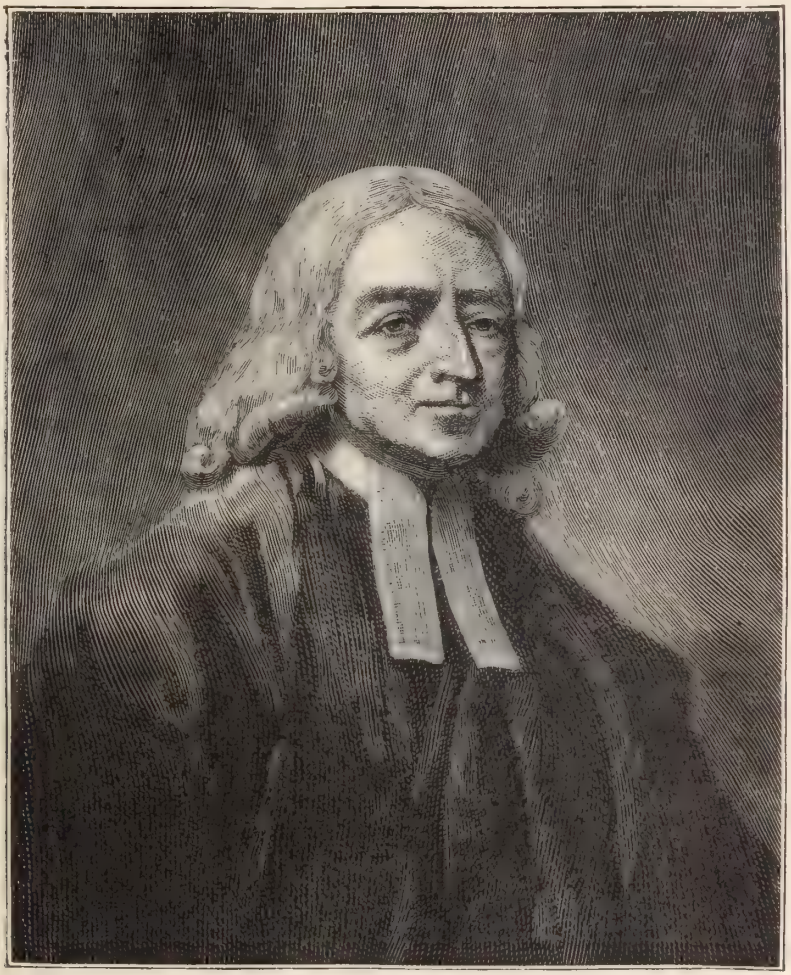
The close alliance between Wesley and the Moravian Brethren was dissolved in 1740. Certain points in the Moravian system were disliked by the English evangelist. Against these Wesley preached and taught openly. He even wrote to the Moravian teachers in Germany, complaining of various doctrinal points insisted upon by them ; and the breach was never healed.

A more serious dissension sprang up in 1740–1, between himself and Whitefield. After the breach they were, and continued to be, dear friends; but Whitefield's teaching was strongly tinctured with Calvinism, which was opposed to all Wesley's teaching, and the Calvinism of the great preacher grew more pronounced as time went on. The two friends separated, and eventually, after Whitefield's death, there were two distinct parties in the Methodist community, the followers of Whitefield being known as Calvinistic Methodists. A touching anecdote is remembered of the two, separated though they were by grave doctrinal differences. One of Whitefield's followers asked him if he thought they would see Wesley in heaven. "I fear not," said the great-hearted preacher, "he (Wesley) will be so near the Throne, and we shall be at so great a distance, we shall scarcely get a sight of him."

In spite, however, of this extensive schism, the Methodist movement continued to gather strength. Vast numbers of the people were stirred and influenced by the preachers who were sent out by the leaders of the sect. The difficulty of finding ordained men to carry on the work was met by the institution of lay preachers ; and the reluctance of the clergy to allow the followers of Wesley and Whitefield to occupy their pulpits, was met by the building of many chapels in various centres, in large towns and even in smaller country places.

All this time Wesley still professed himself a loyal and even a devoted adherent of the Church of England. Indeed, his relations to the church for many years were confused and perplexed. The Methodists and their leader held the doctrines contained in the Thirty-nine Articles and in the Homilies, and Wesley firmly maintained that the Church of England, with all her blemishes, was nearer the Scriptural plan than any other church in Europe. "Be Church of England men still," he once said ; "do not cast away the peculiar glory which God hath put upon you." But the position which Wesley had taken up was an untenable one for a clergyman. Not only did he send out his many mission preachers into all parts of England ; not

only did he build his many chapels for these to preach in, utterly disregarding all parochial and episcopal authority; but he was guilty of many other grave irregularities, such as preaching in Dissenting meeting-houses, and receiving communion with Dissenters. His final breach with the church, which he ever seems to have loved, took place in 1784, when he ordained superintendents and elders in America. This act, which finally determined the separation of the Methodists from the Church of England, was bitterly regretted by his brother Charles. But the "parting of the ways" was inevitable.



JOHN WESLEY.
(*From the portrait by G. Romney.*)

Widely different from John Wesley was his famous fellow-evangelist, Whitefield.

Although an illustrious group of assistants, both in the Church of England and outside its pale, took up and developed the work, it is not too much to say that the religious revival of the eighteenth century, which has produced such remarkable results, was really due, so far as mere earthly instruments are concerned, to these two men. Nor would the one have brought about the great "revival" without the other. Wesley, able and fervid though he undoubtedly was, would never have kindled the enthusiasm of the masses. Whitefield, on the other hand, with all his burning zeal and unrivalled power as an orator, a power which never seems to have been equalled by a preacher in any age, possessed no organising gifts. His mighty influence would have died with him. His eighteen thousand sermons would have been speedily forgotten, and only an interesting historical memory would have been left behind. Yet Whitefield in many respects was a more interesting personality than his far abler coadjutor Wesley, and evidently impressed the minds of his contemporaries in a way never reached by the real founder of the world-wide sect of Methodists.

What, then, is the explanation of the unrivalled power of this remarkable man, who for some thirty or more years exercised so strange a sway over tens of thousands of his fellows, whose influence counted for so much in the development of the vast Methodist communion, whose enthusiasm indirectly awoke a new and nobler spirit in our Church of England? What was his secret? Whence came that marvellous fascination which charmed for thirty years at least all sorts and conditions of men—the rough colliers of the Bristol and Midland coalfields, the peasants of Gloucestershire and Wales, the strange crowds who make up the population of the metropolis? Polished sceptics like Hume and Bolingbroke, men of fashion and men of pleasure, all more or less came under the mighty spell of the winged, burning words of the homely, unscholarly preacher.

The magician himself was, as all now acknowledge, a plain, simple man, with a heart all aflame with love for his fellows; devoid of all earthly ambitions, he was possessed by one master and all-absorbing thought—how best to press home to others the religion he loved and believed in. *To save souls* was all that Whitefield lived for. From the day of his ordination by bishop Benson in the stately cathedral at Gloucester, till the hour of his death in a humble American lodging some thirty-four years later, worn out with incessant labours, he had no other thought, no other desire. This longing was ever paramount; and in good truth the wish of that great, loving heart was granted, to an extent few earthly longings ever have been.

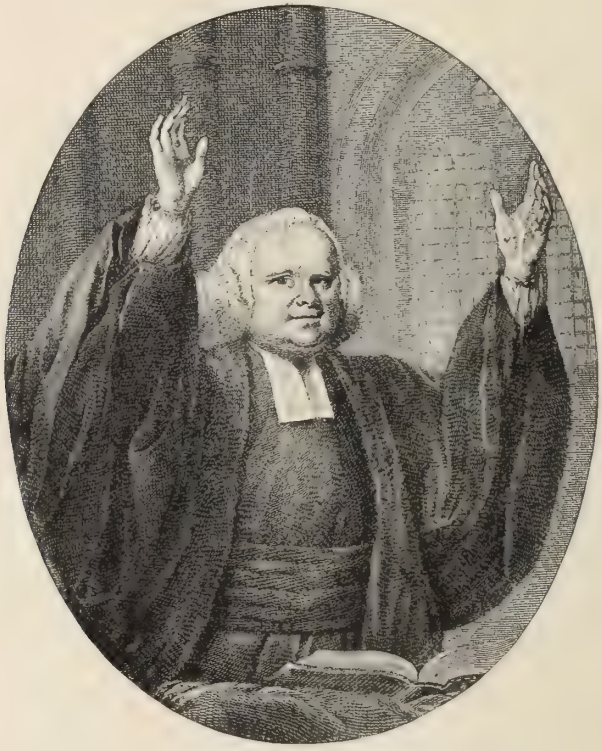
It is not easy now for us to grasp the secret of the spell he threw over so many. Of those eighteen thousand sermons which he is traditionally said to have preached (the number is probably exaggerated), very few have come down to us; and the perusal of these few leaves a feeling of disappointment on the reader. As literary compositions they are somewhat feeble. He was aided, it is true, by a magnificent voice, so musical and far-reaching that it may well be considered as matchless. The man, too, was a born orator of the highest

order, and a consummate actor likewise, using the word "actor" in its highest and noblest sense. We may dwell a little upon these sermons, for they worked a work on the religious life of England, and upon her established church, the blessed effect of which is still felt among us, though more than a century has passed since that winning voice was hushed in death. "O," he once said, "that I could flee from pole to pole preaching the everlasting Gospel." Again and again, with only slight variations suggested often by the immediate surroundings, he seems to have repeated the same sermon. Amazing numbers thronged to hear him year after year as he preached in the open fields round Bristol; in graveyards, as at Cheltenham; in the vast open spaces of London, as in Moorfields and at Kennington, or on Blackheath; in the Marylebone fields, then open country, and at Newington and Hackney; around the pit's mouth in the Black Country; on Yorkshire heaths and moorlands; now in England, now in Wales or in Scotland—more often in the growing American colonies. Records meet us again and again in that restless, worked-filled life, of ten thousand, fifteen thousand, twenty thousand, even more, who gathered round the great orator, and listened spell-bound to the clear-cut utterances which fell from his lips, and penetrated to the farthest fringes of these mighty concourses.

This amazing popularity, in England as well as in the distant American settlements, where he spent a very considerable portion of his life, never seems to have waned all through the thirty years and more of his career; it was maintained to the last. The day before his death the dying evangelist preached his last sermon at Exeter in New England. An eye-witness tells us how an immense multitude assembled on this last occasion. "Let me," he is reported to have said, "Lord Jesus, go and speak for Thee once more in the fields, seal Thy truth, and come home and die!" At first he was unable to utter a word. Then his mind kindled, and his lion-like voice roared to the extremities of his audience. Speaking of the uselessness of works to merit salvation, he suddenly exclaimed in a voice of thunder: "Works! a man get to heaven by works! I would as soon think of climbing to the moon on a rope of sand." The sermon was of inordinate length, lasting about two hours. On the night following he passed away.

His unrivalled power as a preacher, to which no parallel in any age can be adduced, was evidently owing rather to his marvellous voice, and to his skill as an actor—though, while a consummate actor, he was ever intensely in earnest—than to the matter of his discourses, which rarely, if ever, rose above the commonplace. But he was ever intensely convinced of the truth of his words, and he succeeded in making his auditors share his own confidence. He ever preached "as a dying man to dying men." Some few of his most telling exhortations are well remembered; a few illustrations will give us some faint idea of the train of thought by which he fired the hearts of so many thousands in England, and in the yet greater England then fast growing up beyond the seas. Heaven and hell, the future lot of the lost, the judgment which awaits us, all were favourite topics with him. These grave subjects he handled

with a strange familiarity—a familiarity which sometimes shocks our sense of reverence ; but Whitefield presented them as though these awful scenes were before his gaze, and his real oratorical power would thrill his listeners, would move sin-hardened men and women again and again to tears.



GEORGE WHITEFIELD.
(*From an engraving.*)

"Think often," he said in one of his earlier efforts, "on the pains of hell. Consider whether it is not better to cut off a right hand or foot or pluck out a right eye if they cause us to sin, rather than be cast into hell. . . . Think how many thousands there are now reserved with damned spirits in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day, for not complying with the precept of the text (Matt. xviii. 8, 9). . . . Think you they *now* imagine Jesus Christ to be a hard master ; or rather think you not, they would give ten thousand times ten thousand worlds, could they but return to life again, and take Christ's easy yoke upon them ? And can *we* dwell in everlasting burnings more than they ? . . . Often meditate upon the joys of heaven. Think with what unspeakable glory those happy souls are now encircled, who when on earth were called to deny themselves, and were not disobedient to the call. Hark ! methinks I hear them

WHITEFIELD PREACHING IN MOORFIELDS.

(*From the picture by Eyre Crowe, A.R.A., by permission of the artist.*)

chanting their everlasting hallelujahs, and spending an eternal day in echoing triumphant songs of joy. And do not *you* long to join the heavenly choir? Do not your hearts burn within you?" *

In a notable sermon on the fashionable amusements of the day, † on the words "They thrust him out of the city," we find the following:—"If you were of the world, if you would conform to the ways, manners, and customs of the world, if you would go to a play, or ball, or masquerade, the world then would love you . . . but because you despise these polite entertainments, and go to hear a sermon in a field, . . . they esteem you as methodically mad, and fit only for Bedlam. If you would frequent horse-racing, assemblies, and cock-fighting, then you would be caressed and admired by our gay gentlemen; but you despising these innocent diversions (as the world calls them) makes them esteem you as a parcel of rabble of no taste, who are going to destroy yourselves by being over-righteous. . . . Indeed, our polite gentry would like religion very well, if it did but countenance an assembly, or allow them to read novels, plays and romances, if they might go a-visiting on Sundays, or to a play or ball when they pleased. In short, they would like to lead a fashionable polite life, to take their full swing of pleasure, and go to heaven when they die. But if they were admitted to heaven without a purification of heart and life, they would be unhappy there. It would be a hell to them. Angels and all good men would be esteemed enthusiasts and madmen. Heaven might be agreeable, if there were the same polite entertainments there, as they seem so much pleased with here, but there is never a horse-course or cock-pit all over heaven."

He delighted in imagery, sometimes drawn from some passing scene. On one occasion, preaching to a vast throng, he told them "How in a few days we should all meet at the judgment-seat of Christ, we shall all form a part of that vast assembly which will gather before His throne. Every eye will behold the Judge. With a voice whose call you must abide and answer, He will inquire whether on earth you strove to enter in at the strait gate. . . . My blood turns cold when I think how many of you will seek to enter in and shall not be able. O, what plea can you make before the Judge? . . . No, you must answer, 'I made myself easy in the world, by flattering myself that all would end well, but I have deceived my own soul, and am lost.' . . . O sinner, by all your hopes of happiness, I beseech you to repent! Let not the wrath of God be awakened! Let not the fires of eternity be kindled against you. See there," said the impassioned orator (he was preaching in the open air), pointing to a flash of lightning: "it is a glance from the angry eye of Jehovah! Hark," he went on, raising his finger in a listening attitude, as the thunder broke in a tremendous crash: "it was the voice of the Almighty as He passed by in His anger." As the sound died away, went on the narrative of the moving scene, Whitefield covered his face with his hands and fell on his knees, apparently lost in prayer. The storm

* Preached first at St. Andrew's, Holborn, 1737.

† Preached, among other places, on Blackheath to about 20,000 listeners, 1739.

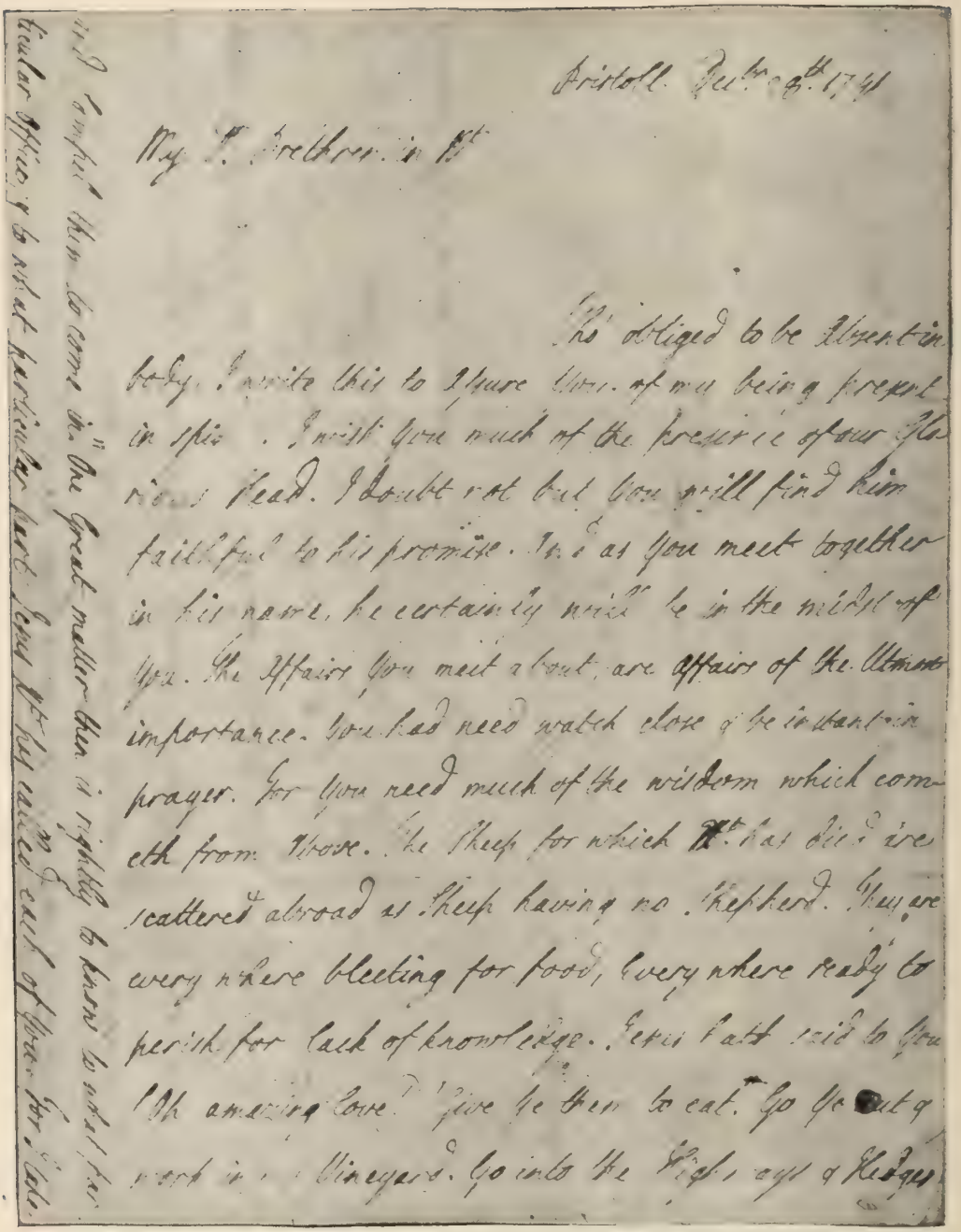
passed rapidly, and the sun bursting forth, threw across the heavens the magnificent arch of peace. Rising and pointing to it, the preacher cried, "Look on the rainbow, how beautiful it is; the hands of the Most High have bended it."

His imagery was often very varied and strangely vivid. Once, illustrating the peril of sinners, he painted an old blind man deserted by his dog, stumbling fearfully over a desolate moor, feeling his way feebly with his staff, and gradually drawing near the edge of a dizzy precipice, arriving just on the verge. Lord Chesterfield, who was among the listeners to this sermon, lost all command of himself, and cried out: "Good God, he is gone!" On another occasion, preaching before a great company of sailors, he described the oncoming of a terrible storm. "Hark!" cried Whitefield, "don't you hear the thunder pealing? Don't you see those blinding flashes of lightning? Every man to his post! Mark those waves rising and dashing over the ship. It is growing darker, the tempest rages, the masts are gone, the ship is on her beam ends—what next?" "The long boat! take to the long boat!" shouted the excited sailor listeners.

At another time he would describe the solemn scene of a court of justice, and then would paint the condemnation scene. With eyes brimming over with tears, with a voice tremulous with pity, after a solemn hush he would pull out the black cap he had prepared ready to his hand, and, putting it on, would proceed: "Sinner, I *must* do it, I *must* pronounce sentence upon you." Then, with a sudden change of voice, he thundered forth: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire!"

Tears were ever ready with this strange man. He has been heard to apologise thus for his emotion: "You blame me for weeping, but how can I help it when you will not weep for yourselves, though your immortal souls are on the verge of destruction, and for aught you know you are hearing your last sermon?" The cold sceptic, Hume, has described a whole assembly, listening to Whitefield's burning impassioned words, as weeping. To David Hume this preaching seemed to possess a strange fascination. He describes one of these impassioned scenes thus:—The attendant angel, Whitefield told us, is just about to leave the threshold of this sanctuary and ascend to heaven. "And shall he ascend," cried the preacher, "and not bear with him the news of one sinner among all this multitude, reclaimed from the error of his ways?" Then Whitefield stamped his foot, and, lifting up hands and eyes to heaven, cried aloud: "Stop, Gabriel, stop, ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry with you the news of one sinner converted to God!"

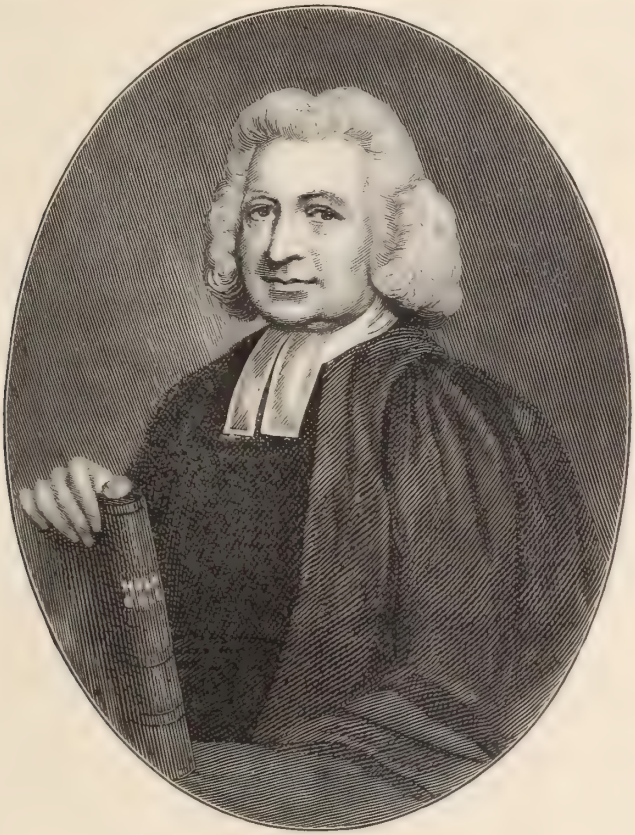
Peter—his fall and conversion—was a favourite topic with the great evangelist. "Methinks I see him wringing his hands, rending his garments, smiting his breast," he would say. "See how it heaves. Oh what piteous sighs and groans are those which come from the bottom of his heart! Alas! it is too big to speak, but his tears, his bitter repenting tears, bespeak this to be the language of his repenting soul: Alas! where have I been? What have I done? With whom have I been conversing? Denied the Lord of Glory with oaths and curses, denied that I ever knew him—and now whither shall I go?"



BEGINNING OF A LETTER FROM WHITEFIELD. DATED FROM BRISTOL, DEC. 28, 1791.
(*British Museum.*)

Then Whitefield would pause and hide his face in a fold of his mantle, and a great hush would come over the awe-struck congregation.*

It was natural that such a man, who during so many years was the chief instrument in the great religious revival of the century, who stirred up among so many



CHARLES WESLEY.
(*From an engraving.*)

* Considering the enormous number of sermons preached by Whitefield during his thirty-four years of active work, it is strange how very few of these have been preserved; for the *last thirty-one years* of his career only thirty-five of these discourses are extant. Of the sermons of the first three years we have some rare reports. Extracts from the more famous of all these are given in Mr. Tyerman's "Life of Whitefield," the latest and best account of the great evangelist. The second edition was published in 1890. A sympathetic sketch of the life and work of Whitefield is given in Mr. Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" (vol. ii., chap. ix.)—"The Religious Revival," in which the eminent writer does not think it beneath the dignity of his "serious" history to insert considerable extracts from the few published sermons, so important did he deem the influence of the great preacher upon the religious life of the century. The essay on the "Evangelical Succession" in Sir James Stephen's "Ecclesiastical Essays" dwells at some length on Whitefield's career. The chapter which deals with Whitefield in Abbey and Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," though interesting, gives scarcely sufficient prominence to his work and influence.

thousands a passion of devotion, would excite much opposition, would be vilified and criticised, would be intensely hated as well as ardently loved. Cowper, who in a well-known poem describes the great revivalist in moving, eloquent language, alludes to this when he writes of him as one who—

"Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage
And bore the pelting scorn of half an age,
The very butt of slander, and the blot
For every dart that malice ever shot.
The man that mentioned *him* at once dismissed
All mercy from his lips, and sneered and hissed.
His aim was mischief, and his zeal pretence,
His speech rebellion against common sense." *

But the sarcasm and the gibes, the false accusations and the lampoons, are now forgotten, and only the mighty work for God and his neighbour, which this strange gifted man worked among us, is remembered. Well did Cowper express the fairer verdict of posterity in the beautiful lines of the same striking poem:

"Now, Truth, perform thine office; waft aside
The curtain drawn by ignorance and pride,
Reveal (the man is dead) to wondering eyes
This more than monster in his proper guise.
He loved the world that hated him: the tear
That dropped upon his Bible was sincere.
Assailed by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was a blameless life.
\+ + + + + +
Blush, Calumny, and write upon his tomb,
If honest eulogy can spare the room,
Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which, aimed at him, have pierced the offended skies:
And say, Blot out my sin, confessed, deplored,
Against Thine image in Thy saint, O Lord!" †

The third of the great evangelical revival chiefs who may be reckoned in the Methodist camp, is John Wesley's brother, Charles. At a great distance from the incomparable preacher of the movement —Whitefield, and the master spirit who organised the vast sect and gave it its constitution—his brother John, Charles Wesley played no inconsiderable part in the development of the revival. A preacher of real power, an able and devoted and, higher still, a saintly man, he will ever be remembered in the eventful story of the rise and progress of evangelicalism as the song-man of the party. Music and sacred song has ever played, will ever play a very influential part in all religious worship. And the hymnology of the period when the Wesleys began to teach and Whitefield to preach was sorely in need of an adaptation to popular worship. Charles Wesley, in a high degree, emphatically possessed the gift of sacred poetry. The effect of his soul-stirring compositions not a little contributed to the success of those vast gatherings for which the days of Whitefield and the Wesleys will be ever memorable in the religious story of England.

An enormous number of hymns are attributed to his prolific pen. Some of these have become "classical" in our language, and are found in all the hymnals of the Church of England, as well as in those specially used by the Nonconformist bodies, and are among the most loved and popular of our English sacred songs. His hymns are loved alike in the simple service of the village church, in the youthful gatherings of the crowded Sunday-schools, in the solemn praise of the great cathedral. We would instance the beautiful hymns, "Jesu, lover of my soul"; "Lo! He comes, with clouds descending"; "Soldiers of Christ, arise"; "Hark, the herald angels sing"; as among the best known of the compositions

* Cowper: "Hope." † *Ibid.*

which the church owes to the saintly poet of the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century.

In the annals specially devoted to the history of that world-wide Methodist sect which owes its popular title of "Wesleyan" to its illustrious founder, more space than we can give here would naturally be devoted to the memorable split in the Methodist camp, which dated from 1740. In the preceding year, 1739, Wesley preached at Bristol, and subsequently published his famous sermon on "Free Grace," in which the doctrine of reprobation—the terrible Calvinistic teaching, which asserts that by virtue of an eternal, unchangeable decree of God, one part of mankind are saved and the rest infallibly damned—was condemned in the severest language. Charles Wesley composed a hymn which was affixed to his brother's sermon, in which some strong anti-Calvinistic lines occur, such as—

"He calls as many souls as breathe,
And all *may* hear the call.
* * * * *
We all *may* find the lowly way,
And call the living Saviour ours.
* * * * *
Come freely, come whoever will,
And living water take."

Closing with the strong anti-Calvinistic expression—

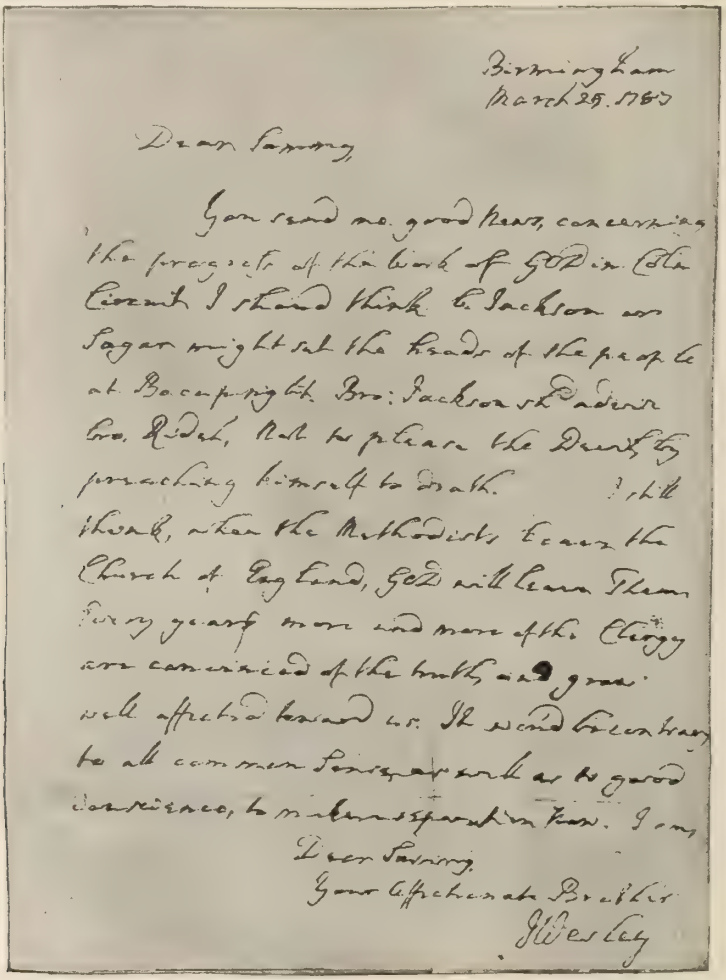
"No, Lord, Thine inmost bowels cry
Against the dire decree."

Whitefield, who was ever a Calvinist, replied, and early in 1741 wrote to the Wesleys: "My dear, dear brothers, why did you throw out the bone of contention? Why did you print that sermon against predestination? Why did you, dear brother Charles, affix your hymn [above quoted]?" But the die was cast; the leaders of the revival had embraced the views which have since distinguished the two great schools of Methodism. Gradually the two camps were formed. The friends remained dear friends till death overtook them, and carried them into that country where these holy and humble men would find the true solution of the hard questions which divided them on earth. But the schism was perpetuated, and Calvinistic Methodism was established as a separate communion, with its body of ministers and its separate chapels, the followers of Wesley (the Wesleyan Methodists), however, far outnumbering their Calvinistic opponents. We need not trace the result of this great schism any further, the impulse given to the evangelistic revival by Wesley and Whitefield, and their followers, being quite independent of any internal divisions among the Methodists themselves. What sank into the hearts of the English people were the evangelical doctrines revived by the great Methodist preachers and their school; doctrines which through the institution of field-preaching and the marvellous power of Whitefield, and, at a great distance from Whitefield, by Wesley and his disciples, were brought home to vast multitudes attracted by the magic of their oratory, and the practical, homely theology of the new teaching.

More important far to the Church of England was the final separation of the Methodists as a communion from the Established Church. The Wesley brothers —we have dwelt already on this—during their whole public career regarded themselves as clergymen of the Church of England. In early life John Wesley was

even a high churchman, and believed in the apostolic succession; and to the last he professed a warm attachment to the

of England, and outside, if not in open opposition to, her canons and discipline. The lay preachers, who were so prominent



Birmingham
March 29. 1784

Dear Sammy,

You send me good news, concerning the progress of the work of God in the Circuit. I should think Jackson or Hagan might set the heads of the people at Bacup right. Bro: Jackson should advise Bro. Riddel, not to preach the Devil to death by preaching himself to death. I still think, when the Methodists leave the Church of England, God will leave them. Every year more and more of the Clergy are convinced of the truth and grow well affected toward us. It would encourage to all common Preachers to act as to good conscience, to make no separation from. I am

Dear Sammy,
Your affectionate Brother
J. Wesley

LETTER FROM JOHN WESLEY CONTAINING THE WORDS "I STILL THINK, WHEN THE METHODISTS LEAVE THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, GOD WILL LEAVE THEM." (*British Museum.*)

Establishment. Many circumstances, however, as the revival movement developed, contributed to the final separation. From a very early stage the elaborate and skilfully constructed Methodist organisation existed a thing apart from the Church

a feature in it, were an order unknown to the Church of England, and worked absolutely independently of her control. Some of them (without the consent of Wesley) even administered the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Time passed on, the movement every year gathering strength. Wesley gradually convinced himself* that bishops and presbyters were of the same order, and that the right of ordaining belonged to him, as well as to the apostolically descended episcopal order. It is difficult to gauge what was in his mind when, so late as 1783, he said:—"In every possible way I have advised the Methodists to keep to the church. They that do this must prosper best in their souls. I have observed it long. If ever the Methodists leave the church, I must leave them." And yet in 1784 he ordained superintendents and elders for America, and in the following year for Scotland! It is true that his growing work in the colonies sorely needed ordained ministers; but such a proceeding as the one he deliberately adopted, could only be regarded, from the standpoint of the church to which he professed to be so ardently attached, as schismatic. Its inevitable result was that complete separation which so many earnest and devoted Christians unfeignedly mourn, though many have since deplored the inelasticity of the organisation of the Church of England, which failed to find a place for the somewhat irregular enthusiasm of Wesley and his disciples. These think, not perhaps without reason, that the last and fatal act, which finally separated his followers from that Anglican communion which Wesley ever professed to love with a changeless love, might have been avoided had the English hierarchy, in the earlier developments of the movement, shown greater sympathy with the enthusiasm which fired so many dulled hearts with a fervent love for the religion of the Crucified.

* Compare Lecky's "England in Eighteenth Century," chap. ix., and Abbey and Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," chap. ix. It was in 1784 that Wesley took the decisive step which finally severed the Methodists from the Church of England, when he ordained Coke and Ashbury to be superintendents (Lecky adds "or bishops") of the American Methodists, and Whatcoat and Vasey to be elders. In the year following he ordained ministers for Scotland.

WESLEY'S MOVEABLE PULPIT.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Influence of the Methodists in the Church itself—Its Gradual but Extensive Spread—Grimshaw and Berridge—James Harvey and his Works—William Romaine—Henry Venn—John Newton of Olney—Thomas Scott—Value of his Commentary—Joseph and Isaac Milner—John Fletcher of Madeley—Richard Cecil—Influence of the Evangelical Party at the close of the Century—Their Cardinal Doctrine of Conversion—Their Defect in Sacramental Teaching—Career of William Wilberforce—Abolition of Slavery—Work of Philanthropy—The "Clapham Sect"—Foundation and Growth of Religious Societies—The Church Missionary, Religious Tract, and Bible Societies—Growth of Sunday Schools—Opposition to Methodist Fervour—The Hierarchy Opposed to Methodism—But Influenced by it Nevertheless—Testimony of Secker, Warburton, and Paley.

THE effect of the evangelical revival under the leadership of Whitefield and the two Wesleys was incontestably very great. The passionate, soul-stirring preaching of Whitefield, the more thoughtful but no less earnest efforts of John Wesley and his brother Charles and others, before many years had reached the hearts of uncounted thousands. Gradually, in spite of a distrust which not unnaturally this somewhat novel presentment of Christianity awoke in the minds of many of the clergy, and of an opposition which was the result of the distrust, the doctrine and teaching of the Methodists gained ground in the Church of England itself.

Many devout men in the church recognised that a new and living piety was being kindled among the people. For many years after the names of the great Methodists had become household words in England and the new and greater Britain which was growing up beyond the seas, nothing in the doctrinal teaching of the fervid evangelists seriously conflicted with the doctrines of the Thirty-nine Articles, nothing was urged by them which in any way impugned the fundamental doctrines ever held by the Catholic Church. No serious fault could be found with their field-preaching, which was for years the great engine of the religious movement. The utmost that could for a long while be urged against them, was a somewhat loose submission to the discipline of the Established Church. The grave points of divergence from church order, which, alas! in the end led to separation, only arose after many years; and when the parting of Methodism from Anglicanism became a recognised necessity, the work which the great movement had worked in the Church of England had been done; the new influence had already permeated it far and wide.

A sketch of the lives of a few among the more prominent of the English clergy who were gradually touched by the new spirit aroused by the Methodist evangelists, will give some idea of the novel influence which after the years 1738–39 slowly but surely spread among many of the Anglican ministers, and influenced to an enormous degree their work and teaching. It was at first, as we have said, very gradual; no sudden and sharp "revival" can be

marked; and it was well that it should have been so, for such sudden outbursts of religious fervour too often die down and leave behind them no real fruit. But it gathered strength as time went on. Romaine, one of the earliest of the Anglicans who became (about 1748) in real earnest a disciple of Wesley's school of thought, said he could then only reckon up six or seven evangelical clergymen in England. Several years before he died in 1795, there were more than five hundred who were reckoned as closely attached to the evangelical school. In 1764, when Wesley tried to form a union of these men, only some fifty names were suggested as probable adherents.

Among the earliest of the more notorious Anglican followers of Wesley and Whitefield, were William Grimshaw and John Berridge. The names of these two early evangelists are coupled together, as examples of English clergymen who imitated the founders of Methodism in the practice of constantly itinerating through large districts. William Grimshaw, the first of the two (1708–1763), was the intimate friend of the Wesleys and of the leading Methodists, and became a fervid admirer of their ways of working. His Calvinistic views he shared with Whitefield. Throughout his career he continued his duties as a parish priest, which, however, he varied by constant preaching or missionary journeys through Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire. His own parish, where for many years he laboured with extraordinary assiduity, was Haworth, which in later days acquired a widespread fame as being the home of the author of "Jane Eyre" and her sisters. So world-wide, indeed, is the name of the Brontë family, that Haworth at once suggests memories connected with them, while the name of the once great evangelical teacher is utterly forgotten. But Grimshaw in his day was a real power, and his teaching and life of ceaseless work did much to popularise the new movement in the wide district where he worked. To give one instance of his influence: when he first came to Haworth, it was a desolate and careless parish of that wild Yorkshire county, its roll of communicants scarcely mustering twelve. Before he died the twelve had grown to nigh twelve hundred.

The other name, which we have coupled with that of Grimshaw, was that of John Berridge (1716–1793). He, too, was a follower of Whitefield, not only in his Calvinistic teaching, but in his success in itinerating as a missionary preacher all through the eastern counties. Berridge was rector of Everton in Bedfordshire. This early disciple of evangelicalism made a deep and lasting impression over the wide area (including several counties) embraced by his labours.

Another of these earlier converts to the new school of thought, who have left behind them a considerable reputation as evangelical pioneers, was a man of a very different type from the two fervid though somewhat erratic and eccentric teachers whose careers we have been sketching. James Harvey (1714–1758), a college pupil and the spiritual son of John Wesley, later the parson of Weston Favell in Northamptonshire, was one of the original band of Oxford Methodists, and ranks among the earliest of the evangelicals. His fame was owing to his pen rather than to his

preaching; and his "Meditations," and the subsequently composed "Theron and Aspasia," attained a vast popularity in his day and time. It seems strange to us now that the curiously bombastic and seemingly affected style of his writings could ever have been popular; and yet they were translated into several foreign languages, and were long considered as standard works of divinity. The influence of Harvey through his writings, in the early years of the movement was very great.

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON.

William Romaine (1714–1795) represented a very different order among the evangelical pioneers who had been stirred by the Methodist fervour. A scholar of no mean acquirements, he held for a time, though with no great distinction, the Gresham professorship of astronomy. As a painstaking Hebraist, and editor of the Hebrew Dictionary and Concordance of Calasio, he obtained considerable distinction in the learned world; but it was as a preacher of singular power and attractiveness that he acquired his great reputation. Most of his middle and later life was spent in London, where he was successively assistant preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square, and St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. He obtained no preferment in the church of which he was so distinguished an ornament until he was fifty-two years of age, when he was appointed to the rectory of St. Anne's, Blackfriars; his well-known loyalty and devotion to the Methodist cause, viewed with suspicion and distrust by the government and by the hierarchy of the church long after it had won its way among the lower and middle classes, effectually prevented his well-merited advancement. Romaine was the chaplain and intimate adviser of lady Huntingdon, the well-known patroness and devoted friend of Whitefield, until the open secession of 1781. For many years he was one of the most generally respected and influential of the evangelical leaders.

Henry Venn (1724–1797) was another of the more remarkable among the Anglican clergy who threw in his lot with the earlier Methodists. During his eleven years' incumbency of the important vicarage of Huddersfield, he made his great reputation as a preacher. In the busy Yorkshire town, and far and wide in the central districts of England, he was famed also for his successful pastoral

work, and the noble example he set of a devoted parish priest. When ill-health compelled him to resign his busy town sphere, he retired into a country living, where in something like retirement he spent the last quarter of

OLNEY

Photo: W. S. Wright, Olney.

a century of his life. Great, however, as was the influence of Venn as a preacher and pastor upon the life of the church, his title to posthumous fame mainly rests upon his literary work. His devotional work, the "Complete Duty of Man," will ever hold a very high place among such serious treatises; it is by no means forgotten yet, and is still read and admired. Henry Venn has been styled* with some truth "one of the four great evangelists of the Church of England in these latter days," the others being John Newton, Thomas Scott, and Joseph Milner, and Venn occupying the first place among the evangelicals as the systematic teacher of the whole Christian institutes.

The second of these four, John Newton (1725–1807), "held himself forth and was celebrated by others, as the great living example of the regenerating efficacy of the principles of his school." † His was

* Sir James Stephen's Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography: "The Evangelical Succession."

† *Ibid.*

indeed a strange career. A stormy and dissolute youth and early manhood was spent as a sailor, and subsequently as a slave-dealer. In the American colonies he became acquainted with George Whitefield, and under the mighty influence of the Methodist preacher, the once profane and vicious man was changed into the "Newton of Olney," whose religious fervour and humble earnestness became a household word among those whose piety and self-devotion has wrought so mighty a work in England and her colonies. At the age of thirty-nine he received ordination in the Church of England, and became the curate of Olney, in Buckinghamshire ; this was in the year 1764. His one life's romance was his enduring love for Mary Cattley. It began when she was a girl of fourteen. After seven years of waiting, he married her. The passionate attachment endured till her death, and beyond her death. Among his many writings, which unveiled the inmost thoughts of his soul, he tells us how he watched her die ; how, fearful of brooding over his loss, he preached three times while she lay dead in the house ; and then delivered her funeral sermon.

Newton's published letters, especially one collection, to which he gave the title of "Cardiphonia," had a wide circulation, and found their way into innumerable hearts. The wild and wicked early life was succeeded by half a century of bright Christian endeavour. His sermons, his published letters, his close intimacy with the poet Cowper, his quiet but boundless influence over most of the evangelical leaders of the age, have placed John Newton among the foremost of the makers of the Evangelical school. No one of these great men, perhaps, has succeeded like Newton in convincing sinners where and how they might be saved ; no one, perhaps, has with equal force set forth the simple evangelical gospel. He told out to the men of his generation what he had been, as "the willing slave of every evil, as the seducer of others, as big with mischief, as ever shunned and despised as a wicked man even by the savages among whom he once lived ;" and then he showed how even such a prince among evil men as he had long been, could be saved by looking unto Christ, by throwing himself on His mercy as the mighty, all-powerful Saviour. In the new strength thus acquired, he showed how the once hardened sinner could live a life, if not of happiness, at least of blessedness. Men may mock at Newton ; may cynically question his taste in thus laying bare the secrets of his heart ; but few men have swayed the hearts of his brethren as did Newton of Olney, or have turned more erring men into the narrow path of holiness and self-devotion. His simple secret was his intense passion for Christ, as the all-powerful Saviour of sinners.

Contemporary with Newton was his successor at Olney, Thomas Scott (1746–1821). He may justly be considered Newton's spiritual son, for it was under the influence of Newton's life and earnest arguments that Scott modelled his long and laborious career. As curate of Olney, then as chaplain of the Lock Hospital in London, and finally in the humble and remote benefice of Aston Sandford, this unwearied writer during a prolonged life struggled with deep poverty. No patron,

strange to say, either in the State or in private life, arose to help him in his painful career, although long before his death his name as the greatest Biblical student of the age was known and revered wherever the English language was spoken. He lived, comparatively speaking, unheeded and unknown. But no high preferment would have done for him what his own indomitable perseverance and ceaseless industry accomplished, and none of the evangelical divines in the last half of the eighteenth century has left behind him a more honoured memory. Uncounted thousands have pored over that massive Commentary which bears his name, and have drawn their one comfort, that one an ever-deepening faith, from his quiet solemn words and pious teaching.

In later times men take up one or other of the six quarto volumes of Scott's great work, and often lay it down with a feeling of disappointment. It is undeniably often tedious, and a great sameness pervades every part of the gigantic work. The scholar who searches for fresh light on disputed readings, or hopes for vivid illustrations drawn from history and geography, or who looks for patristic or mediæval lore, searches in vain: his hopes and pains are seldom realised. But as a simple devotional commentary it is unrivalled; and as such its words have gone home to the hearts of thousands. It is, too, a vast Biblical treasury, in which Scripture is interpreted mainly by Scripture. Some have even termed it a "magnified concordance," so rich it is in the comparison of one text or statement with another, every passage of the Bible being carefully collated with the rest bearing upon the same truth. The six great volumes are "not only replete with thought, but with a greater amount or solid thought than perhaps any other man ever accumulated in the solitary and unaided exercise of his own powers of meditation. There they stand, and shall stand for generations yet to come, those bulky tomes!—a huge Cyclopean mass, defying alike the laws of architecture and the tooth of time, a vast artificial granary from which inferior builders may be supplied with materials already wrought and shaped for their puny edifices."*

The popularity of this Commentary, although at once bulky and costly, was enormous in England and in her colonies, 12,000 copies of the English and 25,000 of the American editions being issued before Thomas Scott passed away.† Owing, however, to the simplicity and ignorance of the writer in all business matters, this vast sale brought no relief to his heavy burden of poverty, and only far on in life the noble generosity and devoted friendship of Charles Simeon freed him from the pecuniary troubles which were crushing him. It seems well-nigh incredible that amidst such untoward surroundings, a work of the magnitude and gravity of the great Biblical commentary could ever have been carried to a successful issue. Other works proceeded from his tireless pen, some of deep interest; notably "The Force of Truth." But his *opus magnum*

* Sir James Stephen's Ecclesiastical Essays: "The Evangelical Succession."

† Mr. Overton ("English Church in the Eighteenth Century") considers that the immediate success, at least in the history of works of similar magnitude, was perhaps almost unparalleled in literary history.

was the Commentary we have described above.

The last of the famous four was Joseph Milner, the ecclesiastical historian (1744–1797). There were two brothers, Joseph and Isaac Milner, both of whom rank as distinguished leaders in the evangelical revival of the century. Isaac, the younger (1751–1820), was the only evangelical clergyman of the period who attained to high preferment in the church. A singularly distinguished senior wrangler, he became professor of mathematics and president of Queen's College, in the university of Cambridge, and subsequently dean of Carlisle; and during a long life largely contributed through his influence to spread the peculiar views of the evangelical party in his university, and among the clergy of the north of England. But his brother Joseph, the historian, exercised by his writings a far wider influence. His Church History, a very weighty and important contribution to English literature, has been superseded in later years by other and more scientific chronicles, but it was once largely read and studied. One distinguished merit of this great work deserves special mention, viz. his use of the writings of the early fathers,* at a time when patristic literature was little studied. It was said, too, that while Mosheim wrote the history of sinners, Milner dwelt in his work especially on the story of the saints of Christendom. As might have been expected, the work was deeply coloured by his desire to see the peculiar tenets of his party reflected in the teaching of the eminent churchmen of all ages.

No general picture of the prominent men of the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century, who were thus strongly influenced by Wesley, can be considered complete without the beautiful figure of the saintly man known as "Fletcher of Madeley" (1729-1785) being introduced into it. He was an earnest and soul-stirring preacher, though not an orator. He was a considerable writer, his works filling some ten volumes. And yet none of his books, highly esteemed though they still are among Wesleyans, are marked by any especial excellences. He has left, however, behind him a reputation quite unique among his contemporaries. There was a something in this quiet, undistinguished clergyman that impressed all who had the good fortune to come in contact with him, with the feeling that he who had been talking with them came very lately from the Mount of God. An unearthly goodness and rare graciousness seemed to play like an aureole of glory about his homely presence. Very singular was the impression he made on all sorts and conditions of men, from the rough colliers in his Shropshire parish, to the highly-born countess of Huntingdon. Even Voltaire is reported to have compared the winning character of Fletcher of Madeley with that of Jesus Christ. He was the occasional visitor and general superintendent of lady Huntingdon's training college for ministers at Trevecca; and Dr. Benson, the head-master of the institution, gives us some curious details as to the effect of Fletcher's visits. "He was received among us," he says, "as an

* Cardinal Newman, for instance, traces his first love for patristic literature to his delight in reading the extracts from St. Augustine and other Fathers in Milner's History.

angel of God. I cannot describe the veneration in which we all held him. Like Elijah in the school of the prophets, he was revered, loved, almost adored. My heart kindles while I write." Mr. however, outlived him for several years. The great founder of the Methodists has left us in his sermon on the text, "Mark the perfect man," the following remarkable description of him as truly a saint of

FLETCHER OF MADELEY.

"If his brother's conscience was wounded with a sense of guilt, he hastened to meet him with healing remedies."—*Benson's "Life of Fletcher."*

Venn once replied to one who asked him his opinion of Fletcher: "He was a luminary—a luminary, did I say? He was a *sun*." John Wesley himself, to whom Fletcher was passionately devoted, esteemed him above all other men, and at one time desired that he should be his successor and leader of his sect. Wesley, God:—"I was intimately acquainted with him for above thirty years. . . . Many exemplary men have I known, holy in heart and life, within fourscore years, but one equal to him I have not known—one so inwardly and outwardly devoted to God. So blameless a character in every respect I have not found either in Europe

or America, and I scarce expect to find another such on this side of eternity." Fletcher lived and died vicar of the remote and poor parish of Madeley. On one occasion, when asked by one in high position closely connected with the government of the day, whether any preferment would be acceptable to him, he replied, "I want nothing, only more grace." But his influence among the men of the "movement" seems to have been simply boundless—not as preacher, writer, or organiser, but higher still, as "a holy man of God who passeth by us continually."

A very brief notice of one more among the thought-leaders of this spiritual revival will close these brief sketches. Richard Cecil (1748–1810), though an earnest evangelical, was one of those broad-minded Catholics who, while deeply impressed with the fervour of the Methodist preachers and the truth of their favourite doctrines, saw clearly how easily their teaching might pass into exaggeration, and how soon great Catholic truth might be, if not forgotten, at least ignored. He was minister to a wealthy middle-class congregation in Bedford Row, London, and his work lay principally among cultured people. Some of his words are worthy of quotation, as showing what was working in the minds of many of the more thoughtful evangelicals. "The middle path is generally the wise path, but there are few wise enough to find it. Because Papists have made too much of some things, Protestants have made too little of them. . . . Because one party has exalted the Virgin Mary as a divinity, the other can hardly think of that most highly favoured among women with common respect. The Papist puts the Apocrypha into his canon; the Protestant will scarcely regard it as an ancient record. The Popish heresy of human merit in justification, drove Luther on the other side into the most unwarrantable and unscriptural statements of that doctrine. Papists consider grace as inseparable from the participation of sacraments; Protestants too often lose sight of them as instituted means of conveying grace."* His ill-health prevented him from playing the part of a prominent leader in the theological contests and discussions of the time; but his lofty, pure character, his culture, and reputation for scholarship, procured him a high place among the leading evangelicals whose lives and teaching worked so signal a work in the Church of England.

Before the first years of the nineteenth century the "evangelicals," as they were generally termed, had become an important and influential party in the English church, and their work continued to grow. The men whose lives and teaching we have endeavoured briefly to sketch, and their pupils and followers, "infused into the English Church a new fire and passion of devotion, kindled a spirit of fervent philanthropy, raised the standard of clerical duty, and completely altered the tone and tendency of the preaching of its ministers. At the close of the eighteenth century the evangelical movement had become the almost undisputed centre of religious activity in England." † It was in the cities and principal centres of population that

* From Cecil's "Remains."

† Lecky: "England in the Eighteenth Century," chap. ix.

the new school especially flourished. We have instanced leading evangelicals in London and York, in Hull, Huddersfield, and even in the university of Cambridge; and these are only examples of many in populous centres influenced by the teaching of the spiritual sons of Whitefield and the two Wesleys. In the rural districts, although, as might have been expected, the movement made slower progress and was less pronounced, there were still many clergymen of the type of Thomas Scott and Venn. On the whole, the revival in the Church of England was indeed deep and far-reaching.

What was the especial doctrine or doctrines which inspired this mighty movement? *Something*, surely, had been needed to kindle those many hearts among the people, which we have seen in a thousand cases were all aflame with a new enthusiasm for holiness and righteousness. We must be studiedly brief here, for it is not the province of a history to discuss theological questions at any length. Only a few guiding thoughts can be indicated, which may assist the reader of our story to form some idea of what was the mainspring of the evangelical revival.

First and foremost, it may be laid down as absolutely certain that every one of the great fundamental dogmas of the Catholic Church, such as the doctrine of the Trinity, of the Godhead of the Blessed Second Person in this Trinity, the redemption by the precious blood of Christ, the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, was firmly held alike by the old-fashioned members of the Church of England and the new evangelical party. The very exposition of these great truths and of other important articles of belief, contained in the great Anglican formularies of the Thirty-nine Articles and the Books of Homilies, were reverently accepted and loyally believed in by the evangelicals. The difference between the new and old schools in the Church of England consisted rather in the greater prominence which the new school gave to some of the articles of belief, and in the comparative neglect with which, in their teaching and preaching, they treated others among these articles.

One somewhat startling novelty, however, was introduced by these earnest devoted men. They maintained, however, that it was no novelty, but that it had ever existed in the church as an article of faith, only it had for ages never been pressed home as it should have been; that it had been neglected rather than denied. This new point, which Wesley, Whitefield, and their companions, and then their spiritual sons, the evangelicals, pressed home with such fervour to the multitudes who listened to their impassioned preaching, was the doctrine of the "new birth" and the necessary consequence of this new birth; the absolute need of a total conversion or regeneration in every man. Closely connected with this teaching of the "new birth," was the belief in the Holy Spirit as personally influencing each individual Christian.

In one important particular the members of the school were divided among themselves. We have seen that Wesley and most of his followers were opposed to Calvinism in any form. Whitefield, on the other hand, and his disciples, were rigid

Calvinists. The evangelicals in the Church of England here followed Whitefield, but not by any means to *all* his conclusions; the names of the great men who adorned the evangelical revival in the Anglican communion, with rare exceptions were Calvinist, but Calvinist in a very modified degree. The Calvinism of Newton and Scott, Milner and Cecil, is well painted in the vivid biography of their friend and fellow-leader, Henry Venn. "He had been," we read, "hostile to Calvinism, which he considered repugnant to Scripture and reason; but the experience he now had of the corruption of his nature, of the frailty and weakness of man, of the insufficiency of his best endeavours, led him to ascribe more to the grace of God and less to the power and free-will of man. This change gave a peculiar colour to his preaching; he exalted in higher strains the grace and love of God in Christ, and spoke less of the power and excellence of man. But his Calvinism stopped here."

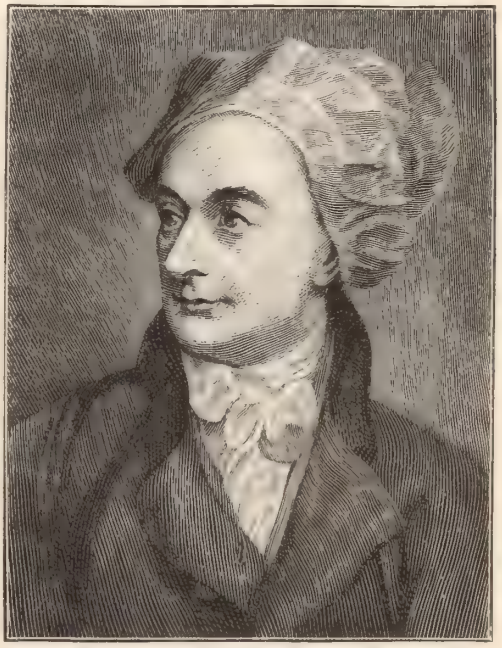
COWPER'S HOUSE, OLNEY, BUCKS. *Photo: W. S Wright, Olney.*

These "moderate" Calvinists never seem to have dwelt upon the frightful tenet of reprobation, so utterly contrary, as they felt, to the spirit and teaching of the Divine Master of our faith.

But while these true great ones, to whom religion in England owes so vast a debt for the new life and vigour inspired by their teaching and their lives, preached Christ and pointed to the one Sacred

Figure with a force and directness never perhaps known before,* they failed to give that prominence in their teaching to the blessed sacraments of holy baptism and the Lord's Supper, which the Catholic Church in her purest days was ever careful to press home to men. It was one side, and one side only of true church teaching, which they elected to dwell upon, and that they did it with mighty power and intense conviction is indisputable; but the grave omission—for it was an omission—all true Anglican churchmen, who with an ungrudging admiration look back upon their faithful and true work, unite in deploring.

Nor was it only in their deficient sacramental teaching that the evangelicals failed to embrace the great Catholic tradition. What has been in modern phraseology well termed "distinctive church principles" were largely neglected, if not completely ignored by them; such as "daily services," frequent communions, the regular observance of the church festal and fast days, the due maintenance of ancient ceremonies, uses and practices handed down from an immemorial antiquity, carefully preserved in the Church of England from the days of the Elizabethan settlement, and defined by such men as Parker, Whitgift, Hooker, Andrewes, and Laud. Neglected also, and treated as of little moment by the same party, were all those things that contributed not a little to the reverent beauty of divine worship. Architecture and painting, in their eyes, were things of little moment. In the thoughts of the



WILLIAM COWPER.
(*After a drawing by Romney in* 1792.)

men of this school, art was no handmaid to religion, and symbolism, however beautiful and touching—symbolism which in all the Christian ages had been found so powerful in appealing to many hearts—found no place in the bare and ugly churches and chapels of the men of the evangelical revival; was absent altogether from their plain and studiedly simple services. In many respects, without intention, they

* The words of the famous and well-loved hymn of the evangelical hymnologist, Toplady, are a good example of this vivid portraiture of the Redeemer:

> "Nothing in my hand I bring,
> Simply to Thy Cross I cling,
> Naked, come to Thee for dress,
> Helpless, look to Thee for grace,
> Vile, I to the fountain fly,
> Wash me, Saviour, or I die."

Toplady (1740–1778) was an evangelical clergyman of strong Calvinistic bias, and a prominent writer and preacher of the day. His early death was no doubt hastened by his intense devotion to his work.

reproduced the Puritan extravagances and exaggerations.

Yet in spite of this one-sidedness, in spite of this narrowness and want of appreciation of much that experience has shown was loved and prized by innumerable hearts, these men were in very truth the salt of the earth in their day. The work which they, in spite of obloquy and cold neglect on the part of the ruling powers, in spite of gibes and sneers levelled at them by the wits and men of letters and fashion, succeeded in doing, deserves the thanks of succeeding generations of churchmen. For they aroused the church in a time when a deadly torpor of indifference and sloth was slowly creeping over her. They interested the masses in religious things, at a time when among the people religion was being largely forgotten. Their passionate exhortation and fiery preaching, placarding, so to speak, the image of the Crucified before the dulled eyes, and graving the divine image of the One Sacred Figure upon the world-filled hearts of tens of thousands, reminded England, at an hour when her people seemed in danger of forgetting Him altogether, that Christ was still present among them—a mighty power ready, able, willing to comfort, to strengthen, and to save, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever! This was the debt our country and its church owes to the leaders of the evangelical revival; and the memory of that great debt must never be obscured—still less forgotten.

"We boast some rich ones, whom the Gospel sways,
And one who wears a coronet and prays." *

* The allusion is to the well-known evangelical nobleman, lord Dartmouth.

So wrote Cowper (1731–1800), the poet of the evangelical revival, with bitter irony; but although the statement in the verse is somewhat exaggerated, generally the new teaching only touched indirectly the highest classes. The hierarchy in the church, as we have noticed, looked coldly on the movement, and their attitude was generally adopted by the government of the day,* by the nobility, and most persons in the upper ranks of society. It was among the lower and middle classes mostly that the power of the evangelicals lay. Still, there were a few distinguished exceptions.

Of these William Wilberforce was the most notable. The son of a Hull merchant, who outside his commercial transactions possessed large landed property in the East Riding of Yorkshire, at the age of ten the young Wilberforce lost his father, and received his earliest training at the hands of the famous evangelicals, Joseph and Isaac Milner, at the Hull grammar-school. As a boy he gave

* "I do not say that in any markedly new degree they were debarred from the place of authority in the church. With inconsiderable exceptions, the Evangelicals were never in the place at all; and I think they little sought to be. But undoubtedly the tendency was, on the whole, putting one brief period aside, rather more than less to keep them out of it. And, meanwhile, I frankly own Evangelicalism had many things to gain from other tendencies. Of course it had lessons to learn. In such matters as the corporate aspect of Christian life, the distinctive place of the Lord's sacraments in His Gospel, the call to sacred while simple dignity of worship—to name such things only—Evangelicals have felt strong influences from outsiders."—From *The Evangelical Movement: its Contribution to the Life and Thought of the Church during the Victorian Era;* being a paper read at the Nottingham Congress of the Church of England, 1897, by the Rev. H. G. C. Moule, D.D., principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

promise of his future distinction as an orator. After leaving Cambridge, at the age of twenty-one he was elected to the House of Commons. For the first four years of his career the young and wealthy Yorkshireman gave no indication of his future eminence as a religious leader, but was distinguished in society for his wonderful charm of manner and brilliant conversational powers.

It was in the course of 1784–5, in the course of a long visit to the south of France in the company of his old tutor, Isaac Milner, and other friends, that the change passed over Wilberforce which in evangelical phraseology is known as "conversion," or the "new birth." John Newton, of Olney, whose career we have already briefly sketched, became his adviser. With rare wisdom Newton counselled the young and brilliant enthusiast not to exchange his worldly position for that of a minister and evangelist, but to use his great and growing influence rather as a powerful layman for his Master's work. Wilberforce followed this wise advice, and without any apparent or outward change in his pursuits and way of living, but with God ever in his thoughts, he braced himself up for his life's work. His religious views were mainly influenced by the two Milners, John Newton, Thomas Scott, and somewhat later by Henry Venn. In Parliament, where already his name was becoming known, he boldly professed himself an Evangelical, one of that sect which was coldly looked upon, if not despised; and was soon looked upon as the leading layman of the party.

In Parliament he set himself to carry out a noble and difficult task. From the days of his boyhood the shameful sin of slavery had appalled him. While a schoolboy, he had written a letter to a York newspaper, protesting against the "odious traffic in human flesh." He determined that the bitter reproach of the slave trade should be wiped out of the statute book, and the curse which weighed so heavily upon the fast-growing colonial empire of England should, so far as England was concerned, exist no longer. Then commenced for him a long and bitter Parliamentary warfare. It was in 1789 that he first publicly proposed the abolition of the slave trade in the House of Commons. The struggle of Wilberforce and his friends before the great object of his life was accomplished, lasted some twenty years. He had aroused, indeed, a formidable opposition when he commenced his long campaign, for the slave-trading and slave-holding interest in the Houses of Parliament was a very strong one. All kinds of delays in investigating the question were interposed, and again and again the undaunted champion sustained defeat in the Commons. The all-powerful minister Pitt, who in theory was on Wilberforce's side, was prevented during the many years he was in office, by political reasons, from giving effect to what he felt was right and just; and the famous minister passed away before that which he had himself denounced as the deepest stain upon our national character, and the most enormous guilt recorded in the history of mankind, so far as England was concerned was wiped out and done away with.

But Wilberforce, in spite of repeated failure and disappointment, steadily pursued his purpose. His great gifts of

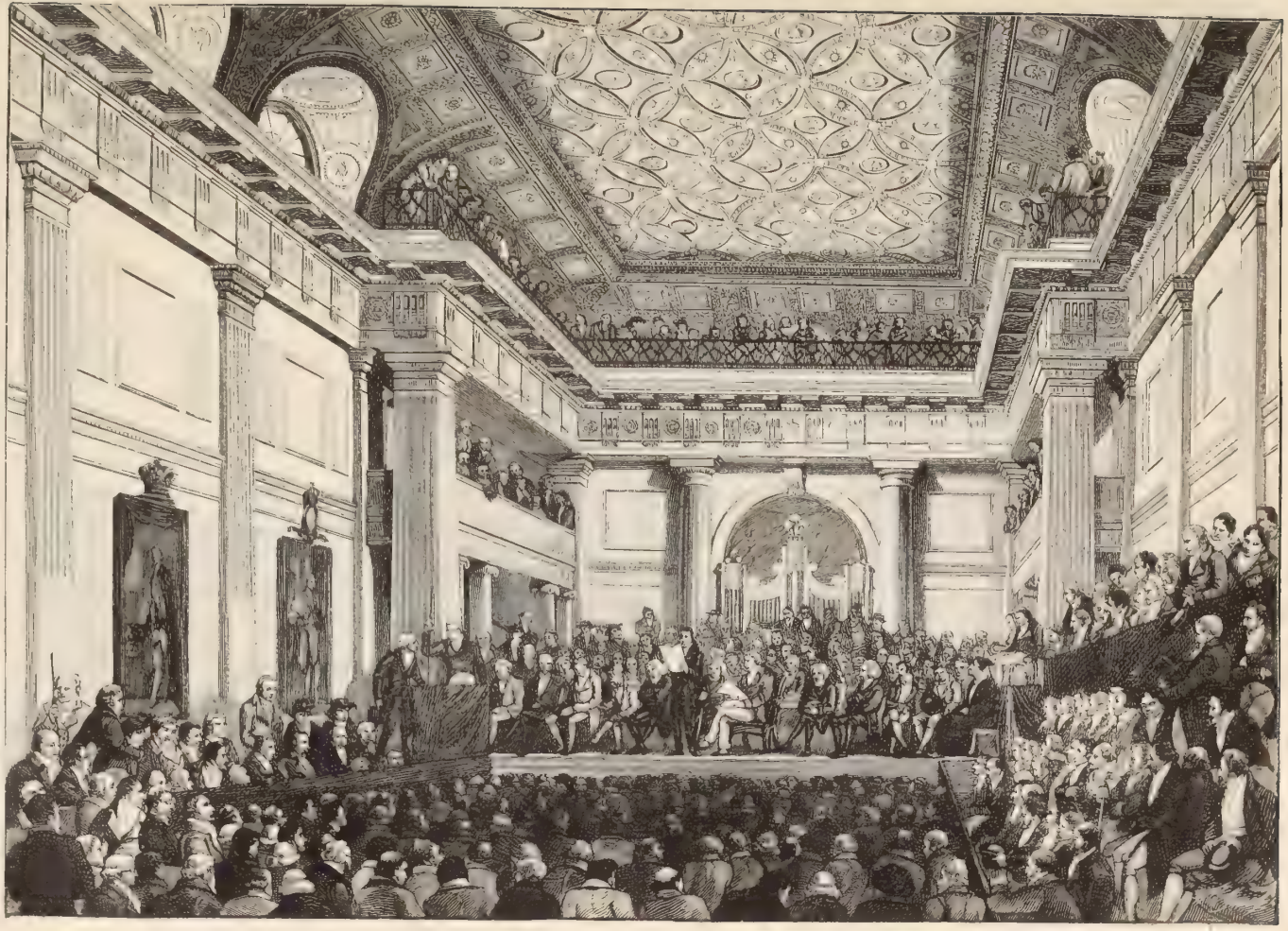
eloquence and intense religious fervour, his winning and singularly attractive personality, year after year were all used to further the great object of his life. The moral sense of the whole evangelical party, strong in numbers and in earnestness, if not in rank and fortune, was on his side; and gradually a persuasion of the awful guilt of the traffic permeated England. At last two bills were introduced by lord Grenville in the House of Lords, under the administration of Mr. Fox, and triumphantly carried; the one abolishing the slave trade with foreign powers, the other forbidding the employment of any British shipping in the traffic which had not already been engaged in it;* while the House of Commons resolved that the slave trade was contrary to the principles of justice, humanity and sound policy. These measures proved the death-blow of the slave trade. The Abolition Bill was passed by an immense majority in the House of Commons in 1807. Wilberforce was universally lauded when the successful end of his long work became generally known.

Still, though this Act of 1807 had put an end to the *traffic* in slaves, much remained to be done before the extinction of slavery in the world-wide British dominions became an accomplished fact; nor was it until 1833 that the Emancipation Bill was passed, when Parliament granted the enormous sum of twenty millions sterling to compensate the planters in the British colonies for the loss of their slaves. Wilberforce, the author of this true piece of Christian work, was dying when the object of his life was at length reached in all its fulness; and the noble old man thanked God that he had seen the day when England was willing to give the mighty sum of twenty millions for the total abolition of slavery.

Thus the greatest blot on Christianity was wiped out, so far as England and her empire was concerned, mainly owing to the exertions of the evangelical party and its devoted leader. It had even more far-reaching consequences. The grand example set by England bore fruit in the great western republic; and the result of the terrible war between the northern and southern states in 1861–65 was the final abolition of slavery among the Anglo-Saxon peoples. The work of Wilberforce and his friends was accomplished.

But although the name of the great evangelical philanthropist will ever be specially associated with the abolition of the curse of slavery; in the surpassing glory of the success of that great achievement, the other useful and beneficent acts of that noble life must not be lightly passed over. Round Wilberforce gathered a little coterie of earnest and pious men who during many years devoted themselves with a splendid generosity to works of religion and philanthropy. The same influences which inspired Wilberforce guided and directed the two Thorntons, Gisborne, Granville Sharpe, Thomas Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay, lords Dartmouth and Teignmouth, all names written large in God's golden book of saintly men, and others bearing less known appellations, who made up that famous group of evangelicals known as the "Clapham

* No fewer than 60,000 slaves were annually imported in British vessels. *Cf.* Professor Bright: "History of England," Period iii., Constitutional Monarchy, 1806.



MEETING OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY IN FREEMASONS' HALL, 1849.

(From a painting by T. Uwins.)

Sect." "They were the sons, by natural or spiritual birth, of men who in the earlier days of Methodism had shaken off the lethargy in which till then the Church of England had been entranced, of men by whose agency the great evangelical doctrine of faith, emerging in its primeval splendour, had not only overpowered the contrary heresies but had perhaps obscured some kindred truths." *

Several of those great religious societies which are at once the glory and strength of the Established Church, and indeed of religious England, were the result of their deliberations and wise liberality. First in importance of these was the Church Missionary Society, that great company of the Church of England which "now commands a wider field of action and a more princely revenue than any Protestant association of the same character." In 1783 a little company of the London evangelical clergy, under the name of the "Eclectic Society," including John Newton (of Olney, and later of St. Mary Woolnoth) and Richard Cecil, on several occasions discussed the question of the best method of planting the Gospel in Botany Bay, the East Indies, and in Africa. The result was the foundation in 1799 † of the Church Missionary Society, though the famous title itself was not adopted until 1812. All possible care was taken by its founders not to interfere with the work of kindred missionary associations, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which were already at work, but labouring on somewhat different lines.

The foundation of the Religious Tract Society was another of the active pieces of work carried out by the same zeal and energy working in this Clapham Sect. It dates from 1799. Other associations, notably the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, had already been circulating vast numbers of books and tracts for a lengthened period; Wesley and others had distributed thousands of these useful and far-reaching little pieces of popular literature among the people where their labours chiefly were laid. But the Religious Tract Society set itself to the work on a larger and more systematic scale than had been ever before attempted. Its permanence, and its enduring popularity and usefulness, bears a quiet but powerful testimony to the need which it supplied. Its first chairman was the eccentric though able and devoted preacher and divine, Rowland Hill.

A yet more prominent foundation was closely connected with the leaders of the great revival: the British and Foreign Bible Society. Its operations on a smaller scale began as early as 1787, but it was only some sixteen or seventeen years later that the famous association itself was formally constituted. Starting in the first instance from a modest attempt to supply the Welsh people with copies of their Scriptures in their own tongue (of Welsh Bibles there appears to have been a curious scarcity at that time), Wilberforce and a few others of that noble group who lived but to help their neighbours and to teach them how to find the narrow way of life, conceived the idea

* Sir James Stephen's Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography: "The Clapham Sect."

† See Excursus on Missionary Effort in the Church of England, etc.

of a society which should sow broadcast over England, and in the yet greater England beyond the seas, copies of the Book of Life. Associated with Wilberforce was a little company of evangelicals, with lord Teignmouth, who when Sir John Shore had gained a great reputation as governor-general of India, as their first president. These men laid the foundations of that mighty organisation which has now, within a century of its first meeting, provided the nations of the world with more than three hundred * separate translations and version of the Bible more or less entirely, this marvellous series of versions of the Book of Life being the work, to use the Society's own words, "of a great army of devoted scholars." The Bible Society's *annual* issue of Bibles, Testaments, and single books or groups of the Scriptures amounts, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, to nearly four millions. In the distribution of these, above a thousand persons of both sexes are in the service of this mighty association.

The London Missionary Society had been established a few years before, in 1795, and must also be considered an outcome of the great revival. It was founded on a broader and more inclusive basis than the Church Missionary Society, and included Dissenters as well as evangelical churchmen. This powerful missionary association never took root, however, in the Church of England, and is now supported mainly by the Congregationalists. The Wesleyan Missionary Society, now a vast and far-reaching association, in its early days also included among its first supporters the leading men of the Clapham sect, but it has passed in later times entirely into the hands of the Wesleyan body.

In this brief summary of the results of the "revival," the rise and progress of which we have been sketching, the institution of Sunday schools, now one of the most powerful and effective agencies in the Church of England as well as among the Nonconformist communions, must not be forgotten. This simple but wondrously successful machinery for interesting and instructing the children of the people in the doctrines and practice of the Christian faith belongs to the same movement, and dates from the middle of the eighteenth century. There were Sunday schools here and there probably as early as 1765. But the real organiser of these wonderful English schools was Robert Raikes of Gloucester, a loyal member of the Church of England, who in his ancient cathedral city established the first Sunday school in 1781. One of his rules was that the scholars should attend the cathedral service. There was some opposition at first among the dignitaries of the church to this novel organisation; but as its wonderful adaptability to all descriptions of congregations, especially in cities, became manifest, the opposition soon died down, and the evangelical clergy especially were distinguished before the end of the century for their zeal in adopting the new departure. Within a century and a quarter of the first conception of the idea, of the innumerable churches and chapels in England and her vast colonies, and in the United States, scarcely could one be found

* The present number of these translations and versions nearly reaches three hundred and fifty! More than fifty bishops and dignitaries of the Anglican communion are among the vice-presidents of the Society.

without its Sunday school, numbering its few or many little scholars of both sexes.*

But although the church was gradually invigorated by the evangelical revival; although the spirit of religious enterprise and devotion was awakened from the slumber into which it had fallen, it must not be supposed that the new victory of faith was lightly and easily won. Very bitter, indeed, especially during the earlier years of the movement, was the opposition—an opposition which often took the form of bitter hostility to the new school of the evangelicals and their teaching. Nor were the causes of this opposition at all difficult to gauge. Throughout England the established church was a fair representative of the country. There was a general longing for quiet in England. The sleepy condition into which religion had sunk satisfied the people. There was no enthusiasm; zeal of any kind was sneered at. The policy of Walpole, who so long was *the* minister, as we have already noticed, lay like a dead hand upon all religious enterprise and on all impulses of self-devotion. Convocation, silenced as it was, was unable to initiate any fresh departure in work, either at home or in the form of missionary work abroad. Nor could it take in hand any of the more flagrant abuses in the church. Reform, progress, a more earnest church life in any direction seemed impossible, and, what was singular, all seemed to acquiesce in this state of stagnation. If any active feeling at all was manifested, it took the form of a hatred of Puritanism, with which in some minds Methodism and evangelicalism were closely associated. The fierce, widespread animosity which the "saints" had aroused in the time of the great trouble, had by no means died down in the earlier years of the eighteenth century. Thus, when Methodism began to make its existence felt—Methodism with its restless, burning, somewhat disturbing enthusiasm—no wonder that it aroused far and wide feelings of fierce hostility.

There is no doubt that alongside the new and nobler tastes, aims, hopes which it aroused, was much that the calm and dispassionate critic could find fault with. In the great revival meetings held by Wesley and Whitefield, many thousands were stirred up to lead purer, better lives, to turn their thoughts to God and religion; but there were in these vast assemblies not a few sad and painful scenes of hysteria, evoked by the passionate oratory of the eloquent and fervid evangelicals. Many, we read, in these strange assemblies fell to the ground convulsed with paroxysms of agony. The air was occasionally rent with wild screaming; the great revival was, especially in its earlier phases, not unfrequently accompanied with all the phenomena of strong spiritual excitement, strange and unknown in those days of lethargy and carelessness in all religious matters. These spiritual excesses, these regrettable extravagances, were quickly seized upon, and sharply criticised by those who disliked the new school. Such critics were blind to the marvellous awakening of the many, and had only eyes for the mischief worked upon the few.

* The Sunday school of the writer of this History, during his ten years' incumbency of St. Pancras (London), numbered about three thousand scholars and teachers.

THE ORIGIN OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS: HARE LANE, GLOUCESTER, 1780.
(*From the painting by Robert Dowling.*)

With greater reason churchmen complained of the insubordination of the Methodist converts among the clergy, of their disregard of all parochial order and discipline, of their neglect of church customs, however venerable, and ritual, however ancient and legalised. Wesley, while professing allegiance to the Church of England and its laws and government, openly affirmed that "the world was his parish," and his disciples naturally followed and often went beyond, the words spoken and the example set by their master. All this naturally excited much dislike and even enmity, alike in church and in state. In spite of the enormous and ever-increasing influence and power of the new departure among the masses, the Methodist was an unpopular person, and for years, with the majority of the cultured classes especially, was the object of ridicule and sarcasm. He was keenly satirised in the popular literature of the age. The lines of the great poet in the "Dunciad" are worth quoting, as they show the scorn with which the Methodist preacher (Whitefield is even named) was held by distinguished men of letters :—

"As when the long-eared milky mothers wait
At some sick miser's triple-bolted gate,
For their defrauded, absent foals they make
A moan so loud. . . .
So swells each wind-pipe; ass intones to ass.
Harmonic twang! of leather, horn and brass;
Such as from lab'ring lungs th' enthusiast blows,
High sound, attemper'd to the vocal nose;
Or such as bellow from the deep divine.
There, Webster! pealed thy voice, and Whitefield, thine!
In Tot'nam Fields the brethren with amaze
Prick all their ears up, and forget to graze." *

As in poetry, so in the famous prose writers, we find the same contemptuous estimate. Fielding puts into the mouth of Parson Adams in "Joseph Andrews" (1742), the following criticism of Whitefield's doctrine of faith against good works: "Surely that doctrine was coined in hell, and none but the devil himself could have the confidence to preach it." The imprisoned Methodist in "Amelia" (1751) is a rogue. A few years later, in 1771, the same sect was mercilessly satirised by Smollett in "Humphrey Clinker." The sorry hero of the celebrated story, Mr. Bramble's footman, the lover of the waiting-maid, Winifred Jenkins, is an occasional Methodist preacher. Anstey (1724-1805), in the "New Bath Guide," treats them no better. And it is only in the writings of the Methodists and evangelicals themselves that we find any true appreciation of the mighty work they accomplished in influencing society and in deepening the religious life of England. We would instance here Cowper (1731-1800), who will ever hold a high position in the illustrious gallery of our poets. Cowper was a fervid evangelical, and the dear friend of John Newton of Olney. Young, another well-known poet, whose "Night Thoughts" (published 1742) will ever take its place among our English classics; James Hervey, the author of the "Meditations," and of the "Theron and Aspasia," already alluded to; Henry Brooke, who published his famous "Fool of Quality" in 1766, were all earnest members of the evangelical party, as was also Hannah More (1745-1833). From the poems and various writings of these, we form a juster view of the spirit of the Methodists and evangelicals. But it is, after all, in the poems

* Pope: "The Dunciad," book ii., 245.

of Pope, and in the popular romances of Fielding and Smollett, that the real feeling of the wits and great literary men of the age towards the men of the evangelical movement is most accurately mirrored.

The attitude of the more thoughtful of the hierarchy of the Church during the second half of the eighteenth century, although distinctly hostile to the movement,* yet was, notwithstanding, evidently influenced and coloured by the wave of earnestness set in motion by the new powerful evangelical preaching and teaching. For instance, Dr. Secker, archbishop of Canterbury (1758–1768), while speaking of the new sect [of evangelicals] as "pretending to the strictest piety," goes on in the same charge delivered to the arch-diocese in 1758, with an exhortation to his clergy to emulate what is good in them [the evangelicals], avoiding what is bad. Secker urged his clergy to "edify their flocks with awakening, but with rational and scriptural discourses." "The truth," pursued the archbishop, "I fear is that many if not most of us have dwelt too little on the doctrines of the Trinity, Christ's sacrifice, and the sanctification of the Spirit in our sermons; by no means, I believe, as disbelieving or slighting them, but . . . partly from fancying them to be so generally received and remembered that little need to be said but on social obligations; partly, again, from not having studied theology deeply enough to treat of them ably and beneficially. God grant it may never have been for want of inwardly experiencing their importance. But whatever the cause, the effect hath been lamentable. Our people have grown less and less mindful of the distinguishing articles of their creed. . . . They have forgotten in effect their Creator as well as their Redeemer and Sanctifier, seldom or never worshipping Him, or thinking of their souls in relation to Him, but flattering themselves that what they are pleased to call a morai and harmless life, though far from being either, is the one thing needful. Our vindication will be to preach fully and frequently these doctrines, yet so as to reserve a due share to the duties of common life, which it is reported some of our censurers do not."

These wise though somewhat cold words, spoken by the primate in his charge of 1758, ring with an apologetic note. Evidently the words of Wesley and Whitefield and their school had sunk deeply into archbishop Secker's soul, and he felt that there was much that was true and real in the Methodist contention, and that the ways and teaching of the church over which he ruled were grievously lacking. He touches some of the gravest doctrinal points urged by the new school, and presses them upon his own clergy for adoption.

Bishop Warburton of Gloucester (1698–1779), whose great services to the Church of England as a writer and theologian we have already spoken of, is a good example of the position taken up by the scholarly divines of his school towards the extraordinary religious outburst of Methodism.

* This bias on the part of the hierarchy is unmistakably shown by the care which was taken not to advance any of the prominent evangelicals (save in the solitary case we have mentioned of Isaac Milner, the dean of Carlisle) to posts of rank and distinction in the Establishment.

Warburton had little sympathy with any revival movement, and indeed, while fully allowing the miraculous conversions of apostolic times, deemed it an impossibility that the splendour of these gifts of the Holy Spirit could ever re-appear in the church. *It belonged alone to the first age*, and was and could not be ever repeated.

ARCHDEACON WM. PALEY.
(*From the portrait by Sir Wm. Beechey, prefixed to his works*, 1819.)

Warburton even quoted the case of the regicides in the great trouble. "They were," he once wrote, "mostly enthusiasts, of the same kind as the Methodists . . . and though these Methodists ought not to be persecuted, yet the clergy are right in giving no encouragement to this spirit." Bishop Horsley (1733–1806), who was bishop of St. David's, 1788–1800, when he was translated to the see of St. Asaph, in his first charge to the diocese of St. David's in 1788, evidently felt with archbishop Secker, whose words, spoken some years before, we have quoted. He clearly was deeply moved by the teaching of the great Methodist revivalists, and recognised the faults and deadness of the preaching of the clergy of his own Anglican communion. This eminent divine of our church, in his primary charge, thus spoke:—"A dread of the pernicious tendency of some extravagant opinions of persons more to be esteemed for the warmth of their piety than the soundness of their judgment . . . have given credit to another maxim which I never hear without extreme regret, either from the pulpit or in familiar conversation, that practical religion and morality are one and the same thing, that moral duties constitute the whole or by far the better part of practical Christianity. . . . These maxims have a pernicious influence upon the ministry of the Word, and have contributed much to divest our sermons of the genuine spirit and savour of Christianity, and to reduce them to mere moral essays. The compositions which are this day [he was writing in 1788, some thirty years or more after the rise of Methodism] delivered from our pulpits are, I think, in general of a more Christian cast than were often heard thirty years since, when I first entered the ministry. Still the dry strain of preaching is too much in use. . . . The Trinity, Incarnation, Expiation, Intercession, and Communion with the Holy Spirit, are supposed above the reach of the people." The charge of this learned and eminent theologian showed that he, while standing aloof from Wesley and even the later evangelical school which was the

result of the Methodist movement, had drunk deeply of the spiritual truths which these despised men had preached with such conspicuous success among the people, and that he longed for the day when the clergy of his own Anglican communion would in many respects follow the example of the Methodist and evangelical preachers. They were right, he felt, in their estimate of true Christian teaching, even if their ways were eccentric, perhaps fanatical, and their actions irregular and insubordinate. The famous charge of Horsley is, in fact, a vigorous defence of evangelical preaching. He contemptously terms the dry moralists of the Establishment "apes of Epictetus."*

Archdeacon William Paley, the author of the much-studied "Natural Theology," and the more valuable "Evidences" (1743–1805), was similarly influenced by the evangelical teaching of the revivalists, and with equal earnestness in one of his well-known charges thus characterises the lifeless preaching of the church, no doubt with the sermons and teaching of the new school in his mind: "We are setting up a kind of philosophical morality, detached from religion and independent of its influence, which may be cultivated, it is said, without Christianity as well as with it, and which if cultivated, renders religion and religious influences superfluous. We are in such haste to fly from religion and superstition, that we are approaching to an insensibility to all religious influence. I do not mean to advise you to bring men back to enthusiasm, but to retard, if you can, the progress toward an opposite and worse extreme."

Before the sands of the hour-glass of the eighteenth century had run out, the Methodist, or as they were later commonly called, the evangelical doctrines, had thoroughly permeated the teaching of the Established Church. More or less every pulpit in England was affected by them, even though the pulpit were occupied by a preacher who studiedly stood aloof from all sympathisers with the new departure; while the evangelical party, properly so called, who openly professed their devotion and zeal for these great truths, so long dormant in all public teaching, "though still a minority, had become a large and influential section of the English Church."*

* Epictetus was a Phrygian stoic philosopher, who taught at the close of the first century, at Rome first, and later at Nicopolis. His philosophy, briefly, was a system of creedless practical righteousness. Horsley bitterly reproached the Anglican clergy with being his slavish imitators.

* Lecky.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1800–1833.

Effects of the Continental War—Pictures of Church Life in the Early Nineteenth Century—Light and Shadow—General Shortcoming in Care and Reverence Prejudice against Hymns—Decay and Neglect of the Buildings—Sketch of the Anglican School of this Period—Dr. Sikes of Guisborough—His Remarkable Prophecy—Hugh James Rose and other Anglican Leaders—The Hierarchy—Societies Founded by the Anglican School—The Education Question and the National Society—The Evangelical Party Charles Simeon of Cambridge—His Life, Work, and Influence—Its Bearing on Missionary Work—Cambridge a Centre of Evangelical Teaching—London another such Centre Defects of the Evangelical School—What it has Done—Gradual Decline of Church Influence—The Utilitarian School—A Moment and Crisis of Real Peril to the Church of England.

THE nineteenth century opened with church life considerably renewed and invigorated by the great Evangelical revival sketched in our last chapter. But although the revival had touched many centres, especially in the towns, it was after all somewhat sporadic. Its nature was, indeed, rather calculated to influence individuals or congregations than the corporate life of the church. The circumstances, too, of the time were unfavourable to any marked development of religious activity and earnestness. For the first fifteen years of the century the one object which filled men's minds was the great Continental war. The very exhortations of the clergy were often coloured with the all-absorbing topic.

We possess some pictures of church life as it existed in that period, drawn by master-hands, able leaders in the hierarchy, who from their official position were admirably fitted to form a just estimate of the condition of things. Dr. Porteous, bishop of London, in his Lenten Lectures, 1798–1801, writes that the reason of his delivering the course in question was "because the state of the kingdom—political, moral, and religious—was so unfavourable as to excite the most serious alarm in every mind of reflection." Bishop Horsley, who stands in the front rank of the abler bishops of the day, in his charge to the clergy of the diocese of Rochester, 1800, tells us that "no crisis at any period of time since the moment of our Lord's departure from the earth, has more demanded than the present, the vigilant attention of the clergy of all ranks, from the prelate to the village curate, to the duties of the weighty charge for which we are called. . . . We have seen in every part but little correspondence between the lives of men and their professions, a general indifference about the doctrines of Christianity, a general neglect of its duties." Bishop Burgess of St. David's, again, in his address to the clergy on the occasion of his translation to Salisbury in 1825, writes that in 1803, when he first came among them, he found the churches and ecclesiastical buildings generally in a ruinous condition. Many of the clergy in that distant diocese, he noticed, were imperfectly

educated, and disgraced their profession by inebriety and other degrading vices.*

From a very different man and in another centre—Charles Simeon, of Cambridge—we learn that the service in his college chapel (King's) was most irreverently performed, that among the undergraduates religious life in any "social" sense of that word was unknown. No "Holy Club" of Cambridge Methodists existed to draw them together and to diffuse their influence. Outside Cambridge, in the then woefully neglected country side, Simeon in the earlier days of his career, which corresponded to the latter years of the eighteenth century, acted as an itinerant, preaching even at times in barns and in many an unlicensed place to the "forgotten" farm servants. Confirmation was too commonly treated as the most perfunctory of church services, and the confirmation day was sometimes little better than a noisy holiday.†

Mr. J. A. Froude, drawing from his own family experiences, gives us the following graphic picture of a good ordinary specimen of a high-class country parson of the time: "The curate of the last century, who dined in the servants' hall and married the lady's maid, has long disappeared, if he had ever existed outside popular novels. Not a specimen of him could have been found in the island. The average English incumbent [he is writing of the first quarter of the nineteenth century] was a man of private fortune, the younger brother of the landlord, perhaps, and holding the family living, or it might be the landlord himself, his advowson being part of the estate. His professional duties were his services on Sunday, funerals and weddings on week-days, and visits where needed among the sick. In other respects he lived like his neighbours, distinguished from them only by a black coat and white neckcloth, and greater watchfulness over his words and actions. He farmed his own glebe, he kept horses, he shot and hunted moderately, and mixed in general society. He was generally a magistrate. . . . His wife and daughters looked after the poor, taught in the Sunday school, and managed the penny clubs and clothing clubs.* His own household, the great historian proceeds to say, was a fair representative of the others, his father being a rector, an archdeacon, and a justice of the peace. His brothers and he were excellently educated, and were sent to school and college. The spiritual lessons did not go beyond the catechism. They were told their business in life was to work, and to make an honourable position for themselves. About doctrines, Evangelical and Catholic, the writer tells us he did not think he ever heard a single word, *in church or out of it.* The institution (the Church of England) had drifted into the

* This does not, however, appear to have been the case in any of the English dioceses.

† Dr. Moule in his "Life of Simeon," indeed, says that the religious life in the villages outside Cambridge, in these early days of Simeon's ministry, was not unlike the picture we have, some thirty years before, in John Wesley's time (1763). "The churches in the neighbourhood were very usually served by Fellows of colleges, who rode out from Cambridge on Sunday, and contrived to accomplish three or even four morning services in succession. To expedite the process, a signal was sometimes concerted between the parson and the clerk: the hoisting of a flag assured the rider that there was no congregation, and that he might pass on in peace."

* *The Oxford Counter-Reformation:* "Short Studies," by J. A. Froude, vol. iv.

condition of what he called moral health. "It did not instruct us in mysteries, it did not teach us to make religion a special object of our thoughts; it taught us to use religion as a light by which to see our way along the road of duty. . . . Doctrinal controversies were sleeping. People went to church because they liked it, because they knew that they ought to go, and because it was the custom; they had received the creeds from their fathers, and doubts about them had never crossed their minds."

The writer* of the above personal reminiscence of the machinery of the Church of England in a typical country district gives us as his conclusion, that the church in question, though not perfect, was still doing its work satisfactorily. Such a conclusion, however, would scarcely be accepted by the more earnest men of either of the schools of religious thought.

In the hierarchy, during these earlier years of the nineteenth century, a curiously confused estimate of the duties and example of a bishop existed. It seems to have been a recognised custom for the prelate of an English see to add to his revenues the income of other important preferments, without any regard to the obligations which the holding of such preferment would naturally seem to entail. To give examples of men of the highest reputation, thus apparently so careless of seemingly inescapable responsibilities: the very valuable living of Stanhope had been held by three successive prelates when its rector, Dr. Phillpotts, was made bishop of Exeter in 1830; bishop Courtenay held the living of St. George's, Hanover Square, with its vast population; bishop Pelham a Sussex living, and bishop Bethell a living in Yorkshire, each with the see of Exeter. Bishop Rider was dean of Wells, and bishop Blomfield rector of Bishopsgate, during their episcopate. Bishop Coplestone of Llandaff was also dean of St. Paul's.*

On the other hand, we have undoubted testimonies to the good work done and exemplary lives lived by many of the clergy of different ranks in various parts of England at the same period. For instance, Dr. Howley, bishop of London, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, in his first charge to the London diocese in 1814, writes of his clergy as "respected and respectable as a body for piety, learning, and conscientious attention to their pastoral care, and abounding with members distinguished in an eminent degree by all the qualifications which bestow attraction and intrinsic worth"; and again in 1818 he repeats, "his anticipations had been realised by the experience of five years. A body more truly respectable for learning and piety than the clergy of the diocese of

* A peculiar interest is attached to Mr. J. A. Froude's memories here. He is known, of course, wherever the English language is spoken or read, as a brilliant and picturesque historian of the first rank. He is, however, not always remembered as the brother of Richard Hurrell Froude, one of the earliest and most influential of the famous Tractarian Oxford School, Cardinal Newman's dearest friend. R. H. Froude died in 1836.

* These examples are taken from Canon Overton's "The English Church in the Nineteenth Century," chap. i. The excuse, not altogether a vain one, for this abuse was the curious inequality of the revenues of the English sees. While in some cases a princely income was attached to the office, in others a miserably inadequate stipend was provided, which really needed eking out from other sources. But this system of pluralities was a disastrous resource, and worked much evil.

London will not easily be found." In 1833 Van Mildert, bishop of Durham, said

CHARLES SIMEON PREACHING IN A BARN.

in the House of Lords, that "his clergy in the diocese of Durham were a valuable body of men, attentive to their duties." Bishop Kaye of Lincoln in 1831 thus spoke generally of the clergy of the Church of England: "There never was a time,

perhaps, when the clergy stood in less need of being urged to a diligent performance of their duties, when they entertained juster notions of the responsibility attaching to their ministerial character."

Thus during these first thirty years or more of the nineteenth century, in the established church, light evidently alternated with shadow, and it would be manifestly unjust to accuse the church generally of neglect and indifference. It is clear that the state of languor and torpor, so especially noticeable in the first half of the eighteenth century, no longer existed, save in certain localities. It is equally certain, however, that many abuses still existed, that much coldness and deadness was still noticeable; that, comparatively speaking, there was little real enthusiasm. Men were too contented with the state of things around them, to make any great effort to arouse a fervid spirit of godliness and devotion. What was done in the cause of religion and true self-sacrificing philanthropy, was confined to certain centres only.

In this period, too, there was not a little slovenliness and want of care and reverence in the church services, especially in the more remote country districts.* In the matter of celebrating the Holy Eucharist, bishop Horsley of Rochester, above quoted as one of the foremost and ablest of the Anglican prelates of the time, in his second charge, dated 1800, thus writes: "Four celebrations in the year are the very fewest that ought to be allowed in the very smallest parishes: it were to be wished that it were in all more frequent." Many years later a correspondent in the *British Critic* tells us how in 1832 in many country villages the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered four times a year—Easter, Whitsuntide, Michaelmas, and Christmas. This rareness of celebrations was evidently a noticeable fact in the life of the church during the early part of the century, in a vast number of churches. There were, of course, many honourable exceptions to this state of things, especially in London and in the great centres of population. The liturgy also was often needlessly mutilated and cut short. The ante-communion service was very frequently read at the prayer-desk.

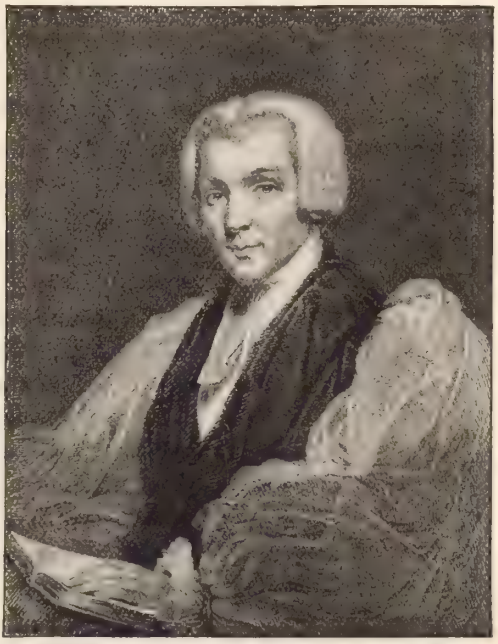
Another regrettable feature in the church life of the period was that the singing and the music in the Anglican church was almost invariably neglected and unimpressive. An unreasoning prejudice against hymns, because they savoured of "Methodism," long prevailed. The great evangelists of the eighteenth century had early recognised what a powerful instrument to arouse fervour and devotion existed in hymnology, and they were not slow to avail themselves of it. The Evangelicals, who inherited much of their theory and practice, it is true, introduced this singing of hymns in their services; but in a large section of the church this hymn-singing was discouraged, and the cold and chilly "New Version of the Psalms fitted to the tunes used in Churches" of Tate and Brady,* was long preferred to the fervid and

* Canon Overton in his "Church of England in the Nineteenth Century" devotes a long and somewhat exhaustive section to this subject (chap. v., pp. 127–163). Only a few typical examples are given in the text.

* This once well-known Metrical Version of the Psalms, and which still, with a meagre Supplement of Church Hymns, is appended to the "Book of Common Prayer," at the close of the nineteenth

inspiring sacred songs which the Methodist revivalists had introduced with so much effect and power. Reginald Heber, afterwards bishop of Calcutta, a true poet and hymnologist, in vain applied for the sanction of such devout and earnest prelates as Manners-Sutton, archbishop of Canterbury, and Howley, bishop of London, to authorise the use of a hymn-book he had carefully prepared for his own parish of Hodnet. It is to the high honour of the Evangelical party in the church, that their persistent endeavours at last revolutionised the old dead and uninspiring school of church music. But it was many years before this powerful auxiliary to popular worship was really introduced into the services of the Church of England. It is an undoubted fact that during the first thirty years of the century music was slighted, if not ignored generally, in the services of the Establishment.

Early in the nineteenth century the neglect of week-day services was noticeable. From contemporary records it is clear that, in London at least, saints' day services and week-day services generally were more numerous in the early years of the eighteenth, than in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Daily services seem to have been, if not unknown, at least very rare. In a church periodical of considerable weight, *The British Magazine*, in the issue for 1832 we read the following plea advanced in support of cathedrals: "Is it nothing that cathedrals are the only Protestant churches in England which preserve the *daily* offering of supplication and thanksgiving?" Bishop Horsley, in his charge to the Rochester



WILLIAM HOWLEY, D.D., AFTERWARDS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(After the painting by W. Owen, R.A.)

diocese in 1808, sadly remarks that "the festivals and fasts of the church are, I fear not without some connivance of the clergy, gone too much into oblivion and neglect. There can be no excuse for the neglect of the feast of Our Lord's Nativity and the stated fasts of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, even in the smallest county parishes; but in towns and the more populous villages the church ought certainly to be opened for worship on the forenoon at least of every day in the Passion week, of the Mondays and

century is little more than the "shadow of a name." *Nahum Tate* was born in 1652, and subsequently became Poet Laureate. *Nicholas Brady*, born 1659, was successively chaplain to William and Mary and Queen Anne. The "Metrical Version," under the joint authorship of Tate and Brady, supplanted Sternhold and Hopkins's rendering. The Supplement of Church Hymns was added in 1700.

Tuesdays of Easter week and Whitsuntide, on the Epiphany, and on some if not all of the other festivals." Such a grave reminder from a prelate like bishop Horsley shows how very lax and neglectful was the church at this period in this particular.

Photo : Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.

STOKE POGIS CHURCH.

A marked improvement was, however, noticeable as the century advanced.

A carelessness, which became in many instances a sad neglect, in the attention paid to the fabric of the churches, was another deplorable characteristic feature of this period. It has been remarked that "in England no church was erected of the smallest pretensions to architectural design between the Reformation and the great fire of London in 1666, with the solitary exception of the small church in Covent Garden erected by Inigo Jones in 1631."* A large proportion of the village churches thus date from the fifteenth century, and very many from a yet more remote period. In the earlier years of the nineteenth century not a few of these venerable fabrics presented a dreary spectacle of neglect. For years just enough had been done to prevent them falling into ruin, but little more; and often what little had been done was unsightly and even irreverent. The words of a charge of archbishop Secker, written in 1750, placed side by side with the description in an article published

* Ferguson: "History of the Modern Style of Architecture."

in the *British Critic*, 1827, on the state of the country churches, reveal a state of things so strangely similar, that we see little or nothing had been done during those eighty years :—

ARCHBISHOP SECKER'S CHARGE, 1750.

"Some of these country churches have, I fear, been scarce kept in necessary present repair, and others by no means duly cleared from annoyances which must gradually bring them to decay, water undermining and rotting the foundations, earth heaped up against the outside, weeds and shrubs growing upon them—too frequently the floors are meanly paved, or the walls dirty and patched, or the windows ill glazed or, it may be, in part stopped up. The churches are damp, offensive, and unwholesome. . . . Why should not the Church of God, as well as everything else, partake of the improvements of later times ?"

British Critic, APRIL, 1827, ART. X.

"Let any one make a circuit of the villages throughout a considerable portion of these realms. On looking at the exterior of the church, he will often find it half buried beneath the mould which has been suffered to accumulate round it for ages and to spread a gradual decay throughout the walls and foundations. On entering it he will find that the external provision for perpetuating dampness and discomfort within has succeeded to admiration. The walls will appear decorated with hangings of green, a carpeting of the same pattern covers the floor, and the very first and last thoughts which are excited by the whole appearance of the building are those of ague, catarrh, and rheumatism."

The churchyard—God's acre—shared in the general desolation and neglect of the fabrics. The beautiful and reverently kept God's acre, which now is one of the most pathetic and attractive adjuncts to so many of our village homes of prayer; the cemetery hard by the city or the town, bright with flowers and pleasant with their tenderly cared-for lawns and paths, were things unknown in the eighteenth century and in the earlier part of the nineteenth. In town and country alike grim neglect was the feature generally observable in these sacred enclosures. Until even comparatively late in the latter century, the appearance of a London churchyard was to the last degree repulsive and even shocking. By no means exaggerated were the following lines,* written in 1775; they describe only too faithfully the state of things in churchyards, alike in country villages and in great cities such as London :—

"Here nauseous weeds each pile surround,
And things obscene bestrew the ground;
Skulls, bones in mouldering fragments lie,
All dreadful emblems of mortality."

In his famous "Elegy written in a country churchyard" (about 1751), Gray writes:

"Beneath those rugged elms, that yew tree's shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a *mould'ring* heap,
Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.
* * * * *
Perhaps in this *neglected* spot is laid,
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire,
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre."

But although the great war which lasted for the first fifteen years of the century had to a very considerable extent damped church enthusiasm and progress; had stood in the way of any large expenditure either upon the building of new churches, so necessary considering the rapid growth in the population of the country, or even upon the very needful repairs of church fabrics; had crippled also important philanthropic schemes; still, during this period and the

* T. Webb: preface to "Collection of Epitaphs," quoted in Abbey and Overton's "Church of England in the Eighteenth Century," chap. x.

years immediately following the battle of Waterloo and the peace, there was, if not enthusiasm, at least much quiet work and gradual progress in the Church of England. In our somewhat necessarily brief sketch of this, on the whole, uneventful time, we will preserve the well-known names of the two great parties into which the Church may be said to have been divided—the High Church and the Evangelical. In substitution for one of these appellations some writers prefer the terms, the "orthodox" and the "Evangelical." Such a term as the first of these, applied to one party in the Church emphatically, is unjust and unfair, and would suggest to the unbiassed reader a difference in grave doctrinal points which certainly does not exist.

For many years of the century, although the High Church party were the least influential, and certainly possessed less spiritual force in the country than the sister school, although no very distinguished men arose in their ranks, yet there was a long roll of good and earnest men among them who were staunchly faithful to the great tradition of their historic party, and who quietly and faithfully set themselves to do their Master's work among us.

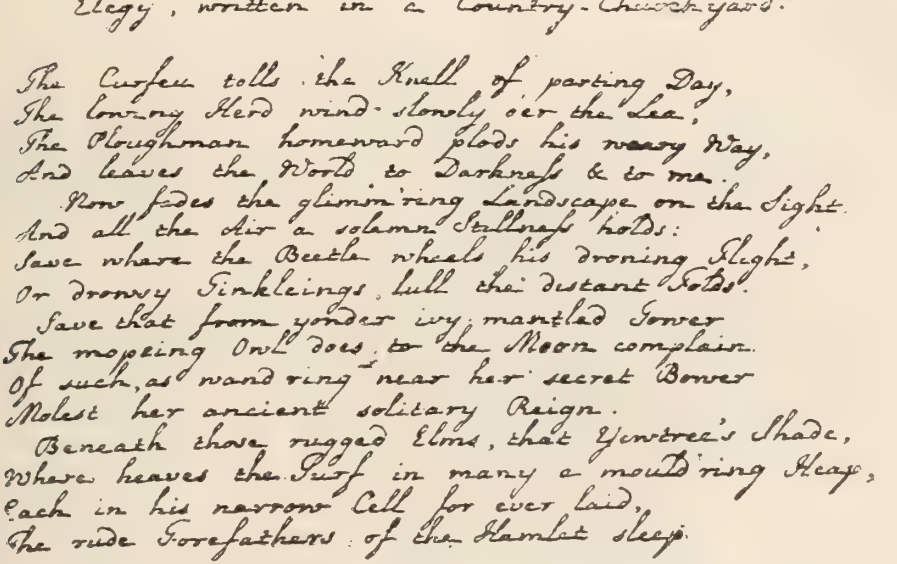
The first year of the century witnessed the death of one of these quiet, saintly men, who, although he attained to no rank or position in the hierarchy, being perfectly content to live and die a humble parish priest, will ever be remembered as the leader of the party during the later years of his useful life. Jones of Layland (1726–1800), as he is usually termed—Layland vicarage being the scene of his long labours—was the centre and chief counsellor for a long period of the principal men of the High Church school. He was the originator of that famous quarterly magazine from which we have already quoted—*The British Critic*, the periodical which for many years was the powerful advocate of historic Church principles in the Church of England.

Dying in 1800, his mantle may be said with some truth to have fallen upon his friend and biographer, William Stevens (1732–1807). This devout and earnest man, whose life work was devoted to the best interests of the Church, was simply a well-to-do trader, a vigorous supporter of the Christian Knowledge Society, then perhaps the most influential of the Church societies, and treasurer of queen Anne's bounty. He was closely connected with all the church work of the High Church school. He passed his life and spent his ample means in the cause he loved so well. In the year 1800 he founded the once well-known association of Churchmen called "Nobody's Club," the members of which consisted of the most prominent among the Churchmen of the times. He died in 1807.

A very remarkable man, who lived at the end of the eighteenth century and through the earlier years of the nineteenth, whose name is now well-nigh forgotten, was Dr. Sikes, of Guisborough. He was a well-read theologian and a profound student of the writings of the fathers of the early Church. A quiet, retiring scholar, he was little known outside a small circle of friends, who loved to resort to his country parish in Northamptonshire for the sake of hearing his scholarly and thoughtful views on church matters. Dr. Sikes died in 1834. Pusey even went so far as to regard him as a precursor of the Oxford move-

ment. One of his conversations with his friends, which took place as late as 1833, was quoted later by the great Tractarian leader, who had it from one of the intimate friends of Dr. Sikes. Pusey often referred to it as having a sort of prophetical value. Some of the thoughts are of striking interest. "I well remember," said Pusey's informant, "the very countenance, gesture, attitude and tone of good Mr. Sikes, and give you, as near as may be, what he said":—

"I seem to think I can tell you something which you who are young may probably live to see, but which I, who shall soon be called away off the stage, shall not. Wherever I go, all about the country I see amongst the clergy a number of very amiable and estimable men, many of them much in earnest and wishing to do good. But I have observed one universal want in their teaching: the uniform suppression of one great truth. There is no account given anywhere, so far as I see, of the one Holy Catholic Church. . . . Now this great truth is an article of the Creed. . . . The doctrine is of the last importance, and the principles it involves of immense power, and some day, not far distant, it will judicially have its reprisals. And, whereas the other articles of the Creed seem now to have thrown it into the shade, it will seem, when it is brought forward, to swallow up the rest. We now hear not a breath about the Church; by-and-by, those who live to see it will hear of nothing else; and just in proportion, perhaps, to its present suppression, will be its future development. . . . And woe betide those, whoever they are, who shall, in the course of Providence, have to bring it forward. . . . They will be


Elegy; written in a Country-Church-yard.

The Curfew tolls the Knell of parting Day,
The lowing Herd wind slowly o'er the Lea,
The Ploughman homeward plods his weary Way,
And leaves the World to Darkness & to me.
Now fades the glimm'ring Landscape on the Sight,
And all the Air a solemn Stillness holds:
Save where the Beetle wheels his droning Flight,
Or drowsy Tinklings lull the distant Folds:
Save that from yonder ivy-mantled Tower
The moping Owl does to the Moon complain
Of such, as wand'ring near her secret Bower
Molest her ancient solitary Reign.
Beneath those rugged Elms, that Yew-tree's Shade,
Where heaves the Turf in many a mould'ring Heap,
Each in his narrow Cell for ever laid,
The rude Forefathers of the Hamlet sleep.

PORTION OF GRAY'S ELEGY, IN THE POET'S HANDWRITING. (*British Museum*)

lessly misunderstood and misinterpreted. There will be one great outcry of Popery from one end of the country to the other. . . . . How the doctrine may be first thrown forward we know not; but the

Photo: G. W. Wilson & Co., Aberdeen.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

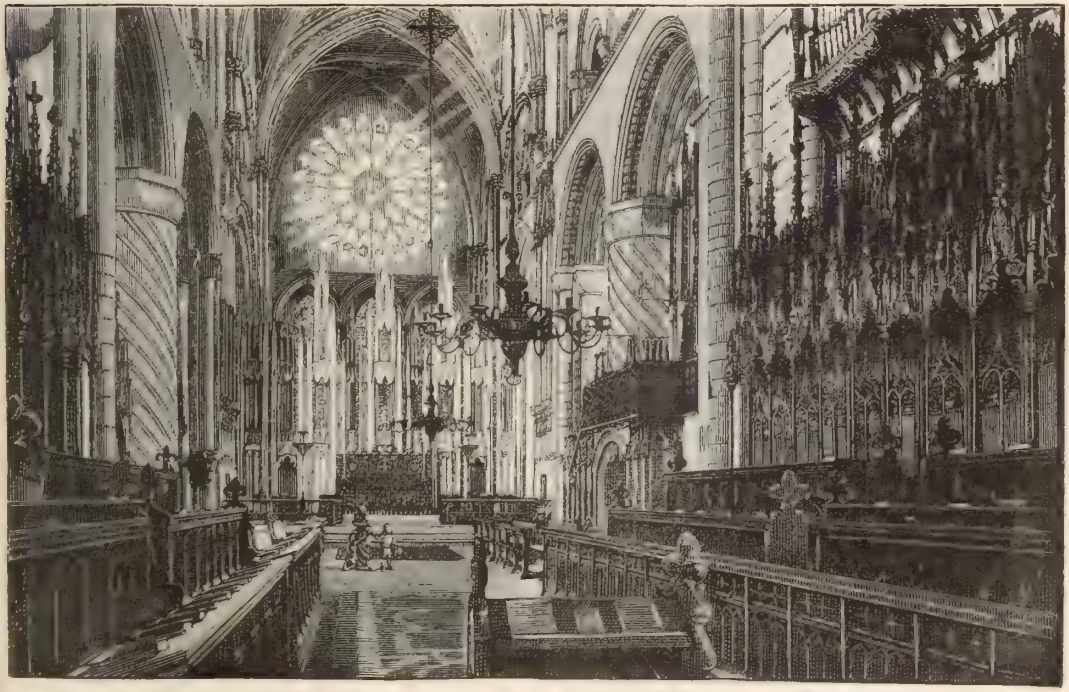
powers of the world may any day turn their backs upon us, and this will probably lead to those effects I have described."*

A more generally known Churchman was Joshua Watson (1771–1855), who for forty years spent his life in devising and carrying out good and useful works. Originally a wine merchant, comparatively at an early age he gave up his business to devote his whole time and vigorous intellect to the furtherance of Church work, and during that long period of forty years his name is prominent in every great work carried on under what are generally known as Church principles. He was treasurer of the Christian Knowledge Society, was one of the principal movers in the development of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. His name figures as one of the founders, and long as the treasurer of the National Society, which is so honourably distinguished as the real centre whence sprang the elaborate and successful network of Church schools for the poor and artisan class.

His brother, John James Watson, some time archdeacon of St. Albans, was for some forty years rector of Hackney, and a lifelong friend and helper of his better-known brother, who lived at Clapton, close to his Hackney rectory. He too was a distinguished member of the celebrated but quite unobtrusive coterie known as the Clapton sect — a name probably given to it as in some way the friendly

* Dr. Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. 1, chap. xi.

rival in good works of the yet more influential and more widely celebrated "Clapham" sect of the Evangelicals. Another once well-known name of the "Clapton" sect was Henry Handley Norris (1771–1850), who devoted his ample fortune to good works, and nobly laboured during his whole life without remuneration and with scanty reward in the Church's service, his highest preferment being a non-residentiary stall in St. Paul's. He was a brother-in-law of archdeacon Watson. Norris was a man of rare devotion and considerable ability. As honorary secretary and one of the three



THE CHOIR, DURHAM CATHEDRAL. *Photo: Frith & Co. Reigate.*

founders of the National Society, and an active worker in most of the Church societies of the time, he was in the forefront of all good works carried on by Church agencies during a long series of years. His advice was so often sought by the Government of the day, that he was even termed the bishop-maker. The *British Critic* owned him, if not as the active editor, certainly as one of its most unwearied contributors.

Among other distinguished members of the Hackney phalanx or Clapton sect must be reckoned the learned Christopher Wordsworth, brother of the poet, who was subsequently Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; the chaplain, too, and confidential friend of archbishop Manners-Sutton, who was always the steady friend of this celebrated group of High Churchmen. Outside the great metropolis,

among the intimate friends and associates of these good men, were several powerful and widely influential personages. Of these, Charles Daubeny, afterwards archdeacon of Sarum, during a busy career, took nothing from the Church for services so faithful. He was well known for his success in building and restoring churches, and as a writer on Church matters he was in his own time a considerable power.

One really great thinker and theologian must be reckoned in the ranks of this quiet school of High Churchmen of the first thirty or forty years of this century—Hugh James Rose (1795–1838), whose share in the beginning of the famous and far-reaching Oxford movement will be alluded to in detail, when we come to chronicle the work of the great Tractarians. H. J. Rose became prominent as a preacher and a parish priest in 1819, when he was appointed vicar of Horsham. He had a distinguished Cambridge career, and was soon closely associated with Joshua Watson, Christopher Wordsworth, and the other High Church leaders, who early discovered promise of future greatness in the young divine.

As vicar of Horsham, Christian advocate and select preacher in the University of Cambridge, as professor at the new University of Durham, then principal of King's College, London, as the esteemed friend of bishop Van-Mildert, and confidential chaplain of archbishop Howley, Mr. Rose for some seventeen or eighteen years exercised an unparalleled influence in his party as a writer and teacher, struggling all the while with constant weakness and sickness. His brilliant and useful career closed before he had reached his fortieth year.*

The bench of Anglican bishops, during the thirty years of which we are speaking, contained some very able men and several distinguished scholars. No one, however, among them attained conspicuous rank as a writer. Several of them were warmly attached to the High Church party, but, with perhaps one exception, they regarded their episcopal position as precluding them from taking any decided position as conspicuous leaders of any one school of thought in the Church. Of these, Manners-Sutton, bishop of Norwich (1792), archbishop of Canterbury (1805–1828), was ever the kindly sympathiser with and warm supporter of the Clapton sect. He was the intimate friend of Joshua Watson, of whom we have already spoken. William Howley, who followed Dr. Manners-Sutton at Canterbury (1828–1848), and who previously was bishop of London (1813–1828), was also a distinct High Churchman, the intimate friend of H. J. Rose, who was his chaplain, but was less identified than even his predecessor with the party. Herbert Marsh, successively bishop of Llandaff and Peterborough (1816–1839), belonged to the same school of thought. Van Mildert, bishop of Llandaff (1819) and of Durham (1826–1836), a member of the Clapton sect and one of the "Nobody's Club," and for some time before his elevation editor of the *British Critic*, was a more pronounced High Churchman than any of his brethren on the bench above mentioned. Thomas

* In Dean Burgon's "Lives of Twelve Good Men" will be found a very graphic account of H. J. Rose (vol. i., pp. 116–295).

Fanshawe Middleton, bishop of Calcutta (1814-1822) before he left England for his great Indian see, as vicar of the important London parish of St. Pancras was one of the Clapton or Hackney coterie, and was distinguished as a prominent High Churchman, as was also Charles Lloyd, Regius Professor of Divinity, and subsequently Bishop of Oxford (1827–1829). Henry Philpotts, appointed bishop of Exeter, 1831, was perhaps the only exception in the list of High Church bishops who may be said to have taken any very prominent part in the burning theological questions of the day, after his elevation to the bench; and his writings belong to a somewhat later date.

We have enumerated the names of these eminent men as members of the High school and as warm sympathisers with its teaching, rather than as active leaders of the party. But such a list gives additional evidence that witnesses to the old historic High Church school of thought were by no means absent from the Church of England in the period which comprehended the years between 1800 and 1830–3.

Among the more public pieces of work undertaken between the above dates, mainly through the efforts of this school of thought in the church, we must mention the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which steadily advanced in its useful and beneficent work. During these thirty years its revenues, its missionaries, and teachers increased at least tenfold. Under similar influence the "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge" made an almost equal progress during the same period. An even more important work was carried out by the efforts of men like Joshua Watson, Wordsworth, and Mr. H. H. Norris, in the home-life of England. The all-important question of the education of the poor had never received proper consideration at the hands of churchmen. In 1810 the bishop of Norwich, preaching at St. Paul's, made the startling statement that "nearly two-thirds of the children of the labouring poor had little or no education." In the eighteenth century something had certainly been done in the matter by the foundation and support of charity schools. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge had founded and maintained a considerable number of schools in London and in other populous centres.

As early as 1807 some friends of education founded the "British and Foreign School Society" to assist the children of the poor, but this society ignored the claims of the Church of England. It was founded, it is true, on a religious basis, but its fundamental idea was the principle that all forms of Christianity were equally good, the Church Catechism being excluded from the schools which were under the direction of this completely unsectarian association. At this time, in country districts, the training of the young was almost entirely in the hands of dames, who were, for the most part, very illiterate, and unsystematic in their teaching. The British and Foreign Society had a certain measure of success, but was never very popular.

The organised attempt at unsectarian religious education was naturally received with misgivings by earnest churchmen, and, in 1811, the devoted group upon

which we have been dwelling determined to found an education society on Church lines, which should extend its influence over the whole kingdom. At the house of Mr. Joshua Watson, in London, Mr. H. H. Norris, and a third friend, Mr. John Bowles, met to discuss plans, and subsequently, with the co-operation of archbishop Manners-Sutton, founded the "National Society," the aim and object of which was clearly stated in the words which have ever since formed the motto of the famous educational company which has since done such good work for the Church of England. The National Society, publicly declaring its purpose to be "to instruct and educate the poor in suitable learning, works of industry, and the principles of the Christian religion according to the Established Church," met with great and deserved success. Bishop Howley in his charge to the diocese of London, in 1818, writes that at the first meeting of the National Society in 1812 there were then, in the earlier years of its existence, fifty-two schools in union with it, containing 8,000 children. It grew, however, rapidly. In 1813 there were 240 schools with 40,000 children; in 1818, as many as 1,249 schools, with 180,000 children. In six years—that is, in 1824—there were as many as 3,054 schools in connection with the National Society, with the vast number of 400,000 children trained in these schools. Its work, besides establishing schools for the young, was especially devoted to training teachers.

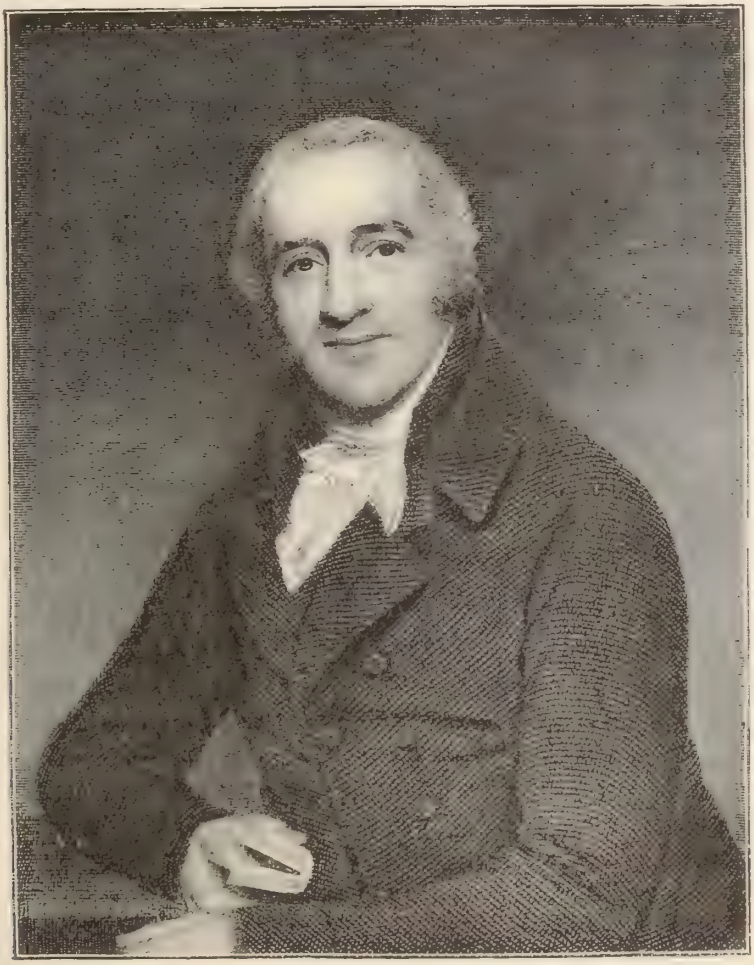
The undoubted popularity of the Church of England teaching of the people, as exemplified in the useful work above summarised, was clearly demonstrated in 1833, when the Government made its first small education grant. It was then found that the National Society had caused 690* schools to be erected, while at the same period the schools of the somewhat older unsectarian competitor, the British and Foreign Society, numbered only 160.†

In this little sketch of the work and life of the High Churchmen, roughly between 1800 and 1828–1832, the date of the first of the "Reform" Acts, the repeal of the Test and Corporation and the Catholic Emancipation Acts, when a period of stress and storm set in, we have shown that the High Church party by no means lacked able and competent witnesses, during that quarter of a century or more, to that historic Christianity, the precious heritage of "a great and far-descended school," the school in which that noble line of divines and theologians from Hooker to Waterland had lived and taught. But during that period of twenty-five to thirty years the party had failed to exercise anything like a far-reaching, powerful influence over the church and people. It had done much, undoubtedly. It had vastly improved the services of the church. Its members in many an instance had set a high and noble example. It had enormously increased the foreign mission work of the church. It had created an ever-broadening network of education, which embraced a large proportion of the poorest of the population. It had

* These numbers, of course, do not include the schools in connection with the National Society.

† Compare, for more details of this early educational work, Canon Perry's "English Church History"—Third Period, chap. ix., and Canon Overton's "English Church in the Nineteenth Century," chap. vii.

somewhat multiplied the number of the churches, and had done much to spread pure and healthy literature. Still, it had not to any great extent found its way into the hearts of the people. No famous preachers had arisen amongst it. No really popular writers had appeared in the ranks of these true-hearted churchmen. Among the "Clapton sect," admirable and devoted though the members were, no leader had appeared who was able, either by his writings or his words, to kindle enthusiasm or to stir the hearts of the great mass of lettered or unlettered persons who lived outside the comparatively narrow limits of their own somewhat limited circle.



CHARLES SIMEON.
(*After the painting by Sir William Beechey.*)

There was, however, a yet stronger

spiritual force at work in the church than that exercised by the party we have been speaking of, all through the earlier years of the nineteenth century. In rural districts, in the neighbouring villages, in cities, in the adjoining parish or even in the next street, would often be found an accredited teacher, an ordained minister of the same church, whose thoughts and views were somewhat different from those entertained by the men whose work and influence have just been described—two parallel lines running side by side in the same direction but never touching each other. There were various causes at work, which between 1800 and 1830–32 contributed to the superiority of the Evangelicals as a spiritual force and power in England.*

When the nineteenth century dawned, this party in the church inherited a great though somewhat modern tradition. To their noble efforts were largely due the awakening which had passed over religious life in England in the eighteenth century. Most earnest thinking men acknowledged the debt, though few among the dispensers of patronage in high places were willing to recognise the claim. Ministers of the crown and the bench of bishops alike viewed the Evangelicals, who had already done so splendid a work in the church, who in the second generation were still with equal diligence carrying it on, with suspicion if not with positive dislike. The Evangelicals were content, however, to live and work on in the cold shade of neglect, without recompense or reward, in what they felt was their Master's service.

As a party, the Evangelicals in the year 1800 were also singularly fortunate in the possession of a leader of rare and exceptional gifts. We use the term "leader" with diffidence, for Charles Simeon of Cambridge would, at any period of his long and seemingly uneventful career, have been surprised at meeting with the appellation in reference to himself. It is no easy matter to discover the secret of the vast power and almost measureless influence which this quiet gentle spirit exercised for long years, far beyond the limits of his loved university, in that great party of the Church of England with which his name will be for ever connected.

There was nothing remarkable about the boyhood or school life of this future leader of men. His father was a Berkshire vicar of good family and position. From Eton he passed to King's College, Cambridge. But although, in accordance with the privileges of the Eton foundation, he became in due course a fellow of his famous college, he won no special academic laurels. His life, up to the year 1782, when he was ordained, was quietly uneventful, save for one strange incident which altered and shaped the whole course of his future life. Very shortly after his coming to Cambridge, the provost of King's told him that, according to the rules of the college, "he must attend the Lord's Supper." We quote now Simeon's own words: "Conscience told me that if I *must* go, I *must* repent and turn to God, unless I chose to eat and drink my own

* We shall use here this well-known term as we write of their work and influence. No other word would satisfy the reader. Custom has legalised it; it is commonly used by those who love their especial doctrines, though with some little reluctance; it even forms part of the every-day vocabulary of those who perhaps look on its tenets and usages somewhat coldly, when they speak of the so-called low churchmen

damnation. From that day I never ceased to mourn and pray till I obtained progressive manifestation of God's mercy in Christ, and subsequently perfect peace. Thus you see that under God I owe all to Dr. Cooke (the provost of King's)."

From that memorable date Simeon's life was consecrated to God. Almost directly after his ordination, as curate of one of the Cambridge churches (St. Edward's) he obtained considerable celebrity as a preacher; and within a few months bishop Yorke of Ely, who was an old friend of Simeon's father, appointed him incumbent of Trinity church, in the centre of the university town. It was a strange nomination for so young a man, though the preferment was valueless in a pecuniary sense; but Simeon was already highly spoken of, and as a fellow of King's possessed a modest independency, which enabled him to undertake the incumbency of Trinity without stipend. The appointment was, however, extremely distasteful to the majority of the parishioners, and for a lengthened period the young incumbent was subjected to every kind of hindrance and even to persecution.

At this critical period of his career he became intimately acquainted with Henry Venn, the once famous vicar of Huddersfield, and author of the principal devotional work of the Evangelical revival, "The Complete Duty of Man." Henry Venn, prematurely worn out with his pastoral work and preaching, had retired to the little secluded parish of Yelling, about twelve miles west of Cambridge. There the great teacher, for more than a quarter of a century, lived in retirement, ministering to his few humble parishioners, but corresponding with and otherwise assisting a large circle of friends in his party. Simeon for some fourteen years had the rare advantage of the intimate friendship and direction of this great and good man, to whom, we read, his attachment grew till it was "a sacred passion." At Yelling he made the acquaintance of other prominent Evangelicals, and laid the foundation of a life-long intimacy with men like John Venn the younger, John Thornton, Newton (once of Olney), John Berridge of Everton, and others whose names were household words in that party of fervid and religious men. Henry Venn from the first seems to have discerned what a power Simeon was destined to become. We meet with such passages as this in his letters: "Our dear friend Simeon came over to see me, . . . his very presence a blessing. . . . It does me good to be with him; none can bear and receive profit from reproof, like him." This was as early as 1785. In 1790 Venn writes of his affectionate friend Simeon coming over from Cambridge to Yelling and preaching there. "We were all revived," he says; "he left a blessing behind him."

During the earlier years of his life in the university city, Simeon's career was a most hard and painful one. To many it was a new, strange doctrine that he preached with so much fervour Sunday after Sunday, and not a few mocked and derided; but his followers year by year increased in number, till virtually the whole university was leavened by his teaching and example. They were indeed no mere moral essays which the young preacher delivered. To Simeon, as to Venn and Berridge and the older Evangelicals, "all his hearers

were sinful men, for whom the Gospel was the one remedy; and Christ was the Gospel; and personal faith in Him, a living Person, was the Gospel secret. *To humble the sinner, to exalt the Saviour*, was the heart and soul of his message." *

It has been often a subject of dispute whether or not Simeon was a great preacher. In many respects doubtless the answer would be in the negative. His address was undignified; his features unbeautiful; his voice, men said, was weak and unmusical; the characteristics of an orator were certainly not his. Still, he possessed some really great gifts both of utterance and of action. But the secret of Simeon's power in the pulpit was the *moral force* of his preaching. It often sent a thrill through the soul. This electric power which he possessed is well instanced in a sermon he once preached at Edinburgh on ministerial duty and faithfulness. As his illustration he took the keeper of a lighthouse, who had let the light die out so that a terrible and fatal wreck was the consequence. He pictured the delinquent brought out for examination before a full court, and when the plea was urged in his behalf that he fell asleep, "*Asleep!*" said the preacher; and the way in which he made this word burst on the ears of his audience, who were hanging in solemn stillness on his lips, contrasting the cause with the effect, was never forgotten.

Photo: E. Clennett, Cambridge.

CLARE COLLEGE AND KING'S CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE

Far on in life Simeon preserved this soul-moving power. Dean Howson related to his biographer the following experience:—Simeon was preaching in his church (Trinity, Cambridge) on the text (Col. i. 18)—"That in all things He might have the pre-eminence." There was, as usual, assembled a vast congregation. One passage was written for ever on their hearts by the prophetic fire of the utterance, as the old man seemed to rise under the impression of his Master's glory. "That He might

* Moule: "Life of Simeon," chap. v.

have the pre-eminence!" repeated the preacher. "And He *will* have it! And He *must* have it! And He *shall* have it!" It is not surprising that his own church as well as great St. Mary's, the university church, were always thronged to hear him as the years went on. In November, 1811, we read how the sight of the overflowing church was almost "electric"; in 1814 there was scarcely room to move above or below; in 1815 the audiences were immense; in 1823 many were unable to get inside the doors. And this in Cambridge, where once he was scorned and mocked at.*

For Cambridge, when Simeon began his ministry, was sorely in need of an awakening voice. The discipline of the university had sunk to the lowest point. The clerical society of many of the colleges were in not a few cases actually disreputable. A shameless intemperance was among the curses of the habits of the university.†

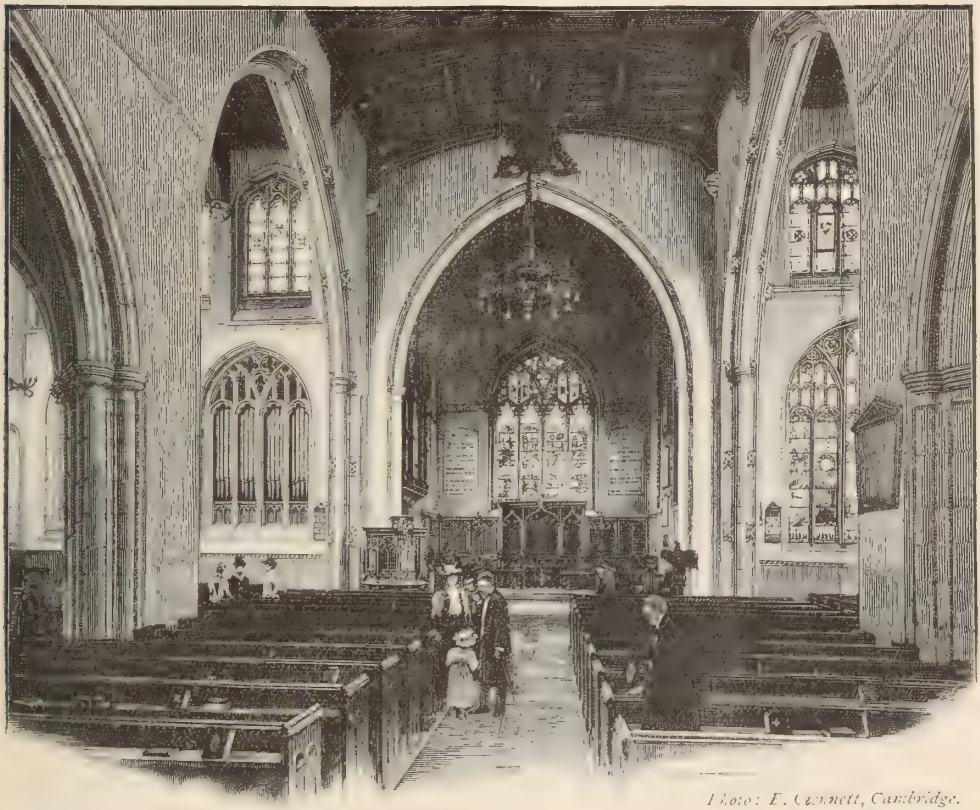


Photo: F. Cornett, Cambridge.

INTERIOR OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE.

* *Cf.* Moule's "Reminiscences," in the "Life of Simeon," chap. vii.

† *Ibid.*, chap. i.

The services in the college chapels were too often irreverent; in the churches, even in the most solemn rites, confusion and disorder reigned. Confirmation especially, as has been already remarked, was not unfrequently merely looked on as a noisy holiday. The celebrations of the holy communion in the churches were miserably attended. Church life indeed seemed dead in that powerful university centre. And never was any religious reformer more bitterly opposed from the first days of his ministry. Through the long period of his working under the direct influence of Henry Venn and the Evangelical leaders, a time lasting many years, was Simeon the object of bitter persecution. He was even personally slandered as a bad man, who made a high profession of godliness; but more difficult to bear was the long-continued coldness and contempt which he met with from men of his own standing and from his seniors in the university. In his own pathetic words we read the following: "I remember the time that I was quite surprised that a fellow of my own college (King's) ventured to walk with me for a quarter of an hour on the grass-plot before Clare Hall; and for many years after I began my ministry I was 'as a man wondered at.'" A "Simeonite" was for many Cambridge generations a contemptuous term which "satirised while it denoted" a man's religious views. Emboldened by this public disapproval in high quarters, the more thoughtless and noisy of the undergraduates again and again made Trinity church the scene of a disgraceful tumult; and later, when within the sacred walls comparative quiet had been at length attained, the saintly subject of this little sketch was exposed outside to open insult and reviling. We come upon such a "memory" as this from the pen of one who was an eye-witness: "He [Professor Scholefield] used to take us with him to dear old Simeon's church, and often as we walked with him thither, we heard the coarse abuse he met with from the idle undergraduates, who rejoiced in nothing more than hooting at Simeon and his curate." *

But the time came, though it was after long years, when all this was changed, and Cambridge men came to see that a man of God, in the truest sense, had been passing by them continually. All through the long period of trial Simeon never flinched. Unwearied in his work, boldly giving out Sunday after Sunday his saving message, ever with increasing power and fervour, he disregarded opposition and persecution; for his eyes were opened to see what was veiled from others, how the mountain on which he stood was full of horses and chariots of fire round about him. Very grandly wrote one whose warm, bright eloquence has been not once or twice used to picture the splendid efforts of great and successful reformers, of many churches and varied schools of thought in different ages: "In the church of the Holy Trinity at Cambridge, every Sunday during more than half a century witnessed the gathering of a crowd which hung on the lips of the preacher as men hearken to some unexpected intelligence of a deep but ever varying interest. Faces pale with study or furrowed by bodily labour, eyes failing with age or yet undimmed by sorrow, were

* "Memoirs of Professor Scholefield," quoted by Moule in the "Life."

bent towards him with a gaze of which (with whatever other meaning it might be combined) fixed attention was the predominant character. Towards the close of that long period the pulpit of St. Mary's (the university church) was the centre of the same attraction, and with a still more impressive result. . . . As was his wont, he insisted on fundamental truths, or enforced the great duties of life, or detected the treacheries of the heart, or traced the march of retributive justice, or caught and espied the compassionate accents in which the Father of mercies addresses His erring children. It was a voice which penetrated and subdued the very soul. It was an eloquence which silenced criticism. It was instinct with a contagious intensity of belief. It sounded as the language of one to whom the mysteries and the futurities of which he spoke had been disclosed in actual vision." *

Gradually round Simeon gathered a group of young undergraduates, won by his intensely earnest preaching and by his growing reputation for saintliness. These, as they finished their university career and went down, handed on the torch of their love and friendship for the strange and often calumniated teacher, to freshmen who filled their places, as his loving, faithful disciples. Powerful as was his influence as a preacher, it is doubtful if his "conversation parties," ever and again recruited with the fresh young Cambridge life, had not a wider and more enduring sway over the Evangelical section of the Church of England. In its way it was unique. It went on for more than half a century. Such a strange power had never been witnessed before: will it ever be again? These homely meetings, which had so broad and far-reaching an effect, are thus described by an eye-witness, his dear friend and sometime curate, Thomas Thomason, of Magdalen, who subsequently became one of the Indian band of Christian workers. Thomason writes thus in 1792:

"Mr. Simeon watches over us as a shepherd over his sheep. He takes delight in instructing us, and has us continually at his rooms. He has invited me to his Friday evening lectures. This I consider one of the greatest advantages I ever received. The subject of his lectures is natural and revealed religion. These subjects he studies with much pains, reads the fruit of his labours and explains it; we write after him."

Another of his chamber-labours was his sermon class, where he taught his young hearers how to preach, not brilliantly, but usefully. Thomason touchingly relates an experience of Marsden, afterwards a missionary pioneer in New Zealand, who in 1794, one day entering Simeon's rooms, found him "so absorbed in the contemplation of the Son of God, and so overpowered with a display of His mercy to his soul, that he was incapable of pronouncing a single word." All this work went on, we must not forget, for some fifty years.

Far on in that beautiful and useful life, Canon Carus gives us the following little picture of one of these undergraduate gatherings in Simeon's rooms at King's. It was in 1833, when the loved teacher was seventy-three years old. "I see him even now, with his hands folded upon his

* Sir James Stephen's Essays: "The Clapham Sect."

knees, his head turned a little to one side, his visage solemn and composed, and his whole deportment such as to command attention and respect. After a pause he would encourage us to propose our doubts, addressing us in slow, soft, measured accents: 'Now if you have any question to ask, I shall be happy to hear it, and to give what assistance I can.'" This same eye-witness thus goes on, describing another meeting in Simeon's rooms on May 3rd, 1833: "This was the most solemn and interesting Friday evening meeting that I ever attended. I never saw the holy man of God more full of the spirit of the Master. His words were distilled as honey from his lips; at least, they were very sweet to my taste, and their savour, I trust, I have still retained. On that memorable evening such a deep sense of his own unworthiness rested upon his soul, that he was low in self-abasement before God. All his language seemed to be—'Lord, I am vile,' and his very looks spake the same." Later on in the evening he said to his young hearers, "You often feel that your prayers scarcely reach the ceiling; but, oh! get into this humble spirit by considering how good the Lord is, and how evil you are, and then prayer will mount on wings of faith to heaven. The sigh, the groan of a broken heart will soon go through the ceiling up to heaven, aye, into the very bosom of God."

All these successive generations of undergraduates, who in turn sat at the feet of the great Evangelical master in the crowded aisles of Trinity church, and in the quiet college rooms overlooking the broad lawn of King's and the gently flowing river, went out every three years into the arena of the busy world, some as laymen, more perhaps as clergymen, bearing the impress, more or less deeply marked, of the teaching of the holy man of God who, without recompense or reward, had shown them how to find the narrow way leading to life themselves, and how to indicate the same "way" to others. With very many he kept up a correspondence to the end, kindling anew the torch of faith when the light flickered or burned but dimly. Long years before the end came in 1836, when the good old man went home to his well-won rest, all opposition to his work had died away. No voice of calumny or of sarcasm was heard. Cambridge had come to learn that a great spirit was dwelling among them, and no word was ever spoken of Simeon but was coloured with the deepest veneration and with reverent awe.

The death of Simeon was a fitting close to his calm, beautiful life. In the autumn of 1836, making ready for a course of sermons he had undertaken to preach before the university in the November following, and apparently in good health and strength, although fully conscious of his seventy-seven years, he told a friend that he rejoiced in the thought his coffin was already cut down, and in Cambridge at that very time; that his shroud was also ready, and in a few days, he added, he would join the company of the redeemed above. His strange prophetic words were verified. In the last days of September he caught a chill in Ely cathedral on the occasion of a brief visit to the newly-appointed bishop; the worn-out frame had no strength of resistance, and before the middle of the November in which he was to preach his course of sermons before the

Photo: E. Clennett, Cambridge.

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

university, he had departed. He faded gradually away, but not without some pain and suffering, ever serene and calm to the end. Many of his last utterances were treasured up by his devoted friends who were watching him. One friend sitting by him, knowing that he was dying and noticing his happy look, asked him what he was just then thinking of. He answered: "I don't *think* now; I am *enjoying*." Men who loved him well tell us how rarely bright were the smiles which ever and anon lit up the old worn face. "Infinite wisdom," he whispered slowly, for the voice was gone, "has arranged the whole with infinite love, and infinite power enables me to rest upon that love. I am in a dear Father's hands. All is secure. I have the sweetest peace. I cannot have more peace." When the bystanders thought all consciousness was gone, he suddenly spoke again: "Do you want to know what I am doing? Go and look in the first chapter to the Ephesians, from the third to the fourteenth verse. There you will see what I am enjoying now." One of his last utterances was very remarkable: "My principles were not founded on fancies or enthusiasm; there is a reality in them, and I find them sufficient to support me in death."

They buried him in the stately prayer-home of his college—in that chapel of King's which every Cambridge man knows so well; and there, near the west door of almost the last built, at the same time one of the grandest churches of the mighty architects of the Middle Ages, the remains of Simeon sleep. It was a fitting resting-place for one of the noblest and truest of the long line of Cambridge men. His friend Francis Close, dean of Carlisle, thus writes of his funeral, of which he tells us he was an astonished spectator: "The like of it was never seen, nor ever will be seen again. More than 1,500 gownsmen attended to honour a man who had been greatly despised." The vast building was filled with mourners, with men, women, children who had been his Trinity parishioners. It was indeed a sorrowing crowd. More remarkable, however, when the story of the past was recalled, was another vast group made up of heads of houses, doctors, professors, men of all ages, stations, opinions, and of every college of the university. All these stood by the grave of Simeon on that sad November morning. In the busy town the shops were closed. In the university and colleges well-nigh every lecture was suspended.*

Great and important, however, as was the powerful influence exercised by Simeon for some forty years or more upon the work of the church in England, through the medium of those many young souls who in their university career, when enduring impressions are so often made, had passed through his church of Trinity and his rooms at King's, there was another field beyond the limits of the great home kingdom, which in a very marked degree felt during the period of which we are speaking, and is feeling still, the influence

* There are several important monographs of Simeon's career. The most considerable of these are the "Memoirs of the Life of Simeon," by Canon Carus, Simeon's curate and successor in Trinity church; Canon Brown's "Recollections of the Conversation Parties"; and, last, "Charles Simeon," by Dr. Moule, the principal of Ridley Hall, in the series of "English Leaders of Religion," 1892.

of his devoted work and teaching. The nineteenth century will ever be memorable in religious history as the age when men once more awakened to the sense of their responsibility in the matter of missions to the heathen world. And in the roll of those men who will be for ever honourable for the share they have taken in the work of arousing this sense of responsibility, and in the further work of directing energies thus evoked, the name of Simeon must ever stand in the front rank.

In the foundation of the great Church Missionary Society his part was important. As early as 1795 Simeon, then comparatively speaking a young and unknown man, was present at the meeting at Ranceby in Lincolnshire when the questions of missions to heathens was first discussed, as he was also in the subsequent gatherings of the "Eclectic" Club in London, when the great subject was further inquired into and the famous Church Missionary Society first definitely formed. In 1802 we find him preaching the second annual sermon of the Church Missionary Society at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, and in the years that followed he was ever one of the trusted missionary leaders, along with the first Wilberforce and the other well-known chiefs of the "Clapham Sect." But it was his inspiring personality, and his power in educating men for the difficult task of missions—very difficult indeed in those days of hesitation and doubt and dread of consequences—that Simeon's great work was so conspicuous. In his Cambridge church and college rooms he trained those famous "living agents" for the mission field, who showed to coming generations the splendid possibilities of mission work, in spite of the timid counsels of some and the scarcely veiled opposition of others in power and authority. It was India especially, with its teeming population, its magnificent cities, its barbaric civilisation, which especially though not exclusively interested Simeon ; and to work for the Master's cause, and, if needs be, to die in those great and populous Indian centres, over which for weal or woe the shadow of the English power brooded, Simeon trained those true missionary pioneers, among whom Henry Martyn, Thomas Thomason, Daniel Corrie, James Hough, Claudius Buchanan are conspicuous and well-known and honoured examples. A very large proportion of the Indian chaplains for forty years were men trained and directly influenced by Simeon.

Space would fail us, if any attempt were made, to detail the great Evangelical leader's work in other directions, such as in popularising the Bible Society, and in organising the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. He was the chief originator of the powerful "Trust" societies, which have supplied so many able and devoted Evangelical ministers to populous English centres. In all these works, and in numberless other efforts in philanthropy and religion, undertaken by the ever active and zealous members of the Clapham sect and their followers, Simeon was ever a prominent and a leading figure.

The bitter opposition and open contempt which Simeon met with during the earlier period of his residence at the university, did not begin to die down until he had preached and taught for some ten years. From that time onward Cambridge was

justly regarded as a great centre of Evangelicalism, and its influence over the church for many years kept increasing. Few, however, among the leading men of the university between 1800 and 1833–36 can be named as standing on the same platform as Simeon. Among these few may be mentioned Isaac Milner, dean of Carlisle and president of Queen's College, who died in 1820; but nervousness of temperament, and perhaps still more indolence, prevented this really eminent man from taking the high and influential place in the party, to which his great abilities and position would seem to have designated him. William Farish, who died the year after Simeon (1837), tutor of Magdalen and Jacksonian Professor of Chemistry, perhaps next to Simeon exercised for a long period the largest influence as an Evangelical in the university. He, too, like Simeon, was a real power among the youth of Cambridge for many years, and was a trusted friend of the great leader. Several of the curates of Trinity church, generally men of high university distinction, acted as efficient lieutenants to the revered chief. Of these we would instance Thomas Thomason, his dearest friend, who was in his day fifth wrangler, and who later was distinguished in the field of foreign missions, and the yet more celebrated James Scholefield, who survived until 1853. In 1825 Scholefield became Regius Professor of Greek. The two Jowetts, one of whom was subsequently Regius Professor of Civil Law, and William Dealtry, afterwards vicar of Clapham in succession to John Venn, were also notable Cambridge Evangelicals.

But during that long period of forty years the men of power and position who stood by Simeon were comparatively few, and the names of those few are, after all, but little known and scarcely remembered. The great work was really done by that strange quiet man, who, unrewarded and unrecognised by earth's great ones, went to his rest in 1836; by whose grave, which no monument has yet marked, stood that enormous crowd of mourners we have just described, made up of all sorts and conditions of men in the university, from the vice-chancellor and the heads of houses down to the youngest undergraduate. Different, doubtless, were the estimates formed by this vast mixed company of mourners of the life-work of the man whose memory they wished to honour. One thought was common to all, though perhaps some silently confessed it with reluctance: that the mightiest influence which had inspired Cambridge life for nearly half a century had passed out of their midst.*

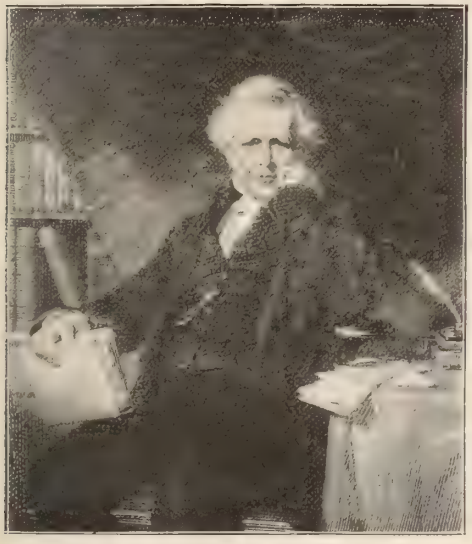
In those first six-and-thirty years of the nineteenth century Cambridge was not the only great centre of Evangelicalism. We have already with some detail told the story of the rise and widely-extended work of the powerful "Clapham Sect." It must be borne in mind that all through this

* "He (Simeon) descended to the grave amidst the tears and benedictions of the poor, and with such testimonies of esteem and attachment from the learned, as Cambridge had never before rendered to the most illustrious of her sons; and there he was laid, in that sure and certain hope on which he enabled an almost countless multitude to repose, amidst the wreck of this world's promises, and in the grasp of this last and most dreaded enemy."—*Sir James Stephen: "Essay on the 'Clapham Sect.'"*

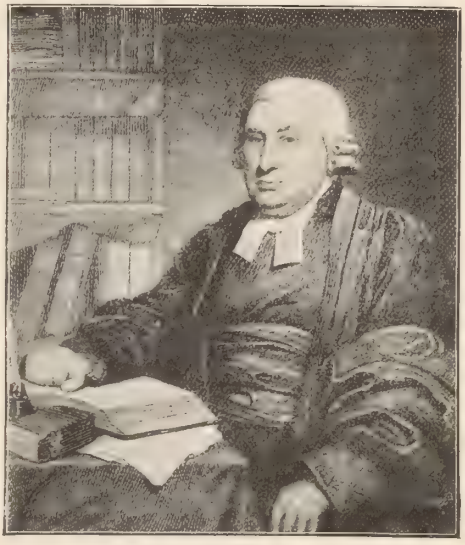
time, when Simeon lived and laboured with such conspicuous success at Cambridge, the Clapham band of toilers for God with Wilberforce at their head, were at work in London. "Factories," it has been epigrammatically said, "did not spring up more rapidly in Leeds and Manchester, than

REV. JOSIAH PRATT, B.D.
(From the painting by H. Wyatt.)

dent of the Bible Society, Zachary Macaulay and Thomas Gisborne — to quote well-remembered names—were built up in these six-and-thirty years the noble fabrics of the Church Missionary and Bible Societies; there, too, the many schemes to help the outcast, the prisoner, and the helpless poor,

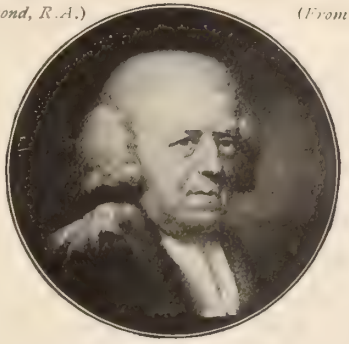


REV. HENRY VENN, B.D.
(From the portrait by G. Richmond, R.A.)



REV. THOS. SCOTT.
(From the portrait by L. Cossé.)

schemes of benevolence beneath the roof of Wilberforce." There, under the restless energy of the great Evangelical layman and his true band of fellow-workers, the Thorntons and the Venns, Richard Cecil and Daniel Wilson, John Shore, lord Teignmouth, first presi-



REV. JOHN NEWTON.
SOME FOUNDERS OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

which so plentifully illustrate and adorn so richly that time, were thought out and matured. There the greatest design of all, the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves, was hammered out and at last carried to a triumphant issue. All through these

years the great metropolis with its growing suburbs was an ever-increasing and powerful centre of Evangelicalism, and from many important pulpits were its especial tenets pressed home to large and devout congregations.* In the great industrial centres, such as Liverpool and Manchester, Halifax and Hull, Leeds and Leicester, the party were by no means without powerful witnesses and able and devoted standard-bearers. In country places it was perhaps somewhat more sparingly represented. Yet not a few country clergymen were famous in this period for their uncompromising support of the views of Simeon and Venn and of the yet earlier Romaine and Scott. Curiously enough, in the popular health and pleasure resorts, such as Cheltenham and Tunbridge Wells, Brighton and Bath, Evangelicalism was especially strong. In these bright and sunny centres, homes of wealth and fashion, culture and comparative leisure, the doctrines and teaching of the party we are describing were emphatically in the ascendant, and exercised a widespread and enduring influence.

We must conclude our little picture of this great school of English religious thought, which, on the whole, has done such noble work in the cause of philanthropy, for the spread of the Master's Gospel, for the inculcation of a true and pure conception of Christianity, by sketching in its more prominent and regrettable faults, easily detected by the fair though sympathetic critic of the school, and which have seriously weakened their power and influence in the church.

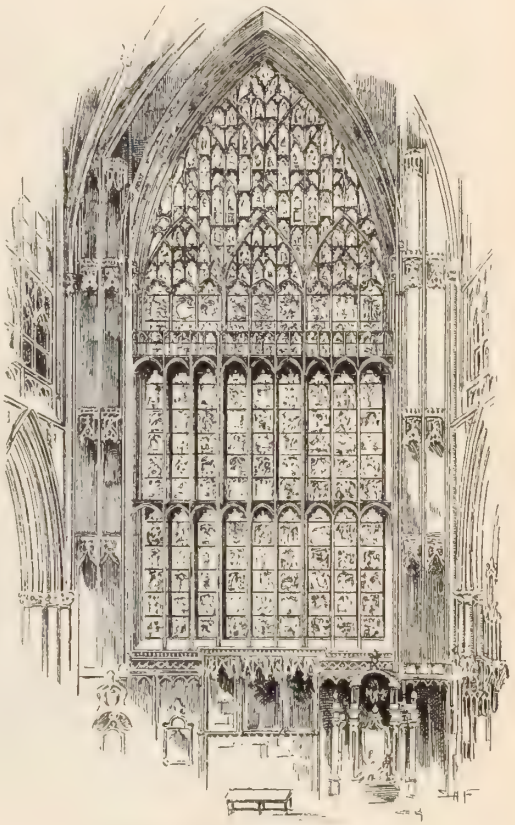
And first, in the Evangelical system the true conception of the church as a living, visible society, was obscured if not lost sight of. The "corporate" aspect of Christian life was scarcely ever pressed home by these teachers; too justly were the Evangelicals accused of promoting individualism. Religious isolation was ever a characteristic feature among the results of their teaching. A yet graver and more obvious weakness in the party was their indifference to all secular learning, and their neglect of literature and art, even when art was used as the handmaid of religion. "A church which cannot speak to the intellect of every age and of every country in its own tongue, according to its own intellectual methods, has lost that noble gift of which the marvel of Pentecost was a transient symbol."* The same eminent writer, who wrote these words, wistfully asks whether this gift is likely to appear among the heirs of the Evangelical revival; whether these have had any earnest desire for the gift; "for as yet the Evangelical movement has produced no original theologian of the first or even of the second rank. It has been more eager to seek and to save the lost, than to investigate the foundations of Christian doctrines; it has displayed heroic vigour and zeal in evangelising the world, but it has shown less courage in confronting those great questions of Christian philosophy, which in all the most energetic ages of Christendom have tasked the noblest intellectual power of the

* The principal of these are enumerated with considerable detail by Canon Overton in his "English Church in the Nineteenth Century," chap. iii. ("The Evangelicals").

* R. W. Dale: "The Evangelical Revival."

church."* That the Evangelicals as a party have too often regarded literature with some distrust is undisputed.

And as in literature, so too in art. They cared, comparatively speaking, but little for architecture, painting, and sculpture. To these earnest but in certain respects one-sided men, the church's soaring choir, with its exquisite tracery, its graceful pillars, with its voiceless though powerful symbolism, with its witching confusion of beauty and of grace, had no message. The translucent window, with its glorious mass of tender and beautiful colouring, to them was no joy. They failed to see that in the fair house of prayer, anxiously cared for, tenderly and skilfully adorned, the great and loving Master of the house was honoured. They studiedly ignored, perhaps they forgot, to how many souls these things speak, with a mute though mighty eloquence. The pages of the Old Testament, eloquent with pictures of that glorious temple of Jerusalem, whose architects and sculptors had learned the secrets of their craft in no earthly school, were passed over or at least misunderstood. "The Evangelical clergy thought nothing about restoring or decorating churches. It was their business to restore men to God. . . . To spend money in scraping columns of Purbeck marble, which had been covered with whitewash, or in filling windows with painted glass, would have seemed to many of them an odd way of glorifying God, and work of this kind would have contributed nothing to the depth of their devotion . . . indeed, the genius of the Evangelical movement fears rather than welcomes the awe and solemnity which are produced by the wonderful work of the architects of the Middle Ages."* Edward Bickersteth's



EAST WINDOW, YORK MINSTER.

remark, after he had seen Lincoln cathedral and calculated that it would cost £500,000 to build, was typical of his school of thought: "Well, the religious societies of England are doing far better than if they built such a cathedral every year, in raising that sum to scatter in every direction the light of divine truth. This will do far

* Mr. Dale, from whom the above passage is quoted, it must be remembered, for many years ranked as perhaps the ablest of the Congregationalist ministers and teachers. This testimony from such a pen is indeed striking and remarkable.

* R. W. Dale: "The Evangelical Revival."

more for the honour of God, our Saviour, and the salvation of our fellow creatures." *

These were among their faults, and the fair chronicler must sketch in the side where shadows fall, as well as that which is bathed in light and brightness. In the days he has been describing, these men were in truth, in spite of grievous shortcomings, the salt of the earth. Is it not owing to their restless labours and ceaseless prayers that the curse of slavery was wiped out for ever among us, that great and enduring missionary enterprise once more took its place among the duties of Christian men, that the mighty network of the Sunday schools was spread over Christian England? Those days lie far behind us, and much has happened since. The great Evangelical party of the Church of England, with its weakness and with its strength, is with us still. "No dying cause," writes one well competent in all respects to gauge its powers and its prospects, "certainly not in the young [Cambridge] life with which I am most conversant." *

Photo: Poulton & Son, London.

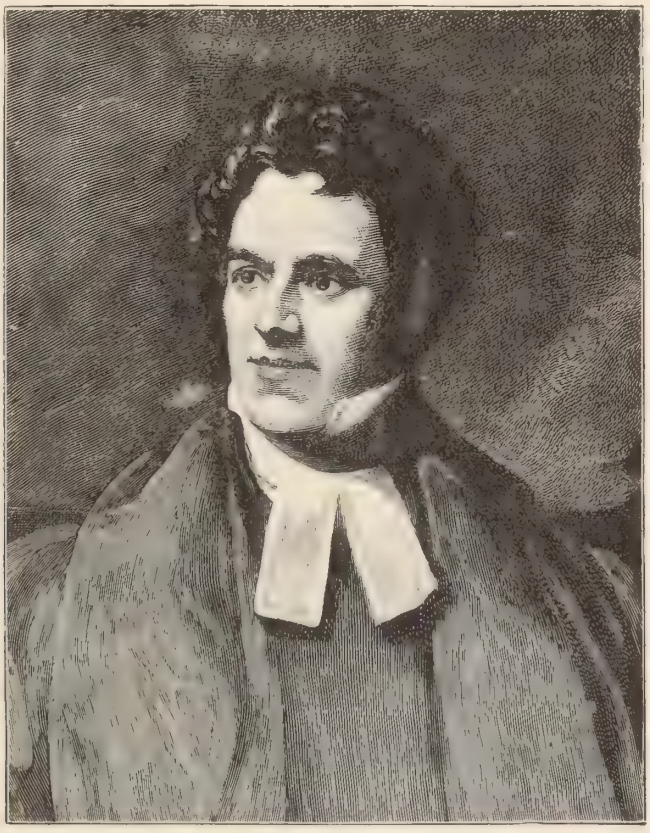
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

Between 1815, the date of the close of the great continental war, and 1828–31, a

* Quoted by Canon Overton: "English Church in the Nineteenth Century," chap. iii. ("The Evangelicals").

* Dr. Moule, principal of Ridley Hall in the university of Cambridge: Address before the Nottingham Church Congress, 1897. The influence of the work of the Evangelical party during the second half of the nineteenth century is discussed at some length in a subsequent chapter.

change had been gradually passing over England, which in the later years of this period led to the growth of democracy.* With this change in popular feeling our present history is not concerned, save as the movement in feeling affected the church. During this period, in spite of the quiet, efficient work done by both the two great parties, upon which we have been lately dwelling, the Church of England had been to a considerable extent losing its hold upon the affections of the people. The enormous and rapid growth in the population of the country,* no doubt, was a great reason of this decline, the old machinery of the church being



DR. ARNOLD.
(From the painting by J. Phillip, R.A.)

* The passing of the famous Acts, popularly known as the Repeal of the Test Act, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, and, last and most important, the "Reform Bill," has been already alluded to.

* This enormous and rapid growth in the population of England will be best understood by a glance at the following figures:—In the days of queen Elizabeth about 4,000,000 would be the total; in 1700 it had grown to 5,000,000, in 1750 to 6,000,000, in 1801 to about 9,000,000. 30,000,000 would scarcely represent the numbers at the end of the nineteenth century.

totally inadequate to cope with the vast increase in the numbers of the people. Neither Evangelicals nor High Churchmen were able effectively to reach the rapidly growing numbers of the masses, especially in the great centres of industry.

Another reason for this decline in popular estimation was no doubt the fact, that few if any prominent churchmen of either party were of sufficient mental calibre to attract and to influence outside the comparatively little circle where they were working and teaching. No great preacher or writer or thinker, no statesman-ecclesiastic, no profound theologian, is found in the roll of English churchmen all through those years we have been speaking of. In both parties there were many good, earnest, devout, hard-working men, but no one whose personality enthralled and charmed the rank and file of Englishmen, or who attracted the enthusiastic devotion even of his own party. With the solitary exception of Simeon of Cambridge, no really eminent ecclesiastic had arisen in the period in question. And Simeon, as we have shown, laboured to the end of his long life in the comparatively undistinguished sphere of a minister of a town church; his influence, though very great, was confined to a comparatively speaking inner circle of the church; to the rapidly increasing masses he was little more than the "shadow of a name." He never can be said in his lifetime to have obtained a hold upon the popular imagination.

Other causes, too, were at work which contributed to endanger the church. A powerful school of thought had grown up in England, known generally as the school of the "Utilitarian" philosophy, on the whole indifferent to, even if not positively hostile to religion, under the leadership of men like Bentham, James Mill, and lord Brougham. This school began to exercise a powerful and in many ways a healthy influence over literature, and in the House of Commons its effect on legislation was clearly perceptible. An important society, the direct outcome of its teaching, once famous under the name of the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," may be quoted. Under its auspices a large and cheap literature was published, notably the "Libraries of Useful Knowledge" and of "Entertaining Knowledge," the "Penny Magazine," the "Penny Cyclopædia," Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia," and other works and magazines. But the church stood outside all this movement. It possessed over this school little or no influence. It was losing gradually its position as the chief educator of the people. Its place in the hearts of Englishmen was being filled up by other influences; some of them, it is true, unmistakably lofty and ennobling as far as they went, but the highest motive for unselfish work and saintly striving was, alas! absent. Religion seemed indeed in danger of being largely forgotten among our people.

The attitude of the leaders of this "Utilitarian" movement towards the Church of England is well shown in a short pithy summary of James Mill's opinion here, written by his famous son, John Stuart Mill: "Next to an aristocracy, an established church or corporation of priests, as being by position the great depravers of religion, and interested in

opposing the progress of the human mind, was the object of my father's greatest detestation."

Three great and burning questions connected with religious and political freedom were in the air. The first of these was embodied in the Act of 1828, which repealed the Test and Corporation Acts of 1673, compelling Nonconformist candidates for all state and municipal offices and for seats in Parliament to receive communion in the Church of England. The second was the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, passed in 1829, which restored Roman Catholics to the full rights and privileges of citizens. The idea which lay at the base of these famous pieces of legislation was that religious opinions ought not to be a bar to the exercise of civil and religious rights. The third, the Reform Bill, diminished the power of landowners over elections to the House of Commons, and transferred much of their power to enlarged constituencies.

Opinion in the church was much divided; but, on the whole, was opposed to these measures; and the opposition which it showed increased the growing unpopularity of the Establishment, which on the surface appeared to be opposed to the will and wishes of the majority of the people. The feeling of the Government was clearly out of sympathy with the church; and the animus shown in the debates which took place in Parliament consequent upon the bringing in and passing of the measures in question, manifested but a lukewarm attachment on the part of some, and open hostility on the part of others, to the immemorial connection between church and state. The danger to which the Church of England as an Establishment was exposed, was greatly increased by the passing of the Reform Bill, which threw a vast accession of power into the hands of those classes who at that juncture were ill-disposed to its claims and ancient privileges. How grave was the peril which in 1830–32 seemed to menace the existence of the Church of England as an Establishment, is clear from the opinions of such liberally-minded and far-seeing men as Thirlwall and Arnold. Thirlwall, one of the most eminent of the scholar-churchmen, in a letter to Bunsen in 1832, writes: "The Church of England contains many disinterested and devoted friends, who perceive its defects and would wish to remedy them. But the present animosity about its temporal relations to the state so completely engrosses all other subjects connected with it, that it would be absurd in anyone to propose any scheme of internal reformation. The church remains powerless for any new good, *and at the utmost only able to preserve itself from ruin.*" Dr. Arnold, in a letter written the same year, says: "The church, as it now stands, *no human power can save*," and again, writing to Whately, repeats: "Nothing, as it seems to me, can save the church but an union with Dissenters."*

* *Thirlwall* was subsequently the bishop of St. David's (1840). *Bunsen* was the famous Prussian minister at the Court of St. James for fourteen years. *Whately* became archbishop of Dublin. *Dr. Arnold* was the well-known and revered headmaster of Rugby School.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND ITS AUTHORS.

Ecclesiastical Crisis in 1833—Keble's Memorable Sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford—John Keble—"The Christian Year"—Richard Hurrell Froude—His Extreme Views—Isaac Williams and his Literary Work—Charles Marriott—John Henry Newman—His Power as a Preacher—The Meeting with Mr. Rose at Hadleigh—Sir William Palmer—Their Plan of Campaign—Addresses to the Primate—Results of this Action—The "Tracts for the Times"—Accession to the Party of Edward Bouverie Pusey—His Powers and Influence—Character of the Tracts—Opposition Excited by the Later Tracts—Criticism by Sir William Palmer—The Library of the Fathers—Other Labours of Pusey and his Associates—Special Literary Work of Charles Marriott.

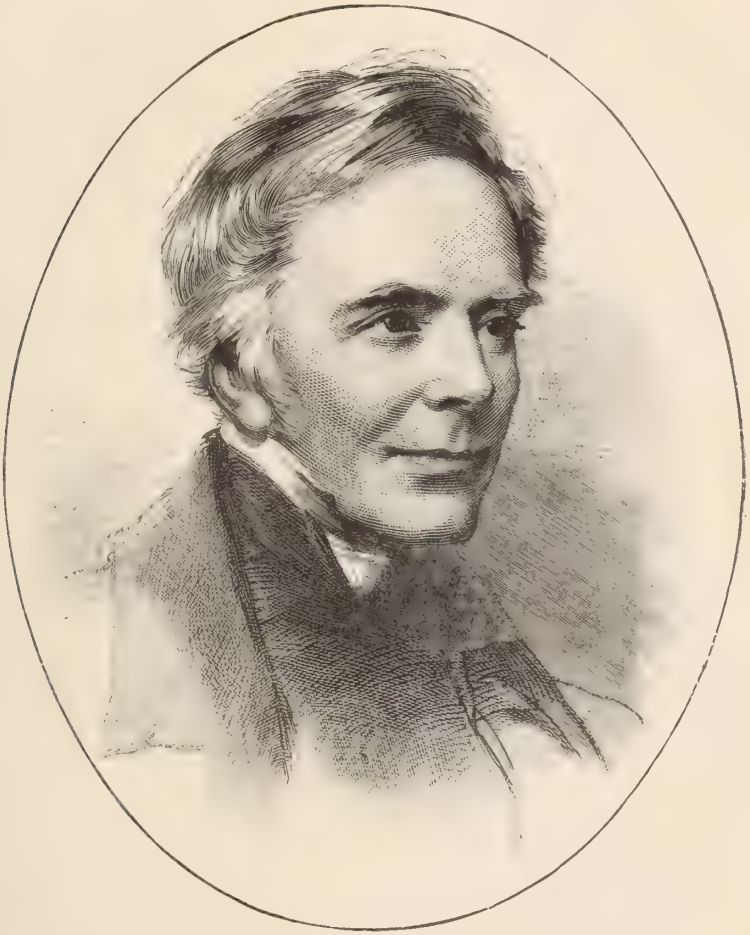
ON the 14th of July, 1833, the world of Oxford was startled from its customary grave serenity by an assize sermon preached before the university. The words and spirit of that discourse were very different from anything which the learned audience had ever listened to before from an official preacher at St. Mary's. It spoke in terms which sounded like a trumpet-call to battle, of the relations and duties of the church to the state.

There was much in the position of affairs at this time which occasioned to earnest and devout churchmen the gravest anxiety. The church had many enemies without, who threatened her very existence; and even within, some eminent members of her communion were ready with projects of crude reform which would have rent her asunder. Proposals to eliminate from the Prayer-book some of the church's most cherished beliefs, were freely advanced; the creeds were to be abolished; Catholic doctrines were rudely assailed; it was suggested that all denominations should be included within the lines of the church. These views were spread far and wide; they were pressed in numberless publications; a large portion of the press openly advocated them. It was expected, and not without some reason, that the reformed Parliament, which had recently met, would be only too ready to comply with the popular cry, would sanction the most vital alterations in the Prayer-book, and would probably, in the course of its destructive legislation, pass measures which would destroy the whole system of the Church of England.

All through the spring and early summer of that year, the doings of the reformed Parliament in regard to church matters had been in the minds of men; some approving, some bitterly blaming. The difficulty of collecting tithes in Ireland had suggested to the Government of the day to introduce a Bill abolishing "the church cess;" and in order to raise money to fill up the deficiency which would thus result, it was proposed to suppress ten Irish bishoprics. Not all, by any means, but the vast majority of the bishops and clergy bitterly resented this proposal. It seemed to churchmen generally an act of simple spoliation. The suppression by the state of ten historic sees was a high-handed

proceeding, which was viewed by the large majority of churchmen with the deepest dismay and sorrow. It was no carefully-thought-out measure of reform, but simply an expedient devised to solve a difficulty: as Newman expressed it, "Half the candlesticks of the Irish Church extinguished without ecclesiastical sanction."

The preacher before the university on that memorable July day in St. Mary's, took for his text the words of Samuel, when the people rejected him and demanded a king (1 Sam. xii. 23), applying the scene to his own times. "It was possible," he argued, "that a Christian state might, like Israel, repudiate its duty to God—it might wish to be as the heathen, as the nations around it. What," he asked, "in such a



JOHN KEBLE.
(From the painting by Geo. Richmond, R.A.)

crisis would be the duty of churchmen? Their first duty," he urged, "would be *intercession*." Then, too, there must be *remonstrance*, quiet but persevering. Loyalty was enjoined, and churchmen were reminded that sooner or later theirs would be the winning side. The whole of that stirring, strange discourse, preached before that august auditory, was a solemn call to the church to face in bitter earnest a state of things fraught with grave danger to all they loved and believed in.

The preacher on that occasion was a well-known personality in Oxford. Some twenty or more years before, John Keble had proved himself, by a succession of academic triumphs, the most brilliant man of his day. His early victories had been amply justified by his subsequent Oxford career. Elected almost directly after his honours to a fellowship at Oriel, in those days the blue ribbon of Oxford distinction, for several years he served his college as tutor, his reputation increasing with each successive year. No position in Oxford seemed too great for the successful scholar to aim at. Of a sudden his admiring contemporaries were amazed by his throwing up that sunny career, and retiring in the vigour and prime of his still young life to a quiet country curacy. It seemed a strange choice for one of the most distinguished among the tutors of Oxford, deliberately to give up what seemed so useful a life's work, and one so full of promise for the future. But Keble was absolutely devoid of ambition, was entirely indifferent to what is called fame or worldly advantages. To him money, rank, influence, had no meaning. He loved well his office as clergyman, and chose for the new scene of his life-work a little country village.

Some of his pupils followed him into his retirement. These pupils, as one would expect, were enthusiastically devoted to their master, and two at least of their number—Isaac Williams, who became afterwards fellow of Trinity and curate to Newman at St. Mary's; and Richard Hurrell Froude, subsequently fellow and tutor of Oriel—were in after days distinguished as leaders of the great movement, whose eventful story we have now to recount.

The ways which lead to greatness are often strange. The choice of Keble, in the end, placed him in a position among the sons of men higher far than any Oxford rank could have given him. Through a fairly long life (he lived to the age of seventy-four) he received no earthly guerdon, no ecclesiastical dignity; and yet he occupies one of the highest places in the golden roll of great English churchmen of the nineteenth century. Perhaps none of the most distinguished prelates or dignitaries of the Church of England, none among the theologians or thought-leaders in that momentous period, has exercised a like mighty sway over men's hearts. Intensely loved and highly honoured by the school of thought to which he belonged, his influence, whether acknowledged or unacknowledged, has extended far beyond the range of men who thought as he thought on vexed questions of theology. More or less, the whole Church of England has come to regard as a prophet in the true sense of the word this holy and humble man, who chose as the better part the quiet, unassuming life of a simple village pastor,

ministering at first among the Cotteswold hills of his native Gloucestershire.

In the ten years which elapsed between the date of his resignation of his Oxford position, and that memorable July day in 1833 when he preached the famous sermon we have alluded to, Keble put out, with sore reluctance and many misgivings, the little volume of religious poetry known as "The Christian Year," with which his name will be for ever associated. Since 1827, the year of its first publication, it has passed through more than a hundred editions; it is a household word, almost a household treasure in countless homes of our England, and even in the homes of the yet greater England beyond the seas. Its severest critic * has perhaps best expressed the reasons for the extraordinary popularity of Keble's sacred poems. "High churchmanship had been hitherto dry and formal; Keble carried into it (in his little book of pathetic songs) the emotions of Evangelicalism. Everyone who was really religious, who believed himself to be a Christian, found Keble's verses chime in his heart like church bells."

But during those quiet ten years of devoted pastoral work, the great Oxford scholar in his many lonely and solitary hours occupied himself with other things besides the composition of his sweet and deathless songs. The position of the church each year grew more fraught with danger. The events, and general drift of public opinion, already briefly alluded to, filled the minds of men like Keble with an ever-growing anxiety. During these comparatively quiet years he considered deeply what means were available to defend the church from a formidable attack, which seemed inevitable and near at hand. Could nothing be done that might change the current of popular opinion, which every succeeding year ran stronger against the church? Keble and his intimates were conscious that all the while there existed in England "a great historic church party;" but it was somewhat sleepy, apparently incapable of action. In its ranks were not a few good and respectable men, but it possessed no leaders. No men of commanding genius had for a long period arisen among them. How could this powerful but lethargic section of the church be aroused to a consciousness of its power, its duties, and responsibilities?

The "Oxford movement," which may be said to have actually commenced with the delivery of the famous assize sermon of Keble above dwelt upon, was singularly fortunate in its chiefs. Both its friends—and they were not a few—and those whose sympathies were mainly antagonistic to its teachings, alike agree in their estimate of the men who guided the great High Church reaction of 1833–45. They were able men, some of them profound scholars. Several of them were real orators, others were teachers and writers of rare power; and all of them were men of high and stainless character, utterly devoid of self-seeking, intensely persuaded of the truth of those views, which they advocated with an earnestness and persistency almost unparalleled.

Mention has been made of Keble's pupils. One of these especially exercised a peculiar influence in the earlier years of

* Mr. Froude, in his "Short Studies," vol. iv The "Oxford Counter-Reformation."

this great effort. Richard Hurrell Froude, after leaving Keble, became a fellow of Oriel, and was a tutor in the famous college from 1827 to 1830. He was there a junior colleague of Mr. Newman, of whom he became the dearest friend, and over whom he exercised a powerful and enduring influence. The close friendship between Keble and Newman was owing to

EARLY PORTRAIT OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.
(*From a sketch by Richard Doyle.*)

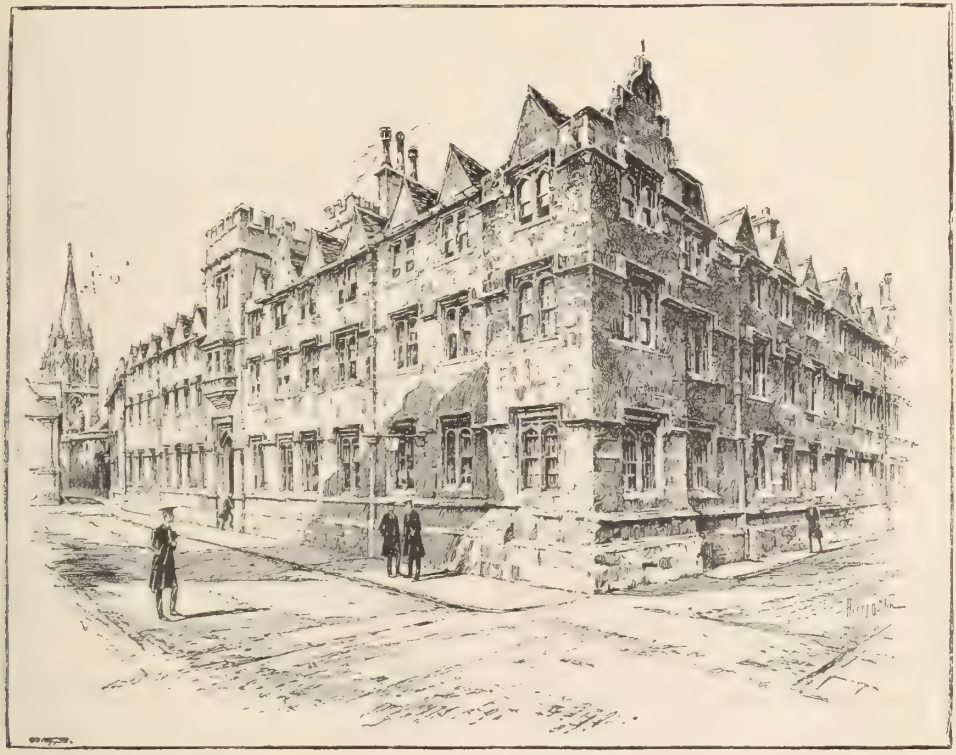
the younger man, who was the intimate of both. A saying of Froude is well known: "If I were asked what good deed I have ever done, I should say I had brought Keble and Newman to understand each other." The personality of Froude must have been a strangely winning one. Newman* thus paints his friend: "I knew him first in 1826, and was in the closest and most affectionate friendship with him from about 1829 till his death in 1836. He was a man of the highest gifts, so truly many-sided, that it would be presumptuous in me to attempt to describe him." Newman then enlarged upon Froude's gentleness and tenderness of nature, his playfulness, his graceful versatility of mind, his winning manner. He struggled for years with constant sickness, and died still comparatively a young man, to the inexpressible grief of his friends, who looked on with great hope to the services this brilliant and fervid scholar would one day do in the cause they loved. "Who can refrain from tears at the thought of that bright and beautiful Froude?" wrote one of his inner circle of friends a little before his death.

When all was over, his coterie published extracts from his journal and letters. But his often exaggerated expressions, the wild audacity of some of his views, as they appear in the published "Remains," were a hindrance rather than a help to the success of the movement.* They excited in fact the burning indignation of many, who not unnaturally concluded from the exaggerated expressions which appear in the correspondence contained in the "Remains,"

* "Apologia," chap. i.

* It is a strange irony of fate, which has connected the name of "Froude," in the person of his more famous brother, with the most bitter and trenchant criticism of mediævalism extant in our more serious literature. R. Hurrell Froude is forgotten or unknown, save by a very few; but his brother, the popular and brilliant historian, is read by thousands. The objects of dislike and even of the hatred of the elder brother, were the heroes of the younger, the world-renowned historian. The spirit of exaggeration and of misrepresentation (is it too strong an expression?) seems to have lived in both the brothers, and to have sadly marred their work. The well-known words, "Incende quod adorâsti—adora quod incendisti," represents indeed the attitude assumed by the younger Froude to the elder.

that R. H. Froude was disloyal to his own church. Nothing, perhaps, excited so much indignation as his unjust and somewhat wild estimate of the great reformers. Had he lived, his view of those great ones to whom the Church of England



ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD. *Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.*

owes so much, might perhaps have been much modified.

Another of Keble's favourite pupils, Isaac Williams, who from the first beginnings of the movement was closely connected with its hopes and fears, its aims and longings, and who in his quiet, unobtrusive, saintly life, and devoted work, will ever hold a high place among its leaders, was a very different personality from that brilliant and somewhat wayward scholar, of whom we have given a little sketch. Like Froude, his whole life-work was shaped by his connection with Keble, of whom he was an ardent admirer, and whose faithful disciple he became, loyal to his master all through a laborious life of many years, after a time sadly chequered with constant ill-health and suffering. Recalled early in his career to Oxford, he became fellow and then tutor of his college (Trinity), and Froude, his old fellow-pupil, quickly brought him to Newman, who in those years was the widely sought-after tutor of Oriel, and who as vicar of St. Mary's was known

in Oxford and far beyond Oxford as a strangely winning and heart-searching preacher. Isaac Williams was chosen by Newman as his curate, and the two were soon dear and intimate friends.

The character of Isaac Williams has been painted by one who intimately knew him and his works and days, as one of great sweetness, tenderness, and lowly unselfishness, pure, free from all worldliness, and deeply resigned to the will of God. He was a poet, too, of considerable power; as one of the writers in the famous *Lyra Apostolica*, as the author of the "Cathedral" and the "Baptistery," he will be long remembered as one of the rare purely devotional poets of the nineteenth century. His devotional commentaries on the Gospel narrative fill a special niche in the theology of the church, and are still exercising a wide influence. Several of the more famous "Tracts for the Times," of which we must presently speak with some detail, were his, notably the one bearing the title, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge," around which has gathered many criticisms—some, even from non-sympathisers with his views, highly laudatory; some extraordinarily bitter. When the great secession to Rome took place in 1845, Isaac Williams ranged himself with Keble and Pusey and Marriott and other leaders of the disorganised Tractarian school, as loyal to the Church of England and staunchly faithful to her formularies and her government; and from this loyalty to his loved church Williams never swerved.

It is hardly too much to say that the Oxford movement was the result of the intimacy and friendship which existed between these four men from 1828 to 1833. In many ways they thought alike; their studies led them to similar conclusions. Their conception of the church, her sad shortcomings, her glorious mission —at least in the early days of the "movement"—was the same.

The name of Marriott has been above coupled with that of Keble and Pusey. Pusey, as a leader of the new Oxford school, will come before us shortly, but was not prominently identified with the movement until some time after the celebrated sermon of Keble. Marriott, however, joined the little coterie somewhat earlier. His brilliant degree is dated 1832, and in the spring of the memorable 1833 he was elected to the high honour of an Oriel fellowship. "Charles Marriott," writes his biographer,* "was something more than an eye-witness of the Tractarian movement from its original inception. He was throughout this period a great student, and became devotedly attached to John Henry Newman, the attractive charm of whose mind and manner, converse and teaching, was not to be described." Dean Church describes Marriott as bringing to the movement "a great university character, and an unswerving and touching fidelity. He placed himself, his life, and all that he could do, at the service of the great effort to elevate and animate the church." Further on we shall find Marriott taking for some fourteen long years the labouring oar in one of the greatest and most enduring of the labours of the Tractarians, the editing and translating of that massive

* Dr. Burgon, dean of Chichester: Lives of Twelve Good Men: "Charles Marriott, the Man of Saintly Life."

work which will ever be one of their chief claims to the gratitude of the church, the library of the Catholic Fathers anterior to the division of the East and West; a vast toil bravely undertaken and successfully carried out, and which, so to speak, popularised a mighty literature of the early centuries of Christianity, a literature for more than a hundred years ignored, almost forgotten in the Church of England.

In these little sketches of the eminent men, the pioneers of the great High Church reaction, we have as yet barely alluded once or twice to the one who became the most conspicuous of them all, John Henry Newman. Of him, in that interesting but markedly hostile picture of the movement painted by the younger Froude (the well-known historian), occurs the following striking passage: "Far different from Keble, from my brother (R. Hurrell Froude), from Dr. Pusey, from all the rest, was the true chief of the Catholic revival—John Henry Newman. Compared with him, they were all but as ciphers, and he the indicating number. . . ." Poet, preacher, historian, theologian, and in each of these departments of the highest rank, his story is, after all, a sad one. In his university, men very soon came to see that a giant had arisen among them; and although, owing to various reasons, he obtained no distinction in the schools, he was soon elected to an Oriel fellowship. This was as early as 1823. Three years later we find him one of the tutors of the college. Rapidly his fame grew. In 1828 he became vicar of St. Mary's, and the preacher *par excellence* of Oxford. Such sermons had never in the memory of the university been heard before. "Plain, direct, unornamented, clothed in English that was only pure and lucid, free from any faults of taste, they were the expression of a piercing and large insight into character, conscience, and motives, of a sympathy at once most tender and stern with the tempted and the wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God, in the awful glory of His generosity and His magnificence. They made men think of the things which the preacher spoke of, not of the sermon and the preacher."*

Of the effect of these sermons of Newman on the life of Oxford and on many of her most illustrious sons, one striking example will give an index. W. G. Ward, of Balliol, in later years one of the most conspicuous figures in the movement, and a man of rare power, in the earlier days of his university career was a Rationalist. He was often pressed by his friends to go and hear Newman preach. For a long time he impetuously refused. "Why," he asked, "should I go and listen to such myths?" But on a Sunday afternoon one of his intimates in the course of a walk brought him to St. Mary's porch. "Now, Ward," he said, "Newman is just going into his pulpit. Why should you not hear him *once?* It can do you no harm. You need not go a second time, but do hear and judge what the thing is like."† Ward was persuaded, and went in and listened. That sermon changed his whole life.

At first, to use his own expression, Newman was "under the shadow of liberalism."

* Dean Church.

† "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement," by Wilfrid Ward, chap. v.

Out of this he was gradually drawn, mainly owing to his friendship with Richard Hurrell Froude, his Oriel colleague. Froude brought him into contact with Keble, and the three became fast and devoted friends. Late in 1832 Newman and Froude went abroad for a lengthened sojourn; in the course of the journey Newman fell ill, and his absence from Oxford was protracted until the spring or summer of 1833. At this time he wrote some of the beautiful poems of the *Lyra Apostolica*, afterwards published with the signature "δ," and the hymn which became one of the most loved of Anglican hymns, "Lead, kindly Light." He returned to Oxford just before Keble preached the famous assize sermon of July 14th, 1833, entitled "The National Apostasy." "This day," says Newman, "I have ever considered and kept, as the start of the religious movement."

Not many days after the delivery of this sermon by Keble, a few friends, on the invitation of Mr. Rose, met at his parsonage, at Hadleigh in Suffolk. Keble and Newman were invited, but were not present. Froude, however, and Mr. Palmer, and two or three other like-minded men remained together in conference for several days. The *Tracts for the Times* and other important results were virtually the fruit of this little meeting at Hadleigh.

Mr. Palmer (afterwards Sir William Palmer), who will be subsequently referred to in our story, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and had migrated to Oxford in 1828 with a view of completing his well-known work, the *Origines Liturgicæ*, in which, with great learning and clearness of statement he showed that the Anglican Prayer-book is mainly a translation from earlier office-books of the mediæval church, and thus demonstrated the descent of the Church of England from the church of earlier days. It was a work which was largely reproduced in the "Tracts." Mr. Palmer was an able and well-read theologian. His book, at once scholarly and devout, gave him great weight in the earlier days of the movement.

Hugh James Rose,* who in this great church reaction first comes prominently to the front at the Hadleigh meeting, was in many respects better fitted to be the leader of the new movement than any of those who have as yet come before us. A High Churchman of the old type, calm, self-possessed, and statesman-like, an accomplished divine, and an able preacher, he too was deeply impressed with the dangerous aspect of things as regarded the English church, to which he was ever devotedly loyal. He is well described as the "one commanding figure that the frightened and discomfited church people were ready to rally round. . . . For many years after his early death, when Newman had left Rose's standpoint far behind, he (Newman) could never speak of him or think of him without renewed tenderness."† In 1833 he was better known to churchmen than Keble, and more trusted than Newman or Froude; and many men have thought that had Rose's life been spared, the errors and aberrations of some of the more prominent among the Tractarians might have been avoided. But Rose was ever sickly, and his

* Some account of Rose has already been given. See p. 298.

† T. Mozley: "Reminiscences."

GENERAL VIEW OF OXFORD, FROM THE ROOF OF THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, SHOWING ST. MARY'S CHURCH ON THE RIGHT.
(From a photograph by Gillman & Co., Oxford.)

striking and useful career ended in 1838. His last few years were spent in suffering, and in consequence the wise, moderating influence he could have exercised was sadly impaired. He filled during his short life various important and distinguished posts, but, alas! he was, in good truth, ever bearing about a dying body. In 1833, however, although weak and delicate, the signs of the fatal illness against which he subsequently struggled so long and gallantly, were scarcely visible, and he placed unreservedly his great powers and wide church influence at the disposal of the Oxford group of friends.

The plan of campaign, which in its earlier developments was so conspicuously successful, was largely Rose's. He arranged the Hadleigh meeting, the "conspiracy," as Froude with some indiscretion playfully termed it. At Hadleigh the idea of united action on the part of the church was first devised, and the scheme of the afterwards famous *Tracts for the Times* hammered out. The meeting was renewed very soon after at Oxford, where the same little Hadleigh company, with Newman and Keble, arranged the preliminaries of the great addresses which were presented on the part of the clergy and laity to the primate, and which had so powerful an effect on the nation. Newman, however, was always for the separate and individual action, which eventuated in the *Tracts*. "No great work," he wrote in after years, "was done by a system, whereas systems arise out of individual exertions. Luther was an individual. The very faults of an individual excite attention, but his cause (if good and he powerfully minded) gains. This is the way of things; we promote truth by a self-sacrifice."*

In the first instance the counsels of Rose and Palmer prevailed. Meetings were held, and associations formed in many of the great centres in England. An address was formulated to the primate, cautious and temperate in its language, but sternly resolute in its expressed determination to maintain inviolate the doctrines, services, and discipline of the Church of England, condemning earnestly that restless desire of change which would rashly innovate in spiritual matters. The address in question was signed by some 7,000 of the clergy, and another lay address immediately followed, signed by 230,000 heads of families. The effect on the country of these popular demonstrations was magical. In Mr. Palmer's words, "From every part of England, every town and city, there arose an united, strong, emphatic declaration of loyalty to the Church of England. The national feeling, long pent up, depressed, despondent, had at length obtained freedom to pour forth, and the effect was amazing. The church suddenly came to life. . . . To its astonishment, it (the church) found itself the object of warm popular affection and universal devotion. Its enemies were silenced."

Churchmanship was *evoked*, not *created* by these appeals; but from the date of these two powerfully signed addresses, writes a contemporary observer, we may fix "the moment of the turn of the tide which had threatened to overwhelm our church and our religion." The courage of churchmen was rallied; they showed by

* "Apologia," chap. ii.

their united action that they were stronger and more resolute than their enemies thought. Defenders of the church sprang up in most of the great cities and centres of England. Declarations of devotion and fidelity to the church or their fathers, and resolutions to maintain its rites and doctrines, flowed in from all parts of the kingdom. Petitions in support of the church poured rapidly into the House of Commons, and "these resolute declarations of attachment to the church, which thus emanated from the people, found an echo in the heart of royalty itself, and in the May of 1834 king William IV. took occasion to address to the prelates of England, assembled on the occasion of his birthday, his "royal declaration of devoted affection to the church and of his firm resolution to maintain its doctrines."* The imminent danger to which in 1832–33 the church was seemingly exposed by the wave of reform, and which men feared would engulph it, had passed away.

So much for the result of the first part of the Hadleigh resolutions. But at that meeting a decided though guarded expression had gone forth, that something more should be done, to instruct churchmen in what the little Oxford company, where Newman and Keble were the chief inspirers, deemed the true principles of churchmanship. There was something greater, they felt, than the Established Church; and that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic. The sacramental principle must be more emphasised; the apostolical succession must be insisted on—that "succession, which was the essential bond recognised by the sixteenth and seventeenth century divines, associating the English Church, through Reformation and Papal dominion, with that primitive Catholicism in which Anglicans laid their foundations, and to which they had always appealed."* This and such-like teaching was to be enforced and pressed home by the issue of those papers, subsequently known as the *Tracts for the Times*.

We thus come to the literary side of the movement. Rose's and Palmer's work came to an end. They had successfully stirred up public opinion; they had aroused the Church of England to a consciousness of its power; and in a very short time the dark and ominous danger-cloud which hung over the Anglican communion had passed quite out of sight. But, as we have said, the Oxford friends, under the leadership of Keble and Newman, were persuaded that more was needed. The church was aroused to the sense of its power; but it needed, they thought, to be awakened to a sense of its privileges and responsibilities. Hence the putting out of the "Tracts." These papers began at once, in the September of that same eventful year 1833. They were at first short, mostly keeping within the limits of four pages. Of the first seventeen, nine were in part or altogether written by Newman; of the remaining eight, two were from the pen of Keble, one of which was on the all-important theme of the "Apostolical Succession." Froude and other less known men furnished the remainder of these seventeen. Newman's

* Compare Dean Burgon: "Lives of Twelve Good Men—Hugh James Rose."

* Liddon: "Life of Pusey," chap. xi.

words* give us a good insight into the spirit in which he and his fellows wrote: "I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all times by the early teachers of the church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well-nigh faded out of the land through the political changes of the last hundred and fifty years, and it must be restored. It would be, in fact, a second Reformation."

The opening words of the series struck the keynote of the teaching they were intended to press home. It was a sharp, stern address to the clergy by one of themselves, reminding them of the greatness of their office. It contrasted the position of ministers of Dissenting bodies with that occupied by "the men addressed." Dissenting ministers it depicted as the creatures of the people, depending simply upon them. The "addressed," on the other hand, were born not of blood, nor of the will of man, but of God. It reminded them of their apostolical descent. It told them that the Christian ministry was a succession. It traced back the power of ordination from hand to hand to the Apostles, to whom Christ gave His spirit. "The early 'Tracts' were intended to startle the world, and they succeeded in doing so. . . . They came from distinguished university scholars, picked men of a picked college, from men belonging to a school . . . whose usual style was especially marked by its severe avoidance of excitement and novelty; the school from which had lately come 'The Christian Year.' Their matter was unusual; undoubtedly 'they brought strange things to the ears' of this generation."*

Before the close of the year their ranks were strengthened by the presence among them of one who at first associated himself with the little company with hesitancy, but who soon became the foremost champion of their cause—Edward Bouverie Pusey. Newman well paints the prestige as well as the intellectual power which this new recruit brought to the band of Oxford writers:† "I had known him since 1827–8, and had felt for him an enthusiastic admiration. I used to call him *ὁ μέγας* (the great one). His immense diligence, his great learning, his scholarlike mind, his simple devotion to the cause of religion, overcame me; and great, of course, was my joy when in the last days of 1833 he showed a disposition to make common cause with us. His tract on 'Fasting' appeared as one of the series, with the date of December 21st. He was not, however, I think, fully associated with the movement till 1835–6, when he published his tract on 'Baptism,' and started the 'Library of the Fathers.' He at once gave us a position and a name. Without him we should have had but little chance. . . . But Dr. Pusey was a professor and canon of Christ Church; he had vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence

* In Froude's "Remains."

* Dean Church: "Oxford Movement," chap. vi.

† "Apologia," chap. ii. It must be remembered that Dr. Pusey, after Newman's secession, for some fifty years was his strongest opponent, and yet Newman in his "Apologia," that book of strange charm and melancholy pathos, writes of his great adversary in 1878 as "my dearest Pusey, whom I have loved and admired for above fifty years." *O, si sic omnes!* if only it were so on earth as God's saints know it will be in heaven.

of his charities, his professorship, his family connections. . . . There was thenceforth a man . . . who furnished

DR. PUSEY.

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the movement with a front to the world, and gained for it a recognition from other parties in the university."

The subject of Newman's warm and generous encomium stands out among the great ones of the nineteenth century. The wise and eloquent words spoken on the first Sunday of the term following Pusey's death, before the university in which for more than half a century Pusey had been one of the most conspicuous figures,* sympathetically but at the same time truly express the feeling of perhaps

* The university sermon in question was preached by Dr Church, dean of St Paul's (October, 1882.)

the majority of religious English people of various schools of thought, towards the real leader of the Oxford movement: "No man was more variously judged, more sternly condemned, more tenderly loved. . . . What is the judgment upon him? I think that there is but one answer from those whose hearts thrill at the memory of all that he was to them, and from most of those—from many, I am sure—who stood against him, disapproved, resisted him. First and foremost, he was one who lived his life as, above everything, the servant of God. He takes rank with those who gave themselves and all that they had . . . to what they believed to be their work for God. . . . The world will remember him as the famous student, the powerful leader, the wielder of great influence in critical times, the man of strongly marked and original character who left his mark on the age. . . . When our confusions are still, when our lives and enmities and angers have perished, when our mistakes and misunderstandings have become dim and insignificant in the great distance of the past, then his figure will rise in history as one of that high company who looked at life as St. Paul looked at it. . . . Even those who do not in many things think as he thought, will class him among those who in difficult and dangerous times have witnessed by great zeal, by great effort, and great sacrifice, for God and truth and holiness."

Edward Bouverie Pusey, who came to play so great a part in the story of the Church of England, was the younger son of a distinguished Berkshire family, and was born in the first year of the century. In his child days his mother, lady Lucy, used to speak of him as her angelic son, so singularly sweet and full of charm was his nature. After Eton he proceeded to Christ Church, where, we hear, "he read desperately." In 1825 he was in the Oxford "schools." John Keble, who was one of the examiners, remarked: "I never knew how Pindar might be put into English until I heard Pusey construe him." The senior examiner regarded him as the man of the greatest ability who had ever passed before him. In the year following he was elected to an Oriel fellowship. For the next several years he devoted himself to serious study, putting off his original intention to take holy orders.

During this period he spent a long time in Germany, laying there the foundation of his subsequent great fame as an Oriental scholar in Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac. He was the pupil and the friend of several of those famous German theologians whose names have become household words in the world of scholarship—Freytag, Tholuck, Schleiermacher, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Sack, Neander, Lücke, Nitzsch, Gieseler, Eichhorn, and others—studying at the universities of Berlin, Greifswald, and Bonn. He returned to Oxford finally in 1827, with a great and well-merited reputation. In 1828 the Hebrew professor, Dr. Nicholl, died at the early age of thirty-five, and to the surprise of some who were unacquainted with the abilities and profound scholarship of the young Oriel fellow, on the nomination of the duke of Wellington, the then Prime Minister, E. B. Pusey was chosen to fill the vacant chair, which

carried with it the stall of a residentiary canon of Christ Church. He was not twenty-nine years of age when he became professor and canon, and, strange to say, this was his first and only preferment in the church in which for some half a century or more he was one of the most conspicuous thought-leaders.

Between 1828 and the year 1833, when, as we have seen, the Oxford movement began in real earnest, Pusey's reputation steadily grew. He was the friend but not the confidant of the pioneers of the new school, whose life and work we have been dwelling upon. But he was by no means identified with them till the close of 1833, when he consented to write the tract on "Fasting"; nor was he really heart and soul with the movement until a somewhat later date. The reverence, regard, and even awe with which he was regarded at Oxford has been already alluded to in Newman's own words. Isaac Williams, of Trinity, Keble's favourite pupil, one of the earliest of the Tractarians, the theologian and poet of after days, thus speaks of Pusey in connection with Newman in the memorable year 1833: "Samuel Wilberforce (afterwards the great bishop of Oxford, then of Winchester) was not much acquainted with Newman, though proud of knowing so remarkable a person. I (Isaac Williams) had up to this time no acquaintance with Pusey, but he would, now that we had lost Froude from Oxford (his death-malady was already upon him), join Newman and myself in our walks. They had been fellows of Oriel together, and Newman was the senior. But Pusey's presence always deepened his lighter and unrestrained mood; and I was myself silenced by so awful a person. Yet I always found in him something most congenial to myself—a nameless something which was wanting even in Newman, and I might almost add, even in Keble. But Pusey at this time (autumn of 1833) was not one of us." *

It was with some difficulty that he was induced to throw in his lot with the new school, and he only consented to join the company of the writers of the Tracts on the condition that his contributions should be signed with his initials, thus defining his personal responsibility. "He saw," wrote Newman, "that there ought to be more sobriety, more gravity, more careful pains, more sense of responsibility in the 'Tracts' and in the whole movement. It was through him that the character of the 'Tracts' was changed. When he gave us his tract on 'Fasting,' he put his initials *E. B. P.* to it. In 1835 he published his elaborate 'Tracts on Baptism,' which were followed by other tracts from different authors, if not of equal learning, yet of equal power and appositeness. The catenas of Anglican divines projected by me, which occur in the series, were executed with a like aim at greater accuracy and method. . . . I suspect it was Dr. Pusey's influence and example which set me and set others on the larger and more careful works in defence of the principles of the movement, which followed in a course of years." † Such works were "the Library of the Fathers" (forty-eight volumes); "Treatise on the Church of Christ" — William

* "Autobiography of Isaac Williams," edited by Sir George Prevost, pp. 69–70.

† "Apologia," chap. ii.

Palmer; "Lectures on Justification"—J. H. Newman; "The Prophetical Office of the Church"—J. H. Newman; "The Church of the Fathers," etc.

The putting out of the famous *Tracts for the Times* spread over a period of some eight or nine years, the first three being dated in the autumn of 1833, the "Tract 90" of J. H. Newman appearing in the February of 1841. The brevity of the greater part of the earlier tracts has been already noticed. They were for the most part short pungent leaflets devoted to the great questions which the new Oxford school of divines were busied in bringing before the church; such as the apostolic succession, the sacraments, the sources of divine grace, etc. The later tracts, mainly after the influence of Dr. Pusey was felt in the ranks of the company, were no longer leaflets, but elaborately worked-out essays on points of important doctrine or on ecclesiastical history. For instance, Dr. Pusey's tracts 67, 68, 69 formed a brochure, or rather a volume of over 200 pages, on "Baptism."

Two of the later issues attracted extraordinary attention. Isaac Williams, the favourite pupil and disciple of Keble, wrote No. 80, under the title, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge." (Parts I., II., III.) The alarm it excited was quite incommensurate with any novelties suggested by the tract; and the feverish, excited condition of men's minds at this juncture is well exemplified, by the strange agitation which Mr. Williams's treatise excited. It was based upon a remark of Origen's in his commentaries on the Gospels, where that great expositor alludes to a mysterious holding back of sacred truth. The writer of the tract tells us how, in his sacred studies, he had been led to observe this constantly in our Lord's conduct. He quoted bishop Thirlwall of St. David's kindly comment upon his theory: "The very title of the paper, 'Reserve *in* communicating Religious Knowledge,' intimated that the teaching of the Gospel was not withheld, for it was *in* teaching it that the caution was to be exercised."* Mr. Williams in No. 87 followed up his arguments. The two much abused tracts consisted of 82 and 144 pages respectively.

Another of the later tracts, which aroused much bitter criticism, was Keble's No. 89—"On the Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church." This, again, which has been described as "a beautiful and suggestive essay," and was of very considerable length (186 pages), in quieter times would have excited no hostile criticism.

All the later tracts, mostly elaborate and learned essays on theological questions, were rather addressed to a small and cultured audience than to the public generally; nor is it probable that they were really studied save by a few. On the whole, the famous series excited much opposition, and largely stirred up adverse criticism. But, on the other hand, they were to many strangely attractive. They spoke in language different from what men for a long period had been in the habit of using when they wrote or spoke of holy things. And the thoughts and aspirations which were suggested, old though

* "Autobiography of Isaac Williams," pp. 89-90. Edited by Sir George Prevost.

they were, were novel to the generation addressed in the famous papers. Among the old-fashioned clergy of various schools of thought, by no means confined to the "Evangelical," many objections were raised to at least portions of the tracts, and many "indiscretions" were pointed out. The

me to receive such a mark of your remembrance. . . . I am sure that there must be many points of unison still between us, without ascending to the highest of all, though by the form in which your 'tract' appears I fear you are lending your co-operation to a party second to

ORIEL COLLEGE QUADRANGLE, OXFORD. *Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.*

notes of alarm and distrust from many quarters are fairly expressed in a letter of Dr. Arnold, the great head master of Rugby, who emphatically ranks also as one of the thought-leaders of the time. This was written early in the movement, bearing the date of 1834, and contained a severe criticism of his old friend Dr. Pusey's tract on Fasting. "It was delightful," wrote Arnold, "to

none in the tendency of their principles to overthrow the truth of the Gospel. Your own tract is perfectly free from their intolerance, as well as from their folly; yet I cannot sympathise with its object, which has always appeared to me to belong to the antiquarianism of Christianity—not to its profitable history. . . . The admiration of Christian antiquity seems to me to be the natural

parent* of Puritanism, which calls all that is ancient, Popery. The history and writings of the early ages of the church have their use, but it is an indirect, not a direct one, like the use of some of the historical parts of the Old Testament—that is, it will not furnish examples or precedents to be applied in the lump to present things, but it is . . . as a source for direct reference, to common persons, often dangerous." †

By men of a very different school from Dr. Arnold or the Evangelical teachers, who naturally were opposed to much that was advanced by the Tractarian writers between 1833 and 1841, were certain portions of the *Tracts for the Times*, and some of the utterances of their authors, viewed with uneasiness; notably the well-known sentiments of Richard Hurrell Froude, one of the most influential of the earlier writers of these celebrated papers. One, a high churchman *sans peur et sans reproche*, whose splendid services to his party, and, indeed, to the Church of England at large at the beginning of the movement, can never be forgotten or ignored, whose deep learning and unrivalled industry produced several of the weightiest contributions to the theological literature of the Church of England of this period, ‡ thus writes, alluding to the Church of England and foreign reformers: "Mr. (Richard Hurrell) Froude occasionally expressed sentiments which seemed extremely unjust to the reformers and injurious to the church." The more thoughtful Churchmen of this school earnestly desired that some committee of revision should be appointed, to whom the "Tracts" should be submitted before publication. What they feared, and justly, was that these interesting and important pronouncements would never be regarded outside Oxford as the production of *individuals,* but it would be supposed they represented accurately the doctrines held by the general association of the leaders of the movement. These more cautious and learned scholars, while deeply sensible that the writers of the tracts had established great verities, and had called attention to some distinctive features of the Church of England which had been too much neglected, were by no means able to concur in every position advanced by individual writers, and their misgivings were subsequently sadly verified.

Mr. Palmer, a sympathising and impartial critic, however, bears unqualified testimony to the general absence from the "tracts" of any *Romanising* tendency, an accusation lightly and often without due consideration constantly made against them.* It is only just, considering the great part these tracts played in the Oxford movement, to enumerate a very few of the strong anti-papal pronouncements contained in these notorious papers. "The tracts maintain that at the Reformation we were delivered from the yoke of papal

* That is, by the reaction which it produces (note of Dr. Liddon).

† Arnold to Pusey (1834).

‡ Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Palmer, author of "Origines Liturgicæ," the "Treatise on the Church of Christ," etc. etc.

* It will be observed that all these remarks have no reference to "Tract 90," the last of the series. This too famous treatise must be spoken of independently. It did not appear until 1841.

tyranny and usurpation, and from the superstitious opinions and practices which had grown up during the Middle Ages; that there is not a word in Scripture about our duty to obey the Pope. They profess enmity against the papistical corruptions of the Gospel, and a persuasion that the Romanist communion is infected with heterodoxy; that we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They admit that our Anglican church is a true branch of the church universal, that it is Catholic and apostolic, yet not papistical. In them transubstantiation is represented as a manner of presence newly invented by the Romanists, and even that the doctrine of transubstantiation is profane and impious. They urge that the denial of the cup to the laity, the sacrifice of masses as it has been practised in the Roman church, the honour paid to images, indulgences, the received doctrine of purgatory, the practice of celebrating divine service in an unknown tongue, seven sacraments, the claim of the Pope to be universal bishop, and other points, are respectively blasphemous, dangerous, full of peril, gross inventions, at variance with Scripture, contrary alike to Scripture and antiquity." Very weightily the same earnest and scholarly high churchman, who, it must be borne in mind, was in the deepest sympathy with the highest objects of the movement, winds up his criticism and defence of the *Tracts for the Times* thus: "The repeated and explicit avowals on these points (above summarised), the anxiety which was evinced by such leaders as Pusey and Keble to disclaim the imputation of Romanising tendencies, obtained for the 'tracts' and their authors the support or the toleration of a great and influential portion of the church, which would otherwise have been withdrawn. We endured much of what we could not approve: exaggerated views of the independence of the church, undue severity to the reformers, too much praise of Romish offices, a depreciatory tone in regard to our own, and other points which were more than questionable." *

But if the great literary venture of the Oxford movement—the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*—has its double aspect; if it has received grave censure from some, and high, unstinted praise from others; if it is, to use another well-known simile, a pillar of cloud when viewed from one point of view, of light when looked at from another, there was another venture, in the world of sacred literature, issuing from the heart of the great religious movement, which must receive from every true-hearted member of the Church of England the deepest and most genuine approval. From the far-back age of the venerable Bede and the great teachers of the school of York in the eighth century, from the days of Plegmund the archbishop and Alfred the English king, a thousand years ago, the annals of our church are rich in the reminders of her noblest servants, addressed in various expressions of urgent exhortation to those who minister in her sanctuaries, not to neglect the study of sacred letters. One voice here proceeds from the famous Saxon teachers Aldhelm and Dunstan; from the great Normans Lanfranc and Anselm; from great mediæval prelates, such as Hugh of Lincoln

* Palmer: "Narrative," chap. iii.

and Grosseteste; from doctors of the Reformation period; from Elizabethan and Carolinian divines. These great ones, whose names are written large upon the many-coloured pages of the story of our national church, have all felt in their turn the inescapable need of a learned clergy —of men who could give a rational reason for the faith they preached and taught.

Now the Christian church possesses a storehouse of theology in the writings of her great teachers, who lived anterior to the division of the eastern and western churches. There was no lack of men deeply versed in this sacred literature, in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Later, in the times of Elizabeth and the Stuart sovereigns, Jewel and Parker, Hooker and Andrewes, Usher and Hammond, Bull and Waterland, are names which serve as examples of a long list of scholarly theologians who have adorned the Church of England. In the seventeenth century her divines were as well read in the fathers of the Catholic church as any theologians which the Romish church and her reformed learned orders could boast of. But owing to various causes, as the eighteenth century advanced, the study of the ancient fathers was gradually neglected. In the Evangelical revival, comparatively speaking, little use was made by the prominent thought-leaders of this great branch of Christian study. Milner perhaps alone of the Evangelical revivalists possessed any deep knowledge of the writing of the fathers. His church history "gave evidence of his sense of the spiritual beauty of the ancient church"; and Newman tells us how in his early studious years he "read Joseph Milner's church history, and was nothing short of enamoured of the long extracts from St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the other fathers, which he found there." But in spite of that possibly solitary exception, it is absolutely certain that this important study was practically ignored in the Church of England in the days which immediately preceded the advent of the Oxford revivalists.

It is an indisputable fact that this great branch of theological study was reintroduced into the Church of England by the efforts of the new Oxford school. One of the earliest pieces of work undertaken by the authors of the *Tracts for the Times*, had been to publish, under the title of "Records of the Church," some of the more interesting writings of the ante-Nicene Church, or portions of them—the epistles of St. Ignatius, the accounts of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, and the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, parts of St. Irenæus and Tertullian, of St. Justin Martyr, and St. Cyprian and others; thus supplying publications of the deepest interest to the historian and the antiquarian, as well as to the theologian.

For more than a century, as we have remarked, the Fathers had been but little studied in the Anglican Church. Gradually the idea had gathered strength that their "witness" made rather for the Roman system than for the Anglican. The Roman theologians assumed that this was the fact. Dr. Pusey and several of his learned coadjutors believed that if these ancient Catholic writers were fairly examined, it would be seen that the contrary was the case. Very strikingly

Newman, in one of his earlier works,* thus writes on the witness of the Fathers being hostile to the claims and errors of modern Rome: "Roman Catholics profess to appeal to primitive Christianity; we honestly take their ground, as holding it ourselves, but when the controversy grows animated, and descends into details, they suddenly leave it, and desire to finish the dispute on some other field."

THE REV. CHAS. MARRIOTT, D.D.
(*From the portrait by Julian Drummond.*)

Intensely persuaded of the importance of re-introducing into the Anglican church a knowledge of the writings of the primitive church, Dr. Pusey, about the year 1836, conceived the great idea of publishing an English translation of the most valuable treatises contained in the vast literature which has come down to us. Men, who were not perfectly familiar and at home with the Greek and Latin tongues, would then be able to judge for themselves what was the teaching of Augustine and Cyril, Cyprian and Chrysostom, Athanasius and Tertullian, Gregory the Great, Justin Martyr, Ephrem, Irenæus and Ambrose. The Anglican bishops, who as a body viewed the *Tracts for the Times* with anxiety if not with distrust, welcomed this great and useful work. And the public interest in its issue gradually grew. It was a difficult and costly task, and the cost was defrayed mainly by subscribers to the series. In the first list (1838) there were less than 800 names; in the second, which appeared in 1839, after the publication of the first two volumes, there were more than 1,100, and of these seventeen were bishops. The circulation kept increasing; though, as might have been expected, not by leaps and bounds. In 1853, thirty-one bishops and over 3,700 subscribers had joined. This is a very considerable number, when it is considered that only real students of theology would care to possess and peruse these most precious but often dry expositions, homilies, essays, and disquisitions of men who, however venerable and saintly, belonged to a far remote

* "The Prophetical Office of the Church," p. 59.

age. Of this valuable "Library of the Fathers" forty-eight massive tomes have been published. The issue closed in 1885 with the second volume of the translation of St. Cyril and St. John. In 1882 the venerable projector of the work, three months before his death, wrote the following words: "My work for the 'Library of the Fathers' is done. . . . I have myself no longer any time to revise anything. At nearly eighty-two one cannot increase work." Forty-six years had passed since Dr. Pusey planned out the great undertaking. Only four volumes more were published after he had passed away.

Besides the enduring effect which this successful effort to popularise the study of patristic theology produced upon the whole Church of England, it exerted a special influence on the Oxford movement. "It was at once an encouraging and a steadying influence; it made thoughtful adherents of the movement feel that the Fathers were behind them, and with the Fathers that ancient, undivided church whom the Fathers represented. It also kept before their minds the fact that the Fathers were in some respects unlike the moderns, not only in the English Church, but also in the Church of Rome. And above all, it reminded men of a type of life and thought which all good men in their best moments would have been glad to make their own." *

Other important publications cognate to patristic study, which have since enriched the storehouse of Christian antiquity open to the theological student, may be said to have sprung from the great undertaking of Dr. Pusey and his friends. Besides the publication of the original texts of certain famous works of SS. Augustine and Chrysostom, and St. Cyril of Alexandria, for the scholar, has appeared "The Ante-Nicene Christian Library" in twenty-three volumes, comprising translations into English of the best part of the extant writings of the Fathers down to the date of the first General Council of Nice in A.D. 325. To these patristic works may be added the important publications of the Anglo-Catholic Library, containing the writings of the great Caroline divines, who have been, with considerable accuracy, termed the "Children of the Fathers"; and also the issue, by another school of thought, of various weighty and interesting works of the Reformation period, by the Parker Society.

Associated with Dr. Pusey in this noble and successful effort to promote and popularise among the Anglican clergy the study of the great teachers of the earlier days of Christianity, were not a few of the more distinguished leaders of the Oxford movement, who contributed to the undertaking — some as translators, others as writers of the notes and prefaces. The earlier volumes appeared under the editorship of Pusey, Keble, and Newman. One name, however, will be ever gratefully remembered in connection with this "Library of the Fathers," as having for some fourteen years—roughly, from 1841 to 1855—taken upon himself the severest portion of the labour. As editor and writer of the prefaces, the name of Charles Marriott occurs more frequently

* Dr. Liddon.

than any other in the volumes of the "Library." We have before alluded to the life-story of this devoted and saintly scholar, who, in the annals of this eventful period of our church's history, filled with credit several important positions, such as principal of the Theological College at Chichester, tutor at Oriel, and later, vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford; but the main task of his laborious life was the "Library of the Fathers." Although constantly a sufferer from ill-health, his untiring energy in the work he loved so well never flagged. We read in his brother's touching recollections of the great scholar, how on a journey, even in a boat, he would pull out a sheet of the work and proceed to write upon it; he was ever collating MSS., correcting the translations of others, correcting the press. At all times and seasons, often in suffering, the portions of the "Library of the Fathers," and they were by no means small portions, for which he held himself responsible, were never out of his hands. Worn out by incessant toil, Charles Marriott, "the man of saintly life," as his biographer* happily calls him, passed away at the comparatively early age of forty-seven. Some of his contemporaries have since lamented that his splendid abilities, his patient devotion, his vast attainments, were not consecrated to other and more prominent work than what they termed mere literary drudgery; but, after all, no nobler toil can be conceived for a servant of God than a principal share in what was perhaps the chief and most enduring literary work of that far-reaching Oxford movement, of which he was one of the chief inspirers. "If I have any good in me," once remarked Edward King, the well-known and honoured bishop of Lincoln, "I owe it to Charles Marriott."

* Dean Burgon, in his "Lives of Twelve Good Men."

Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.

ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD: THE QUADRANGLE FROM THE DINING HALL.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE ANGLICAN REVIVAL. THE RITUAL AND ANGLO-ROMAN CONTROVERSIES.

Controversy concerning Dr Hampden—Growing Influence of the Tractarians—Charges of Romanising the Church, and Pusey's Reply—An Extreme Group in the Party—Change in Newman's Views—He Publishes Tract 90—General Condemnation of this Tract—The Tracts Cease—William George Ward—Pusey Charged with Heresy—Ward Publishes "The Ideal of the Christian Church"—His Condemnation and Degradation—Struggle in Newman's Mind—His Last Sermon—Secession of Newman and others to Rome—Effect on the Roman Church—Fails to Permanently Affect the English Church—Pusey as the Leader of the School—Effect of the Movement on the Church generally—Changes in Ritual—Consequent Dissensions—The Bishop of Lincoln's Case brought before a really Ecclesiastical Tribunal—The Points at Issue—The Archbishop's Judgment—Hopes of Peace in the Church—Attitude of the Church and State towards Roman Catholics—The Emancipation Act—A Papal Hierarchy set up in 1850—Leo XIII. and Anglican Orders—Revival of Practical Work largely due to the Oxford Movement—Sisterhoods and Female Work—General Results of the Anglican Revival.

WE have now to relate the beginning of the troubles which so sadly disfigured the Oxford movement. First in order come the events which roused hostility, and divided Oxford into two camps; then the still stranger circumstances which rent asunder the party of the Tractarians, as they came gradually to be called.

In 1832, an able and well-read scholar, Dr. Hampden, who was well known in the university as almost the only student of scholastic divinity, preached the series of sermons known as the "Bampton Lecture." It is doubtful if these would have attracted much public attention had not their author, some two years later, taken a prominent part in the discussion upon a proposal to admit Dissenters into the university without having first subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The arguments he advanced in favour of this relaxation in favour of Nonconformists, being compared with propositions he had advanced in his "Bampton Lectures," briefly summarised, were to the effect that the Thirty-nine Articles were, after all, human formularies, and were really binding on no one but those who had reason to think them true. His arguments seem to have led him into admissions of a very dangerous character. The great Catholic creeds—the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds—every expression of collective belief, and every document, however venerable, which the church had sanctioned from the first, seemed to be included in his estimate of the Articles. The argument he applied to the Articles seemed in his system to refer equally to the "creeds" received in all churches, all being "of human origin."

Fierce disputes, on these conclusions of Dr. Hampden, naturally arose in the university. In 1835, the proposed abolition of the subscription to the Articles at matriculation, for which Hampden and his party had pleaded, was rejected by an enormous majority. The angry war of words and pamphlets, however, might have died away and been forgotten, had

it not been for the strange recommendation at this juncture, made by the prime minister, of Dr. Hampden as Regius professor of Divinity, in the room of Dr. Burton, who died at the close of 1835. It was early in 1836 when, to use the words of a contemporary Oxford observer, "we were electrified by the intelligence that Dr. Hampden was to be appointed to the vacant chair of divinity. The measure seemed a designed insult to the university. . . It was to place in the chair of divinity, with the power of instructing and guiding *half the rising clergy of England*, one who would undermine the authority of our creeds and articles."

R. D. HAMPDEN, D.D.
(*From the painting by D. Macnee, R.S.A.*)

A number of influential Oxford men petitioned the crown against the appointment. The petition was, however, rejected, and Dr. Hampden became Regius

professor. Again the angry discussions were renewed—discussions which finally resulted in Convocation passing a vote of censure upon Dr. Hampden, who was deprived of certain privileges which belonged to his professor's chair. It is true that this vote of censure and what followed was by no means the exclusive work of the Tractarians, many who never sympathised with them having joined in the proceedings against the new professor; but it is indisputable that "the leaders of the movement had undertaken the responsibility, conspicuously and almost alone, of pointing out the objections to Dr. Hampden's teaching." From this time onwards a bitter enmity existed between the leaders of the movement, and Dr. Hampden and his friends; and much of the subsequent unfortunate action on the part of the university rulers was owing to the feeling stirred up by this unhappy incident.

We must not, however, linger too long over this confused period, when so many angry feelings were aroused by the Hampden controversy, but content ourselves with lightly touching upon the circumstances which marked the progress of the "movement" between 1836 and 1841; the last-named date definitely marking the beginning of the parting of the ways among the Tractarians themselves. The work of the new Oxford party during these five or six years (1836–1841) went on, and their influence steadily grew. As early as 1835 the Theological Society, the meetings of which were held in Dr. Pusey's house in Christ Church, was formed. Theological essays were read, some of which subsequently formed the basis of the later lengthy *Tracts for the Times*. The tracts themselves appeared at intervals, some of them, as we have already noticed, of portentous length. Articles were written in the widely-read *British Critic* and *Quarterly Theological Review*; some of them weighty and important essays on church matters, some of them unhappily coloured by a growing spirit of discontent with the English Church, and by a fatal sympathy with Rome. Froude's "Remains" were published, and excited grave alarm in many prudent and thoughtful hearts by their wild and exaggerated expressions. The Library of the Fathers had been fairly started, and volumes of this great literature of the early church were appearing at stated intervals. And all this time the famous sermons of Newman were being preached at St. Mary's every Sunday afternoon—such sermons, with their spiritual depth and earnestness, with their quiet and fervid eloquence, as for many long years had never been listened to in Oxford before. In addition to these, the great teacher gave lectures in Adam de Brome's chapel in St. Mary's* to a small but influential group of listeners, lectures which were afterwards developed into his work on "The Prophetical Character of the Church," and certain of the later lengthy *Tracts for the Times*.

The interest of the world, outside Oxford, in the questions stirred up by the movement, by degrees extended; and it has been said with truth that

* This chapel has been described as a dark and dreary appendage to St. Mary's on the north side, in which Adam de Brome, Edward II.'s Almoner, and the founder of Oriel college, is supposed to lie, beneath a slab of Purbeck marble, from which the brass has been removed.

in these years "the movement in its many sides had almost monopolised for the time both the intelligence and the highest religious earnestness of the university. In Oxford," writes dean Church, "in vacation reading parties, in their walks or social meetings, in their studies or in the common room, the 'Tractarian' doctrines, whether assented to or laughed at, deplored or fiercely denounced, were sure to come to the front. All subjects in discussion seemed to lead up to them: art and poetry, Gothic architecture and German romance and painting, the philosophy of language, and the novels of Walter Scott and Miss Austen, Coleridge's transcendentalism, and bishop Butler's practical wisdom, Plato's ideals, and Aristotle's analysis. It was difficult to keep them (the Tractarian opinions) out of lecture-rooms and examinations for fellowships." And thus, not only in Oxford, but throughout the country, a new school of thought appeared, and rapidly became a power in England, and one that had to be reckoned with by the rulers of the church, who were not unnaturally alarmed by some of the rash and imprudent pronouncements which emanated from it.

The fatal rift in this new and powerful party came about in this wise. From 1833 to 1839 the movement met with, on the whole, marked success. The danger-clouds which menaced the church had been dispersed; little was now heard of destructive reform; a widespread feeling in favour of the church had been evoked among the English people, and a marked impulse had been given to theological study; and some at least among the celebrated *Tracts for the Times* had been by many thoughtful minds in the church received, if not with unstinting approval, at least with respectful, even sympathetic consideration. The gravest accusation levelled against the Tractarian party, and one that was listened to with considerable attention, was founded upon its alleged inclination to Romanism. To this formidable charge Dr. Pusey replied in his famous "Letter to the Bishop of Oxford." This letter was, in fact, an elaborate apology for the publications and public utterances of the school, put out during the first six years of the movement. In it, from his standpoint, he showed with conspicuous ability that in the "Tracts," and generally in the writings* of the Tractarian leaders, there was a general consensus of opinion adverse to Rome—a clear conception of its corruptions and grave doctrinal errors, and a distinct intention to resist them.

This letter of Pusey had considerable effect, and in many quarters was considered unanswerable. But Dr. Pusey, when he published it, forgot or ignored that in 1839-40, although the main body of his friends were loyal to their church, there had sprung up in the heart of the movement a small though powerful group of conspicuously able men, whose words and writings were unmistakably coloured with those very Romanistic tendencies which he was so anxious to disclaim for the whole party — men like Robert Wilberforce, Oakeley, and Ward, names that afterwards became too famous in religious England.

* Of course, there were grave exceptions, but notably in R. H. Froude's "Remains." See p. 324.

The chief inspirer of this group, alas! was Pusey's dearest friend and associate, Newman; and these leaders were followed by a small but determined group of younger men, all fiery partisans, and devoted to Newman.

In fact, the Tractarians in 1839, 1840, and 1841 were already fast dividing into two parties. These younger and more impetuous men, who had more or less broken away from the more serious older leaders, such as Pusey, Palmer, and Keble, all looked for guidance and a lead to

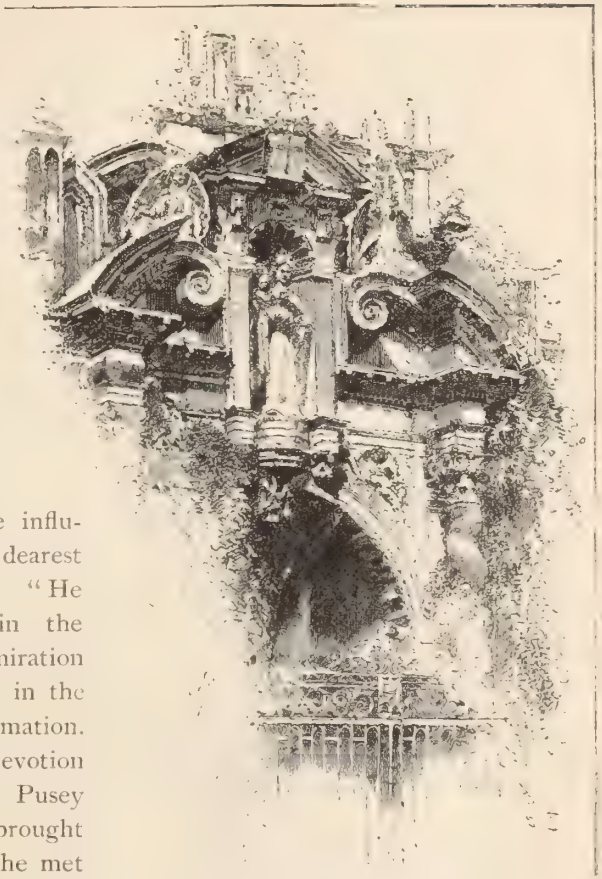
DR. PUSEY PREACHING.

that strong, brilliant man whose winning voice and burning words were so well known, whose writings were so eloquent and withal so lucid, and who since the beginning of the revival had been the chief inspirer of both the writings and the sermons of the school — Newman of Oriel, the vicar of the great Oxford church of St. Mary's. What of *him* at this critical juncture? what part would he play in the drama which was being gradually unfolded before the eyes of the church and nation? Would he lead these ardent but sorely mistaken spirits back into the old paths of the Anglicanism which they were forsaking, or would he be their guide on their Rome-ward way?

The reasons which brought about the change that had passed over Newman's views, will ever remain a mystery. One may suggest certain plausible enough causes which may have moved *him*, while they failed utterly to touch such men as Pusey and Keble, to say nothing of less known but at the same time equally profound scholars, such as Palmer and Marriott. But when all is before us, the change in Newman will ever remain a riddle to which no perfectly satisfactory solution exists. Even his own *Apologia*, written with all the winning charm and transparent eloquence of which he was so great a master, fails us here. No pen in the earlier years of Tractarianism so trenchantly condemned Romanism, as did the pen of him who in later years has been known as the great cardinal. For instance, he wrote: "We agree with the Romanist, in appealing to *antiquity* as our great teacher, but we deny that his doctrines are to be found in antiquity." In another place he says: "We believe that Popery is a perversion or corruption of the truth," and with crushing truth he once penned the following sentence, which with tremendous force aimed at and hit the darkest blot on the shield of

Rome: "The present authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome, to judge by what we see of it in public, goes very far indeed to substitute another Gospel for the true one. Instead of setting before the soul the blessed Trinity, it does seem to me as a popular system to preach the blessed Virgin and the saints." *

What, then, brought about the great change which passed over that great but versatile soul? First and foremost we would suggest, from his own words, the influence exercised over him by his dearest friend, Richard Hurrell Froude. "He taught me," writes Newman in the *Apologia*, "to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the blessed Virgin." Dr. Pusey thought the final catastrophe was brought about owing to the ill-treatment he met with, especially from the heads of houses at Oxford. But this was not the general opinion of the more serious members of the group of older Tractarians, one of whom thus records his conclusions, which may be taken as a fair expression of their thoughts here: "I have heard Dr. Pusey speak of Newman as forced out of the Church of England; nevertheless, I believe Isaac Williams may be right in attributing his change more to what was working within him — to his natural restless temperament." * That his sensitive spirit was wounded by the unwise and precipitate treatment dealt out to him and his friends by university and other authorities, is indisputable; but that Newman made up his mind quite independently of these circumstances, is equally clear.



PORCH OF ST. MARY'S, OXFORD.

The Church of Rome, too, with its grandeur, its far-reaching power, its marvellous adaptability to all conceivable

* The references to these passages from Cardinal Newman's writings are given in Mr. Palmer's "Narrative." He adds other similar quotations, which might largely be multiplied.

* Sir George Prevost, in the "Autobiography of Isaac Williams," p. 104 (note).

human organisations, its more than imperial authority over the hearts of men, for years had possessed a strange fascination for Newman, even while at the same time he clearly recognised its grievous shortcomings. In its magnificence and catholicity it was to him, all through the earlier days of the movement, nevertheless "a lost church," "the seat of heinous error," the guardian of an unsound creed, the "cruel-natured Rome." In his well-known poems we come upon such lines as—

"Far sadder musing on the traveller falls
At sight of thee, O Rome!"
* * * *
"And next a mingled throng besets the breast
Of bitter thoughts and sweet,
How shall I name thee, Light of the wide West,
Or heinous error-seat?"

And again,—

"O that thy creed were sound!
For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome,
By thy unwearied watch, and varied round
Of service, in thy Saviour's holy home.
* * * *
There on a foreign shore
The home-sick solitary finds a friend."

In another of his poems we read—

"And now thou sendest foes
Bred from thy womb, lost Church, to mock the throes
Of thy free child, thou cruel-natured Rome!" *

Yet, in spite of these misgivings, ever in Newman's mind brooded the attractive thought which lives along the pages of Macaulay's famous essay,† written about the same time, of the *permanence* of that mighty Roman communion; how for centuries, amid the crash of falling empires, the changes of dynasties, the migration of whole peoples, Rome has lived on; how when the waters of invasion or revolution had abated, "its deep foundations remained unshaken; how not once or twice it appeared amidst the ruins of a world which had passed away. . . . The unchangeable church was still there." Though he was too conscious that the doctrines of the Romish church were very different from the doctrines of the early church, he gradually and by slow degrees explained to himself this incongruity by means of the ingenious theory of "development" which he subsequently thought out and published; a theory which amazed and interested all, which delighted some minds, and grieved and saddened others.

But in 1839-1840 this was still in the future, and Newman was yet a leader of thought in the Anglican communion. It was early in 1841 that he published the essay, which will be for ever associated with his name when many of his nobler pieces of work are forgotten: the essay known as "Tract 90," entitled "Remarks on certain passages in the Thirty-nine Articles" (83 pages). Its avowed purpose was to keep in the Church of England a certain number of his disciples who were on the point of seceding from the Anglican communion and joining the Church of Rome. The argument in the famous tract which excited so much criticism, was to the effect that in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England "was there no Catholic doctrine, or hardly any Roman doctrine, condemned." * The ingenuity of the

* "Lyra Apostolica," Nos. clxxii., clxxiii., clxxiv.

† Macaulay: Essay on Ranke's "History of the Pope," published in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1840.

* *Cf.* Wakeman: "History of Church of England," chap. xx.

strange argument was indisputable; but it cannot be said to have been successful from any point of view. It failed largely in the primary purpose of its author: even one of the most learned of the Tractarian party speaks of "the universal disapprobation which 'Tract 90' experienced." In Newman's letter to Dr. Jelf, written in 1842, in which he defended his exposition of the Articles so severely and generally criticised, he says, by way of explanation, that he was thinking only or chiefly of some younger men who saw in the Articles, as popularly interpreted, a reason for joining the Church of Rome.

But for good or for evil Tract No. 90 had been launched forth, and it was curiously and eagerly read by friends and foes. As is usually the case in such pronouncements, many read the original essay, comparatively few the explanations*— which dwelt especially on his earnest desire to meet a particular set of difficulties. Very quickly the storm broke over Oxford. "Tract 90" was published the last day of February, 1841. Early in March four senior tutors † of the university addressed the author of the Tract, charging him with opening a way by which men in the case of Romish doctrines might violate their solemn pledges to the university. Before March had half run out, the "heads of houses" met and declared that in "No. 90" modes of interpretation were suggested by which subscription to the Articles might be reconciled with the adoption of Roman Catholic error; and the resolution of these university chiefs was passed without waiting for the defence of the author of the Tract thus condemned, though they were aware that the defence in question was soon to appear.

Very gently did the bishop of Oxford (Dr. Bagot), of whom the Tractarian leaders ever speak with reverence and love, express his opinion of "No. 90" to Newman. After kindly alluding to his persuasion that the object of the Tract in question was to make the church more Catholic (in its true sense) and more united, he added the grave words, "but I cannot think it free from danger, and I feel that it would tend to increase disunion at this time." The archbishop of Canterbury,* writing to the bishop of Oxford, styles it the "unfortunate Tract." Far more stern and condemnatory, however, was the public language of the majority of the bishops, who, before the end of the year (1841) which had witnessed its publication, with "very varying degrees of decision, joined in the chorus of condemnation of the famous essay." † "What

* Such, for instance, as were contained in the above referred to letter to Dr. Jelf.

† One of the four was Mr. Tait, afterwards bishop of London and archbishop of Canterbury.

* Archbishop Howley, formerly Regius professor of divinity at Oxford, the intimate friend of H. J. Rose, above described as one of the prominent figures of the early days of the movement, was a prelate of singularly calm judgment and understanding. Lord Aberdeen, the statesman, declared that after forty years of intimate acquaintance he had found less of human infirmity in Howley than in any man he had ever known.

† As an instance of the language of the episcopal charges see, for instance, the reference in Dr. Philpotts' charge. (Dr. Philpotts, bishop of Exeter, has been fairly described as the most advanced and militant High Churchman on the bench.) "The tone of the Tract, as respects our own church, is offensive and indecent; as regards the Reformation and our reformers, absurd, as well as incongruous and unjust. Its principles of interpreting our Articles I cannot but deem most unsound: the

might not the movement have been," Dr. Pusey said with some pathos some forty years later, "if the bishops could have understood us! I remember Newman saying to me at Littlemore, 'Oh, Pusey! we have leant on the bishops, and they have broken down under us.' It was too late then to say anything; he was already leaving us." *

Acting upon the expressed wish of the bishop of Oxford and of the archbishop of Canterbury, who both showed kindly feeling and sympathy with Newman, an announcement of the cessation of the Tracts was almost immediately made; and in a judicious letter to bishop Bagot, the archbishop trusted that such an announcement would terminate the troubles excited by the 90th Tract. These hopes were not realised. There were many in the Church of England who had received the writings

WILLIAM GEORGE WARD.
(From a Miniature by E. Combe

reasoning with which it supports its principles sophistical; the averment on which it founds its reasoning, at variance with recorded facts . . . It is idle to argue against arguments which were not designed for argument, but for scoffing . . . It is far the most daring attempt ever yet made by a minister of the Church of England to neutralise the distinctive doctrines of our church, and to make us symbolise with Rome." (Quoted in "Life of Archbishop Tait," vol. i.)

* Quoted by Dr. Liddon, in "Life of Pusey," vol. ii., chap. xxvi.

and sayings of the new Oxford school with dislike. The late attitude of the official chiefs in Oxford, and the general coldness or even hostility on the part of many of the bishops, seemed in a measure to justify these feelings of antipathy. "Tract 90" was not allowed to drop into oblivion. It was attacked and defended in many ways and by many persons. But, after all, even man when the stir consequent upon the publication of the famous tract of Newman arose in 1841. He was already well known in Oxford as a sparkling and interesting personality, but withal eccentric and curiously impressionable. The story of his examination in the schools will never be forgotten; how, after a most brilliant display of scholarship, he was asked an ordinary

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD. *Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.*

this strong and excited feeling might have died away, had it not been for the action of the extreme wing of the Tractarian party.

We have before once or twice alluded to a party of Oxford men, mostly younger than Newman, and all ardently attached to the great teacher, who more powerfully than any other man of his generation had the rare power of attracting and fascinating others. Of these the most prominent, perhaps the most able, was William George Ward, a fellow of Balliol College. Born in 1812, he was still a comparatively young question bearing upon the classic author he had so perfectly rendered into English. It was one of Cicero's letters. Ward, in reply, said he knew "nothing whatever about them" and their history. The examiner, wishing to assist the able young scholar, begged him to take his own time, thinking he was simply nervous. "No, sir," replied Ward, "it is not nervousness, pure ignorance." In the end, this curious neglect of common information cost him his first-class, but his well-known scholarship procured him a fellowship of Balliol.

The same strange inconsistency continued all through his career. Years later, when his originality and great learning and undoubted ability had made his name famous, a similar incident is related connected with Pugin, the illustrious architect. Pugin, whose idolatry of everything Gothic is well known, remarked to a friend: "What an extraordinary thing that so glorious a man as Ward should be living in a room without 'mullions' to the windows!" Pugin playfully attacked him on the subject of this lack—as it seemed to him—in the architecture of his dwelling. "What are mullions?" was Ward's reply; "I never heard of them." *

In the earlier years of his Oxford career Ward came much under the influence of Dr. Arnold and Arthur Stanley, but later he was attracted by the sermons and lectures of Newman, of whom he became the follower and ardent disciple, exaggerating, however, and going far beyond the teaching of his master. Under Ward and his immediate companions, what was virtually a new school grew up in the heart of the older Tractarian school. To Ward "the beautiful but more indefinite" lessons of the early Fathers presented less attraction than the writings of the famous mediævalists. "He literally buried himself," says his biographer, "in the works of Aquinas and Bonaventura and of the great Spanish theologians of the sixteenth century, and at this time he laid the foundations of the deep and wide theological learning for which he was in after years so famous, when he had found a home in another communion."

* See "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement," by Wilfrid Ward, chap. vii.

All through this period of stress and trial at Oxford, of painful searchings of heart, of blind groping hither and thither, of sombre controversy, the existing Roman church was ever the object of Ward's reverence and admiration. To his glowing imagination, the loftiest types of sanctity presented by the Anglican Church, even when "sharing the tender piety of George Herbert and bishop Ken, fell short of the heroic aims, the martial sanctity gained by warfare unceasing against the world and flesh and devil, which he found exhibited in Roman hagiology." * While in these last years of the great movement Newman was gradually withdrawing himself more and more from public gaze, and in his solitude at Littlemore, outside the Oxford world, in silence was meditating the great step of his anxious, troubled life; while Pusey, in deep sorrow at what he saw around him, was bracing himself up to endure hardness for what he felt was truth; while Keble and Marriott were hoping against hope that they would soon see a rift in the dark clouds of suspicion and animosity which were fast gathering over the revival of what they held so precious and dear, Ward became the prominent figure in Oxford—writing, arguing in season and out of season, the centre and rallying-point of the disaffected younger Tractarians, day by day showing himself more plainly as the adversary of Anglicanism; going far to justify, indeed, the harsh and often unwise action of the governing body in the university and of the rulers of the Church.

We have a contemporary portrait † of

* Wilfrid Ward's Life, chap. vii.

† *Ibid.* chap. ii.

this brilliant but eccentric outcome of the movement, which paints him as short and unwieldy, with clear-cut features of great mobility of expression, and as having a joyousness of manner which was infectious. His voice was powerful and musical, and his laugh mighty. His speech was frank to a fault. Arthur Stanley, afterwards dean of Westminster, writes of him as "a large moon-faced man." This strange, clever man, who worked such mischief to the cause of which once he was so doughty a champion, was one of the most lovable and modest of friends, absolutely unself-seeking, at once tender and generous. When, long years later, Ward had passed away, and the din of the great conflict had been long hushed, the greatest of the poets of this century * wrote the following touching memorial lines to his friend :—

"Farewell, whose living like I shall not find,
Whose faith and work were bells of full accord,
My friend, the most unworldly of mankind,
Most generous of all Ultramontanes, Ward,
How subtle at tierce and quart of mind with mind,
How loyal in the following of thy Lord!"

It was to retain in their allegiance to the Church of England men such as Ward, that Newman tells us he wrote "Tract 90," and its unreal interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. But Ward would have none of such interpretations. The "Articles" to him were utterly distasteful. He honestly disliked them, because he felt they *were* openly Protestant. It was possible, but only just possible, he said, for a Catholic to subscribe to them. He would not go further with Newman and his tract, than to concede in his strange forcible phraseology, that these Articles were *patient* of a Catholic interpretation, but *ambitious* of a Protestant meaning. They were, as he considered them, the outcome of an evil age. Such pronouncements as this, from one like Ward, were not likely to promote peace in Oxford, or in the church outside Oxford.

Indefatigable was his pen. A number of articles in the *British Critic*, a quarterly review which had long been highly esteemed in the Church, written by him, instituted comparisons between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. The field over which Mr. Ward's comparisons stretched was a broad one, and included much besides doctrine. The ideals, aims, the training and education—in fact, the whole life of the clergy of the two churches were in these articles exhaustively reviewed, and generally the result of the comparison was fatally adverse to the Church of England.

Nor was Ward the only Tractarian writer who at this time wrote in this spirit in the pages of the *British Critic*. Others harped on the same disloyal string. Among these, distinguished for his ability and power as a writer, was Mr. Oakeley, also a fellow of Balliol, and minister of Margaret Chapel in London. His famous article on "Jewel" was one of the most bitter public pronouncements by the anti-Reformation school of Ward. In it the Reformation is proclaimed as "a desperate remedy," was almost "a fearful judgment," and bishop Jewel is absolutely condemned as a heretic. This article in the *British Critic* openly advised its readers to withdraw their confidence from the English reformer.

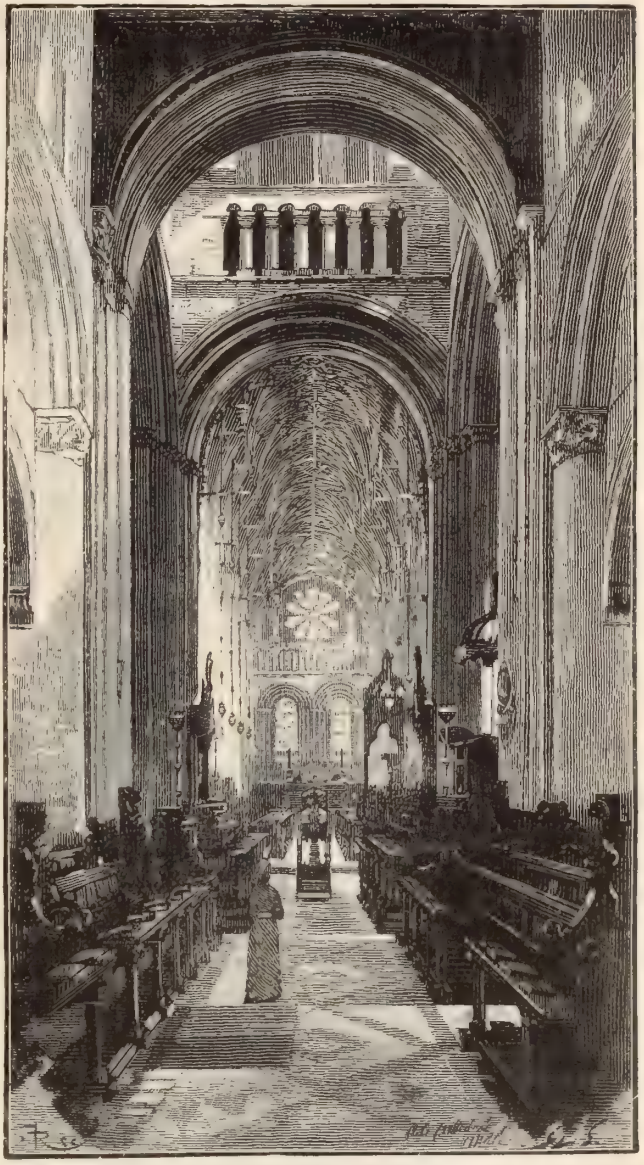
The attitude generally assumed by the

* Lord Tennyson.

heads of the University towards the Tractarians in those two years which followed the publication of "Tract 90," as regards Ward cannot be fairly criticised. He was openly assuming an absolutely disloyal attitude towards the church of which he was a minister. The wisdom, however, of some of the proceedings of the "heads" is open to grave censure. It was undoubtedly an uneasy, restless moment. "Tract 90" had disturbed and rendered anxious many quiet, earnest minds, and the unveiled Romanistic tendencies of Ward and his group of friends were becoming every month more prominent: there was real danger in the air. But unhappily the heads of the colleges encountered the danger as men who were panic-stricken. They looked on all the party of the "movement" with suspicion, and treated them all alike as enemies. They had no sympathy with the earnestness and true piety and profound scholarship which existed in the Tractarian ranks. With the exception of Dr. Routh, the honoured president of Magdalen, there was scarcely a theological scholar in their number. The bishops, too, with rare exceptions, followed their lead, and in their public utterances and charges treated all the men of the movement alike with coldness and even with stern reproof. The bishop of Winchester even refused ordination to Keble's curate. In the University, when at the close of 1841 Keble vacated the chair of poetry, the election turned most unfairly upon the burning question of the day, and Isaac Williams, a singularly devout and pious scholar, whose claims, from his published poems, to the chair of poetry were undoubted, was set aside for another, certainly as a poet not to be classed with William, who was looked upon by the majority of the electors as the "Tractarian" candidate.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD, FROM THE CHIRWELL.

A still graver error was committed in the spring of 1843, when a sermon of Dr. Pusey's, preached in Christ Church, was condemned as heretical, and the preacher condemned in consequence to two years' silence. The sermon in question was styled "The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent." It was by no means a polemical discourse. That it contained statements concerning the Holy Eucharist, which some loyal and faithful members of the Church of England would have demurred to, is no doubt true; but that it contained nothing which could be with any fairness arraigned as heresy, is equally true. How wide and diverse men's opinions respecting the profound mystery have been in all ages of the story of the church, we have already borne witness. It will be ever so. But to charge Pusey with heresy was indeed a grave error, especially as he was refused a hearing by his judges.



CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

The scene when Pusey preached what has since been known as "the condemned sermon," on the fourth Sunday after Easter, 1843, has been thus graphically described. "The audience listened with the attention it always does to Dr. Pusey, and then went away. . . . It was pronounced useful, eloquent, striking, beautiful, pretty, such the usual remarks. Some said it was a long sermon. It was

of course, said to contain high doctrinal views; but as all Pusey's sermons contain high views, there was nothing to draw attention in this remark. The audience went home, were perfectly at their ease, thought nothing more about it—the reverential impression excepted, of course, which that preacher's discourse leaves on the mind—when all on a sudden comes, like a clap of thunder on the ear, the news that the Board of Heresy is summoned to sit on Dr. Pusey." *

Dr. Pusey at that time occupied a unique position at Oxford. He was reckoned as the official leader of the then unpopular Tractarian party. But his unswerving loyalty to the Church of England was unquestioned by foes as by friends. In his great university he had no peer in the profundity and wide range of his learning. These high qualifications, coupled with his blameless, self-denying life, rendered him, it has been well said, in many respects the most venerated person in Oxford. To strike at such a teacher was indeed a fatal error, and it was one of the chief causes which precipitated the catastrophe we are about to relate.

We may now return to Mr. Ward, and the attitude he and his friends were taking up. The articles in the *British Critic* we have already spoken of, as giving an entirely new complexion to the movement. Mr. Mozley, who was then editor of the *British Critic*, thus writes of them: "I continued to read Ward's articles as fast as they came from the press . . . not only from duty, but with a certain pleasurable excitement, akin to that some children have in playing on the edge of a precipice. Their terminus was outside the Church of England." In some sense they justified the suspicion with which all the Tractarians were viewed by the heads in Oxford and the bishops outside the university. Dr. Pusey and Isaac Williams suffered for the sins of their brethren. The rulers of the university and of the church lumped the loyal and disloyal Anglicans all together without discrimination. Men like Palmer felt it was indeed high time "to cut themselves free from this decayed and dying member."

Under the pressure of these grave circumstances, which threatened the very existence of the movement, with the full approval of the generous-minded and sympathetic Dr. Bagot, bishop of Oxford, Mr. Palmer put out the "Narrative of Events connected with the publication of the Tracts for the Times." It was a somewhat dry, but at the same time fair and statesmanlike history of the dawn and growth of the "movement," and included a vivid contrast between the tone and object of its first promoters, with the excesses of the later writers in the *British Critic*—excesses which were, of course, by all sober-minded Anglicans, strongly and adversely criticised and disowned. The "Narrative" excited wide attention, was very generally approved by a great number of leading churchmen, and was largely sold; in America, it is said, 100,000 copies were disposed of. The "Romanisers" soon replied to it, and the reply took the form of a bulky volume of some 600 pages, by Ward, entitled "The Ideal of the Christian Church considered in comparison with Existing Practice." The "Ideal"

* Essays by J. B. Mozley, D.D., ii., pp. 150–1.

was published in the June of 1844, a little more than a year after the condemnation of Dr. Pusey's sermon. There was no mistaking its tendency. It boldly accepted and endorsed the disloyal attitude of the articles in the *British Critic*, at the same time freely confessing that Mr. Palmer's quotations from the *British Critic* articles were, on the whole, perfectly fair. The meaning of this once famous book was painfully obvious. It not only maintained that the Roman Church—the actual Roman system—was generally superior to the Anglican Church and the Anglican system, but it claimed the right of holding the whole cycle of Roman doctrine.

Such a manifesto could not remain ignored. Before the year 1844 closed, the heads of the Oxford houses announced that, having examined some of the startling propositions advanced in the "Ideal," they proposed to submit to Convocation certain measures. (1) To condemn Mr. Ward's book; (2) to degrade Mr. Ward by depriving him of all his university degrees. Among the passages selected as examples by the vice-chancellor and the board of heads of houses as incriminating statements, the two last of the selected quotations ran as follows:—Page 565: "We find, oh most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight, we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English churchmen." Page 567: "Three years have passed since I said plainly that in subscribing the Articles I renounce no one Roman doctrine."

Such public statements as these, in the eyes of most fair Englishmen of any school of thought in the church, demonstrated that for Mr. Ward the extreme limit of toleration had been passed. The strongest condemnation of the "Ideal" was certain to be voted by an overwhelming majority of the Oxford Convocation. But the "heads" demanded the degradation of Mr. Ward from all his university degrees. The legality of such a step was doubtful, and it was a grave mistake to propose it. This was shown by the voting. The condemnation of the book was carried, as might have been expected, by a majority of about two to one; the degradation by a comparatively small majority—569 to 511. A third proposition, originally intended to have been made by the "heads of houses," to make a more rigorous test as to *the sense* in which the members of the university understood the Articles, was dropped by the board of heads before the Convocation met, so general was the feeling of disapprobation manifested at the idea of such a tyrannical innovation, which would, indeed, by a strict definition of subscription to the Articles, have abridged the cherished liberties of the English Church. Leading men of all schools of thought were bitterly opposed to any such definition.

Strangely enough, the "heads" made another unfortunate mistake, substituting for this dropped third proposition a proposed formal censure of "Tract 90." The tract was most unpopular, it is true; but the chivalry of Oxford revolted at the idea of hunting down the eminent man who had written the tract some four years before, and, when the censure of "Tract 90" was proposed, it was formally vetoed by the proctors, in accordance with an ancient statutable university privilege they possessed. Their unusual but perfectly

legal action was largely approved. But though the public condemnation of Mr. Newman by means of the formal censure of his famous "Tract 90" was averted, owing to this bold action of the proctors, the condemnation of the "Ideal" and the degradation of its writer was voted by the majorities above related. Those who were eye-witnesses of the famous scene in the Sheldonian theatre in the February of 1845, when the book (the "Ideal") in which the Church of England was insulted received a formal condemnation, and its author was degraded from his degrees, tell us of the unparalleled excitement of the mighty concourse of some 1,500, made up of many of the leading men of England, who were proud of and jealous for the reputation of their immemorial Oxford.

Was this, then, the outcome of that far-reaching Oxford movement, from which so much had been expected: the public condemnation and degradation of an eccentric but very able and prominent son of that great church revival; the proposed bitter and public censure of the honoured chief of the movement, of one far greater and more distinguished than the condemned Ward, only removed out of the arena of debate by a bold and dramatic interposition on the part of the proctors Guillemard and Church?* Clouds and thick darkness, indeed, seemed to have gathered round the party from which so much had been hoped. *All* the great names, unfairly enough, as was afterwards seen, of the scholarly men who adorned the Tractarian party, seemed stained with the reproach of disloyalty to the church which so many of them loved. On that February day, 1845, the Oxford movement seemed hopelessly ruined. But, strange to say, notwithstanding all this, a great future was still before it—a future none dreamed of in that hour of sad mistakes and fatal errors and seemingly hopeless confusion.

Meanwhile, at a distance from the stir and din of the conflict in the university, the recluse of Littlemore was preparing, in strict retirement, with patient study and anxious thought, for the final move which would separate him for ever from the Anglican church, once so precious to him—for the separation which would part him from his dearest friends, who for so long had been his fellow-workers. From the dawn of the Oxford movement, John Henry Newman of Oriel had been its life and soul. He had written the first "tract" of the famous series, and the last, the historial No. 90, had been penned by the same tireless hand. As a preacher of rare and peculiar power he has, in our story of this great religious revival, been more than once alluded to. "Those wonderful afternoon sermons" at St. Mary's had gone home to the hearts of so many men, of all sorts and conditions, from the highly-cultured and critical fellow of Balliol or Oriel, down to the youngest undergraduate; and these sermons had gone on for some years, from 1828 to 1843, "each continuing and deepening the impression produced by the last. The world knows these sermons, has heard

* The Dr. Church in later days known as the revered and universally honoured dean of St. Paul's.

a great deal about them, has passed its various judgments on them; but it hardly realises that without them the movement might never have gone on, certainly would never have been what it was."*

question, Newman, to use his own striking words, had been on his death-bed as regards his membership with the Anglican Church, though at the time he had become aware of it only by degrees. It was

DR. BAGOT, BISHOP OF OXFORD.
(From an engraving by J. Burnet, F.R.S.)

From the end of 1841—the year of the appearance of "Tract 90"—after the almost general storm of indignation which followed the startling interpretations of the Articles suggested by the tract in a long drawn-out agony though, this "death-bed," lasting about four long weary years. He tells the true story in his own nervous graphic way, in the long chapter of the *Apologia* dealing with his religious opinions from 1841–45: how

* Professor Shairp and dean Church.

in the spring of '41 he had given up his place in the movement in his letter to his bishop, expecting or intending gradually to fall back into lay communion. He did not at first contemplate leaving the Church of England, but he says he felt that he could not hold office in its service if he were not allowed to hold the Catholic sense of the Articles (*i.e.* as he had expounded their sense in "Tract 90"); while, on the other hand, he could not go to Rome while she suffered honour to be paid to the Blessed Virgin and the saints, which he thought in his conscience to be incompatible with the Supreme Incommunicable Glory of the One Infinite and Eternal. At the same time he declares how he kept back persons who were disposed to go to Rome, with all his might. This, he affirmed, was his view of his duty from the end of 1841 to the autumn of 1843. During this period he remained vicar of St. Mary's, and continued his sermons there, but all the while he lived in semi-retirement, mostly at Littlemore.*

In these last months of his vicariate of St. Mary's, lasting a year and a half or two years, he says he was gradually surrendering himself to the influence of others, younger men mostly than himself, a group belonging to a new school of thought, such as Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley; he especially singles out the latter for mention. These men had, it was known, a strong bias Rome-wards. He also confesses that, in spite of there being "actual circumstances in the Church of Rome which pained him much," the old glamour which Rome had for long thrown over him was intensifying—that he had "a secret longing love of Rome, the mother of English Christianity." On the other hand, he complained bitterly that although in a kind of retirement at Littlemore, although taking no part in controversy and religious strife, after "Tract 90" the Protestant world would not let him alone—that malevolent reports of all kinds were circulated about him, continually vexing and harassing him. In vain he tried completely to sever himself from Oxford, and to quietly continue his ministrations at Littlemore, but it was found impracticable to sever Littlemore from the mother parish of St. Mary. Other events, too, pressed upon him sorely—notably the foundation of the bishopric of Jerusalem,* and the reiterated charges of the bishops against his "Tract 90." In the year '43, he writes, he began to despair of the Church of England, and before the year closed, resigning the vicarage of St. Mary, he gave up all clerical duty.

The closing scene of Newman's public career in the Church of England, when, in the presence of a few devoted and mourning friends, the great Tractarian leader preached in the little Littlemore church his farewell sermon, which they knew too well was the herald of his final

* Littlemore was a district of the parish of St. Mary, about three miles from Oxford.

* The question of the Jerusalem bishopric was as follows. It was a plan of Bunsen, the Prussian Minister in England, that England and Prussia alternately should nominate a Protestant bishop in Jerusalem, to be consecrated by English bishops. This prelate was to exercise jurisdiction over English and German Protestants in Palestine. To Newman it seemed that England, out of communion with the East and with Rome, by this step entered into close communion with Lutherans and Calvinists against both the ancient churches of the East and West. "It was one of the blows," wrote Newman, "which broke me."

separation from them and the Church of England, is a striking episode in the story. "When Newman entered the pulpit there was a kind of awestruck silence; everybody knew that something would be said which nobody would ever forget. And the 'Parting of Friends' is, perhaps, the most pathetic of all the sermons of this greatest master of religious pathos. . . It is the cry which tells the world that a work of spiritual and religious restoration, to which in the thoughts of many earnest and serious men no parallel had been witnessed in Europe for at least three centuries, was, at least to the mind of one who had hitherto had the chief hand in promoting it, a failure. . . The concluding apostrophe to the Church of his birth gives pathetic utterance to the perplexity and sorrow that filled so many hearts at that most critical moment: 'O my mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee, and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender and deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thy arms? . . . Thou makest them 'stand all day idle' . . . or thou biddest them begone where they will be more welcome.'" *

One of the intimate friends who was present that day at Littlemore, in the September of 1843, wrote thus, a few days after: † "I am just returned, half heart-broken, from the commemoration at Littlemore. It implied more than said, Farewell. People sobbed audibly. . . . If our bishops did but know what faithful hearts, devoted to the service of our Lord and the Church, they are breaking!"

During the whole period, 1841-1845, Newman's long agony has been well described as a cruel struggle between the deepest affection and ever-growing convictions; but the struggle did not begin with the conviction in which it ended. It began, and long continued, with the conviction that, although in his own Church of England there was much that was sadly lacking, over the Church of Rome brooded the dark shadow of grave doctrinal errors. His great crux as regards (Roman) Catholicism, he tells us in the *Apologia*, was what is usually termed the "Mariolatry" of the Roman church. Alluding to devotional manifestations in honour of the Virgin Mother, dwelt upon in the works of St. Alfonso Liguori, he even wrote (after he had become a Romanist), "I say frankly, I do not fully enter into these now. I trust I do not love her" (the Virgin Mary) "the less because I do not enter into these." During the latter part of his musings at Littlemore, he reconciled himself to what he felt was wrong in Rome by the celebrated system of "development," of which, though not the author,* he certainly became the popular exponent. In a remarkable passage in the *Apologia*, he thus sketches out what was in his mind: "The idea of the blessed Virgin was, as it were, *magnified* in the Church of Rome as time went on,

* Dr. Liddon: "Life of Pusey," chap. xxx.
† *Ibid.*

* Newman quotes St. Vincent of Lerins, as recognising the idea.

but so were all the Christian ideas, as that of the blessed Eucharist. The whole scene of pale, faint apostolic Christianity is seen in Rome as through a telescope or magnifier. The harmony of the whole, however, is of course what it was. It is unfair, then, to take one Roman idea—that of the blessed Virgin—out of what may be called its context."

Thus was he brought by degrees to the principle of development in the Christian church. The last year of his life at Littlemore was principally spent in working out this idea, which he had been brooding over, in the form of his "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine." * There is an Oxford tradition of the great Tractarian which recounts that as Newman month after month stood at his desk writing "the Essay," he grew ever thinner and more transparent, till at last, when he suddenly dropt his pen and made up his mind that he must no longer delay his submission to Rome, on peril of sinning against the light, you could almost have seen through him.† It was on a wet October day in 1845 that Father Dominic, the Passionist, on Newman's invitation, shabbily dressed and dripping wet, arrived at Littlemore. On the day following, after a whole night spent in prayer, the Passionist father formally received him into the Roman Catholic Church.

* The famous "Essay on Development" was never finished, but even as it stands, Mr. Hutton, in his "Life of Cardinal Newman," tells us it has been adopted by the most orthodox school in the Roman Catholic Church, and it is now usually regarded by Roman Catholics as one of the most powerful of modern apologies for their specific theological doctrines.

† Mr. Hutton: "Life of Cardinal Newman," chap ix.

Besides the loved leader, a long, sad list of distinguished men were lost at that time, or soon after, to the Church of England. Among these were Mr. Ward, Mr. Ambrose St. John, Mr. Oakeley, Mr. Dalgairns, Mr. F. W. Faber, and others well-known in Oxford circles, but whose names now to many would suggest little after all these years. About forty or fifty of the clergy went over with them. The secession was, however, much less numerous than had been looked for; out of some twenty thousand of the clergy, only some fifty, after all, fell away. It turned out that the Romanising party among the Tractarians were but "a minute fragment." The loss the English church sustained in the great catastrophe, consisted rather in the brilliancy of the acquirements of the perverts than in their actual numbers.

The Church of Rome, no doubt, gained enormously, at all events for a time; for the new members of her communion brought to her service great and conspicuous gifts in learning and eloquence, and, above all, in the fervid conviction which naturally accompanied the consciousness of their great self-sacrifice. They brought, as has been truly said, "such writing and preaching as had never been seen on the Romish side before, at least in England." Thanks to these men, more than all others to Newman, the world of England has seen the intellectual recovery of Romanism. Fifty years ago it was here a dying creed, lingering in retirement in the halls and chapels of a few half-forgotten families. Hopes have since been kindled "that England herself, the England of Elizabeth and Cromwell, will kneel for absolution

again before the Father of Christendom." * But these hopes have never been realised. After the great catastrophe above related, there were very few more secessions, and as years went on, and the able and brilliant men who had joined the Roman communion in the secession of 1845 and 1846, passed

The secession of Newman and his friends was undoubtedly a crushing blow to the party of the Tractarians, but it was not ruin, as many supposed it would be. The great school of thought which the movement had created, possessed too many serious and able men to be crushed even

LITTLEMORE CHURCH

one by one away, the void they left behind them in the church they chose to adopt for their own, has never been filled up. So far as England is concerned, Rome, since that momentous epoch, can register no real increase either in the number† or in the character of her adherents.

by so calamitous a series of events as have been related. Besides a phalanx of less known adherents, two of the original triumvirate of leaders remained, unswerving in their loyalty to the Church of England—Pusey and Keble, with their equally staunch lieutenants, Charles Marriott and Isaac Williams. To these names should be added in such a roll-call those of the quiet thoughful scholar William Palmer, and of that great parish priest

* J. A. Froude: "Short Studies," vol. iv. The Oxford Counter-Reformation.

† The numbers of persons who have joined the Church of Rome during the last half-century is alluded to later, on p. 378.

Dr. Hook,* of Leeds, as representative men of the school. Pusey, however, far surpassed all the others in weight and influence. Unmistakably, when Newman had left them, he became the centre of the shattered but still powerful party.

Much that Pusey has since said and written, has been the subject of severe and hostile criticism. Not a few holy men in our church, including deeply read scholars and divines, would decline to endorse much of his teaching and views. But the more thoughtful and generous rejoice in the thought that the great Anglican communion is wide enough to include such teachers, recognising how profound are the mysteries about which such grave differences have existed and ever will exist in the church of Christ. There is so much substantial agreement in vital matters of the common faith, that some latitude of opinion in what must be deemed speculative theology may fairly be allowed. A spirit of mutual concession, of loving charity one towards another, has done much, and will in days to come probably do more, to bring parties in our great English church together, thus enabling her to carry out that high and gracious mission with which undoubtedly her adorable Master has entrusted her to carry out among the mighty English-speaking peoples.

Pusey, for nearly forty years, from 1845 to 1882, was the acknowledged leader of the Tractarian party. His high character and profound learning, his untiring labours in defence of certain parts of the Old Testament Scriptures, which were peculiarly the subject of the criticism or the German school of Biblical scholars, have won him the respect of many who gravely differed from some of his doctrinal conclusions. He may be said to have outlived the bitter censure which was once directed against him, and he died loved and honoured by the majority of English churchmen. Dearly as he loved Newman, with a love that knew no change, no abatement, which allowed not a word of censure or of blame to pass his lips, Pusey was never tempted by that great wandering genius to falter for one brief moment from his loyalty to the Church of England. The English Church, as has been well said, to Pusey was "as well worth living in and fighting for as any other; it was not only in England that light and dark were largely intermingled."* Pusey's words as regards the great Roman errors are memorable, and should be graven on every English churchman's heart: "There are very serious things in the Roman communion which ought to keep us where we

* Afterwards dean of Chichester.

* Sir William Palmer: "Supplement to the Narrative," chap. i. Also Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. ii., chap. xxxiv., pp. 505–6. With great pathos Liddon, who knew Pusey as perhaps no one else on earth knew him, tells us in a curiously interesting passage how Pusey endeavoured to reconcile his own deep love of and reverence for Newman with his own (Pusey's) absolute faith in the Presence of Christ in the English Church. He (Pusey) entertained the idea that "Newman was, at any rate for a time, the subject of a special call or dispensation, having for its object the promotion of some great blessing or improvement in the Roman Church. He could not even bring himself to allow that Newman was doing wrong, though he held it would have been wrong indeed in himself or in any other member of the English Church to follow his example." . . . "The heart," goes on Liddon to say, "has a logic of its own."

are. I would instance chiefly this system as to the Blessed Virgin as the mediatrix and dispenser of all present blessings to mankind. I think nothing short of a fresh revelation could justify this. Then the sale of masses as applicable to the departed, the system of indulgences as applied to the departed, the denial of the cup to the laity. . . . I feel at once held by the Church of England, and repelled by these things in the Roman Church. . . . I cannot think that all this, so different from what one finds in the early centuries, can be right."

On the Church of England the results which are traceable to the Oxford movement and the work of the Tractarians have been far-reaching. The catastrophe of 1845, the secession of Newman and Ward and their friends, and the intense and general unpopularity which was the first outcome of the apparent victories of the Church of Rome, scarcely stayed its progress, or at most arrested it for a very little season. In Oxford itself, the desertion of Newman and the other leaders had more influence than in London and in the country generally. The effect of its teaching generally was too deep-seated to be permanently injured by a shock, even like that produced by what was popularly termed "the going out of '45." It had taught Englishmen to look upon their church as a great historic church, possessing immemorial descent, unbroken continuance, agreement in doctrine with the ancient church. It had led Englishmen, above all, back to the study of the great fathers of the church of the early Christian centuries, before the division of the east and west. Very weighty and remarkable are the words of the famous Tractarian leader on this study of the fathers: "I read them, learn of them, live among them, as a child; adopt their words, say what they say, do not say what they do not. I live in them as my home. I have not gone about proving to myself our identity with them; I feel it. Theirs is my native language; they are familiar accents. But it does impress upon me that the English appeal to antiquity is something real and substantial. I could preach volumes of St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine without rebuke; I do not think a Roman Catholic could. . . ." He examples here St. Augustine: "We have translated, straight through, two thick volumes of St. Augustine, all his sermons on the New Testament. There was not a word to explain; nothing which one might not, as far as doctrine was concerned, preach in our English pulpits." *

Gradually a great revival in church life became perceptible through the length and breadth of England. Churches were more reverently cared for, more richly adorned, within and without. New ones were built in ever increasing numbers. The Holy Eucharist was celebrated more often, and with increased reverence. Services were multiplied; efforts were made to render the services more attractive, brighter with music and hymn-singing. This change which gradually passed over the Anglican communion, was by no means confined to churches served by ministers of one party. But while, happily, the Church of England is at one in all vital matters of faith; while on the authority and inspiration of the Bible, on

* Letter of Dr. Pusey, quoted by Liddon in his "Life," vol. iii., chap. vi., pp. 142–3.

the great Articles connected with the Trinity, the Atonement, and the Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ, there is perfect agreement, there has been during the second half of the nineteenth century considerable divergence as to the ritual and practice of our church.

The dissensions in these matters concerning Ritual, which have arisen between the two great parties into which, with various modifications, the Church of England has been divided ever since the Elizabethan settlement, nearly three centuries and a half ago, have been a source of real and ever-present danger to the Anglican communion. Too often the recriminations brought by one party against the other have been most bitter; love and charity have been forgotten, even their common Christianity has been seemingly ignored. Unedifying spectacles of brother proceeding against brother, solely for transgressions on points of Christian ritual, before civil tribunals, have been sadly frequent: one section openly charging the other with wilful disregard of ceremonies and practices, not merely legal in themselves, but hallowed by the universal Catholic tradition of many centuries; the other retorting by the grave accusation of a disloyal intention to Romanise the church of which they were members. Here the old feeling of dislike, mistrust, hatred of Rome and her ways, engraved in the hearts of Englishmen, comes in, and accounts for much of the bitterness. The Evangelical not unfrequently suspects Roman inclinations and a Roman bias when neither inclination or bias exist. High Churchmen, on the other hand, have not unfrequently ruthlessly disregarded such natural susceptibilities, and in certain instances have introduced ceremonies and practices which have given just offence.

A High Church scholar of profound learning and experience, one of the original founders of the Oxford movement,* whose wise words on certain of the questions which were presented to the church at the period of the great revival have been quoted occasionally in this section of our History, thus speaks of these errors of his party: "I remember when, about 1845, Oakeley set on foot a Ritualistic system at Margaret chapel, before his secession to Rome; and on visiting his church I was astonished at its ceremonial, which appeared to exceed that of Romanism itself. Some years later Ritualism began in the English Church by the adoption of the vestments by certain young men; and we heard of men adopting other customs from the Church of Rome, and sometimes in the face of strong opposition from their congregation and of disapprobation from the bishops. I deeply regretted these movements, which seemed to be dictated by indifference to the unity of the church, and to be sometimes made as offensive as possible. . . . I myself should have been glad," he went on to say, "to revive the vestments, from a wish to restore the customs of primitive antiquity adopted in the universal church, and would have had them made of white linen only, but, knowing that they were not necessary, I

* Sir William Palmer, the learned author of the "Origines Liturgicæ" and other important works. The words here quoted were written as late as 1883. See his Supplement to "Narrative of Events connected with the Oxford Movement," chap. iv., 287–291.

ARCHBISHOP BENSON DELIVERING HIS JUDGMENT AT THE "LINCOLN TRIAL"

would not run the risk of causing division by adopting them. In the excited state of the public mind, I thought their introduction a great imprudence. . . . Lawsuits followed in which one view of the case was decided by temporal judges, and then another. . . ." He considered that the Ritualists should have been judged not by a committee of lawyers, but by a committee of churchmen impartially selected, as was soon afterwards happily done. On this point probably the majority of churchmen are agreed: that the judicial committee of the privy council, dignified though such a tribunal certainly is, possessing, too, among its members lawyers of the highest rank and of the most varied experience, is not the court, after all, best fitted to decide on mainly spiritual questions.

There is no doubt but that the Oxford movement, and all that this remarkable revival in church life brought with it in its train, drew into prominence many curious and debatable points connected with ritual. The newly-awakened study of primitive antiquity, the revived interest in the powerful mediæval church, its architecture, its ritual, its love of colour and decoration, its ornate and often gorgeous services, with their elaborate and often touching symbolism—all this appealed to the student, while the immediate outcome of the movement, the general restoration of so many churches to a condition of comparative beauty and in many cases even of magnificence, suggested generally a higher and more ornate service and ritual than had previously been adopted. The majority of high churchmen were content to adopt a striking ceremonial, which after long and careful examination has been considered, on the whole, to be that permitted by the Prayer-book and sanctioned by a partial if not by a general use in the Church of England since the Elizabethan settlement.* But a few, whose zeal often outran their discretion, without doubt introduced ritual and practices into the services never contemplated by the Elizabethan, or later by the Jacobean divines of the school of Andrewes, or even of Laud. These were the men so sternly reproved by high churchmen of the type of the eminent scholar whose words have been quoted above.

All these things—not questions of paramount importance, it would seem on first thoughts—have served sorely to distract and harass the church for many years, by a succession of irritating and disturbing contests and law-suits. It would seem, however, that a time for mutual forbearance has come.† This attitude is partly due to the action of the late archbishop Benson of Canterbury, who in 1890 took upon himself to hold a court to try a

* See below, in the "Judgment of the Archbishop of Canterbury" in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, November, 1890.

† We allow this hopeful anticipation to stand, notwithstanding that even while these sheets are passing through the press, fresh discussion has arisen as to the amount of freedom permissible in the Church of England as to the adoption of occasional services, or unauthorised additions to the services included in the Book of Common Prayer. It is premature, of course, to forecast the outcome of such a discussion: the writer of this History may, however, be allowed to express his conviction that in this and in other matters concerning ritual and practice, very small indeed will be the number of ordained ministers of the Church of England who will not eventually submit, in regard to all such practices, to the judgment of the bishop of the diocese.

most important ritual prosecution, in which the defendant was the bishop of Lincoln, a prelate held in the highest honour and veneration even by men belonging to a school of thought opposed in many particulars to that in which the bishop was a distinguished leader.

The constitutional and inherent authority of the archbishop's court, after full and learned arguments, was affirmed in a preliminary judgment delivered in the May of 1889. Such a court, composed of the primate and other bishops of the province sitting with him as assessors, commended itself to Anglican churchmen, who had been naturally pained to see cases connected with doctrine and ritual tried before civil tribunals, however august, the validity of whose judgments in such purely ecclesiastical matters many of them could not conscientiously accept. No such objection, however, existed to a court in which the judges were the primate of all England and his suffragan bishops. It will be of use and advantage here to quote at some little length the words of the archbishop's weighty judgment on the important points of ritual and practice which came before the tribunal over which he presided. The questions which came before the court thus constituted by no means exhausted the list of disputed points of ritual, but they included perhaps the most important of them—certainly those which came more often and more prominently before congregations.

The chief of them were as follows :— The question of "mixing of water with the sacramental wine"; the question of the "ablution of the vessels" after the celebration of the holy communion; the question of the "eastward position" in the first part of the communion service; the question of "breaking of the bread before the people"; the question of the "use of lighted candles on the communion table during the communion service," when such lighted candles were not wanted for

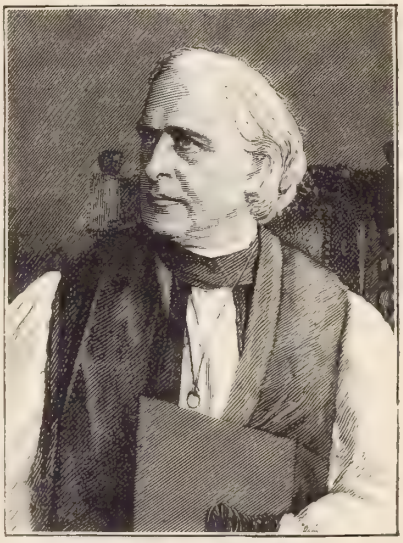


Photo: Walery, Ltd.

ARCHBISHOP BENSON.

the purpose of giving light. The complaints of rubrical irregularity brought against the bishop of Lincoln were, to quote the phraseology of the tribunal in question :—The lord bishop, when celebrating the holy communion, allowed two lighted candles to stand upon (or apparently upon) the communion table, such candles not being wanted for the purpose of giving light; added water to the wine and administered it so mixed; before the Consecration Prayer, stood in what is called the eastward position; during the

Consecration Prayer, stood so that certain "Manual Acts" could not be seen; took part in what is referred to as "the ceremony of Ablution." Two more "complaints" were made—the one, allowing a hymn, "O Lamb of God," to be sung after the consecration, and the other, that the bishop made the sign of the cross at the Absolution and Benediction.

"Do this in remembrance of Me."

(*From Isaac Williams'* "*The Altar.*" *London*, 1847.)

The lighted candles. The history of the law on this point was most carefully examined by the court. The result of the investigation showed that they were legal when and after the Prayer-book became law, and so remained. The following important and interesting facts were, however, ascertained—viz. "that throughout the whole period from Edward VI. until recently [if we partly except the reign of Charles I.] their use appears to have been in the main attached to places or occasions of marked dignity, to such events as public thanksgivings and coronations of sovereigns, to . . . chapels of princes, colleges, cathedral and collegiate churches. There was, however, no *privilegium* entitling such times or places to fashions or ways otherwise illegal." Then follow some remarks on the more dignified and solemn mode of service which belonged to cathedrals, etc., having during the last half century become more diffused, together with enlarged choral arrangements, the fittings and furniture of churches, etc., and that a certain increase in the use of the lights has gone along with these things.* The summing up then states: "It would be contrary to the history and interpretation of the two lights on the holy table to connect them with erroneous and strange teaching as to the nature of the Sacrament"; closing, however, with wise words, which may be well taken to heart: "It is not likely that they (the lighted candles) will cease to

* In other words, the court found upon investigation that, from the days of Edward VI. downwards, lighted candles had been used, but their use was confined to special occasions or to places of special dignity, such as cathedrals and royal chapels. In the recent multiplication of stately services this use — never forbidden — of lighted candles had become more common.

be distasteful to many minds, and when that is the case, even in a small degree, charity and good sense ought not to be violated." This most important judgment on a point that has produced much dissension concludes, after the above words of warning, with the finding of the court "that the law is not broken by the mere fact of two lighted candles when not wanted for the purpose of giving light standing on the Holy Table continuously through the Service, nothing having been performed or done which comes under the definition of a Ceremony, by the presence of two still lights alight before it begins and until after it ends."

The mixed chalice. The point connected with the "adding water to the wine" was decided, after historical investigation, thus: The practice was a custom existent in the churches of the east and west, in the east almost universal; but that the ceremonial mixture in the service was omitted from the Prayer-book in accordance with the highest and widest liturgical precedents. And the court decided "that the mixing of the wine in and as part of the service is against the law of the church, but it found no ground for pronouncing the use of a cup mixed beforehand to be an ecclesiastical offence."

The eastward position had, throughout the ritual disputes of the period we have been speaking of, ever been a burning question. Again, here, a careful and exhaustive historical inquiry was made. It was shown clearly and decisively that, subsequent to the framing of the rubric requiring the minister to stand at the north side or end, a general change in the position of the holy table had taken

CELEBRATION OF HOLY COMMUNION.

(*Frontispiece to Wheatley on Book of Common Prayer, 2nd Edition.* 1714

place. The change naturally threw considerable obscurity over the whole subject, considered historically. The most important by far, however, of the conclusions arrived at by the court was that the eastward position, if assumed, was not a sacrificial position. "A place at the west side of the holy table has not in the past been invested with sacrificial character. Many divines who have taught what is called the 'highest' doctrine of sacrifice in connection with the Eucharist tenable in the Church of England, have habitually celebrated at the north end, and many who have used the eastward postion have done so with no thought that they were teaching any doctrine by it, or that any doctrine could be either deduced from or expressed by the place they took.* . . . The imputed sacrificial aspect of the 'eastern position' is new and forced, and can take no effect in rendering that position either desirable on the one side or illegal on the other." The court concluded that "a certain liberty in the application of the term 'north side' existed—a liberty exercised not without consideration" (owing to the change made under authority in the position of the holy table about eighty years after the first publication of the rubric respecting the "north side"). "This liberty was less and less exercised for a long time, but it does not appear to be lost by that fact or taken away." The court reiterated in its finding that this somewhat obscure subject of the position of the celebrant was devoid of doctrinal interest.

* Respecting the curious variation in the position of the sanctuary and altar in the earliest known churches of Western Christendom, see Excursus H.

Breaking of the bread before the people. The charge here was that the celebrant (the bishop of Lincoln) stood whilst reading the prayer of consecration with his face to the east and with his back to the people, in such wise that the communicants present could not, when he broke the bread and took the cup into his hands, see him perform these manual acts. The court decided that the order of the Holy Communion requires that these manual acts must be performed in such wise as to be visible to the communicants properly placed. The following very important and interesting pronouncement was made in the judgment of the archbishop here: "The tenor of the Common Prayer is openness. The work of its framers was to bring out and recover the worship of the Christian congregation, and specially to replace the Eucharist in its character as the Communion of the whole Body of Christ. By the use of the mother tongue, by the audibleness of every prayer, by the priest's prayers being made identical with the prayers of the Congregation, by the part of the Clerks being taken by the people, by the removal of the invisible and inaudible ceremonial, the English Church, as one of her special works in the history of the Catholic Church, restored the ancient share and right of the People in divine service. Both parties of the church before the last Revision required that the prescription of the Manual acts should be 'explicit and distinct' (Savoy divines), as 'a needful circumstance belonging to the Sacrament' (bishop Cosin), and the harmony of the construction requires that the People should follow the whole consecration, acts as well as words."

The ceremony of ablution. In the charge here no objection was taken to the clergyman's using what he may think the best way of consuming reverently all that remains of the consecrated elements, in order that no part should be carried out of church ; and the court decided that if the minister so pleased, the vessels might be cleansed of all remnants in a reverent way after the Service was ended and the Benediction given, without ceremony or prayers, before finally leaving the holy table.*

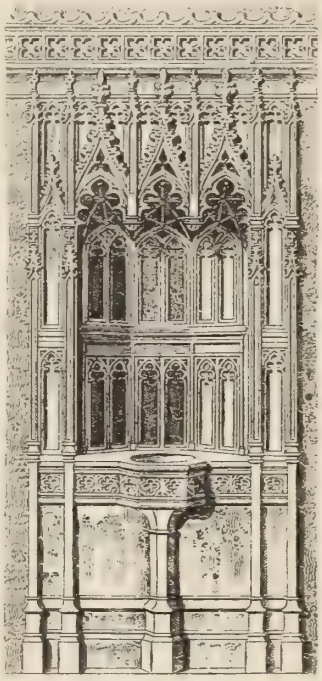
The other two points with which this most important judgment was concerned were of comparatively little moment in the great ritual controversy which for so many years has disturbed the church. The first of these questions merely dealt with the lawfulness of singing the anthem—"O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us"—immediately after the reading of the prayer of consecration. Again the historical evidence was most carefully gone into, and the archbishop's court concluded "that the singing of it by the choir was not an illegal addition to the service. Seeing that there is no evidence whatever to show that bishop Ridley, or anyone else, objected to the choir singing this anthem at this place upon any doctrinal ground, and seeing also that the Savoy conference desired the restoration at this very place of the words in a still stronger form, there is no ground left for believing that the words had then, or have now, any association with those Roman doctrines or practices which the Church of England repudiates."

The second of these two minor points dealt with the charge that the celebrant (the bishop of Lincoln) in the administration of the Holy Communion, "whilst pronouncing the absolution, conspicuously and ceremoniously, having both his hands elevated, made with his hand the sign of the Cross, and also that whilst pronouncing the benediction in the same service, he made the sign of the Cross." This ceremony, in both cases, the archbishop in his Judgment pronounced to be an innovation which must be discontinued.

This judgment of the archbishop's court, pronounced in the November of 1890, was a memorable one, and will, it is hoped and expected, have far-reaching consequences in an internal dispute which has long disturbed the Anglican Church, and which now and again has threatened seriously to affect its work and influence. The court was memorable from its composition, consisting as it did of the primate of all England, with episcopal assessors chosen out of his suffragans. It was the tribunal which for so long churchmen had been anxiously desiring to see established, for the settlement of purely ecclesiastical matters. The judgment in question has been termed an *eirenicon;* but inaccurately, for it was no attempt to mediate between two opposing schools of thought. The only attempt in this direction was in the few remarks which in two or three of its decisions were appended, pressing home

* The following remarks in the "Judgment" here, are noteworthy: "If it were the duty of this Court to point out where and when, if not at the Holy Table, the minister would most properly complete the consumption of the consecrated elements, in such way as he might think to be necessary in compliance with the rubrics, the Court would unhesitatingly say, At the credence or in the place where they had been prepared."

the advice of mutual concession and forbearance, and pointing out how undesirable for the peace of the church it would be to insist on a ceremony or an observance, which, even if strictly legal, might be under certain circumstances utterly inexpedient.* The value of the judgment to the Church of England largely consists in the fearless and thorough examination of the history of the disputed points, showing, as notably in the case of the "Eastward Position," round which for so long an acrimonious contest has been kept up, that the question was devoid of doctrinal significance.



PISCINA * IN COBHAM CHURCH.
(*From the engraving by J. Le Keux.*)

The Church of Rome, it has been seen, was mixed up with some of the questions connected with the Oxford movement, and, unhappily, certain of the prominent figures connected with that great revival were attracted, by circumstances upon which we have already dwelt, into its communion. It will be well to add a few lines descriptive of the present position of the Roman Catholic body in England at the close of the nineteenth century. We have already seen that, during the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign, the attitude of Rome towards the Anglican church was an uncertain one. It was what may be termed a waiting attitude, hopes being entertained for some time of a return, or at least of a partial return, to the Roman obedience. These hopes, as the reign advanced, gradually faded away, and the council of Trent came to the unanimous decision that attendance on the part of Roman Catholics at the prayers or sermons of the English Church was sinful. A further step was taken in 1570, when the papal bull was published actually excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth. From this date onwards the historian has to chronicle a long series of plots and conspiracies against the English government of the day, in which English Roman Catholics were more or less inextricably mixed up. We have already dwelt on some of these, notably on the plots con-

* In the concluding sentences of the whole judgment the following wise and weighty counsel is given by the court :—"The Apostolic judgment as to other matters of ritual has a proper reference to these—namely, that those things which may necessarily be ruled lawful do not for that reason become expedient. Public worship is one of the divine institutions which are the heritage of the church for the fraternal union of mankind. The church therefore has a right to ask that her congregations may not be divided either by needless pursuance or by exaggerated suspicion of practices not in themselves illegal. Either spirit is a painful contrast to the deep and wide desire which prevails for mutual understanding."

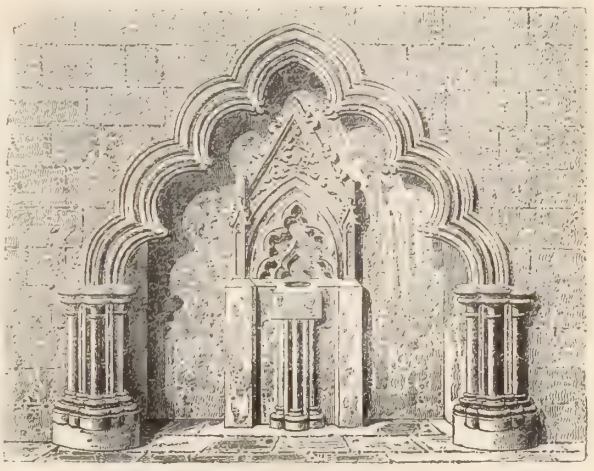
* The piscina is a stone basin used to receive the water which has purified the chalice.

PISCINA IN ST. CROSS, WINCHESTER.
(*From the drawing by J. Le Keux.*)

nected with the hopes and claims of Mary, queen of Scots, and, later, with the machinations of Philip II. of Spain. In the next reign the Roman Catholics were again mixed up in the Gunpowder Plot, and the revolution of 1688 was mainly owing to the ill-advised schemes of James II. to restore the Roman Catholics to positions of place and power in the church and state.

So long as Rome preserved this attitude of hostility, so long any measures of toleration or of Roman Catholic emancipation were simply impossible. At last, however, the policy of Rome, formally inaugurated at the council of Trent, and carried into terrible effect by the bull which excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570, was reversed; and a loyal declaration was made on the part of the Roman Catholic peers and commoners of Great Britain. Such a loyal declaration had been in former years, notably in 1648 and in 1661, formally condemned at Rome as heretical, and inconsistent with the claim of the Popes to temporal power. The declaration of loyalty was followed by the English Relief Act of 1778; but it was not until 1829 that the Emancipation Act was passed. Other legislation on similar lines has since followed, and as the nineteenth century closes, the Roman Catholic body in England can complain of few, if indeed of any, civil disabilities.

The body of English Roman Catholics was governed until lately by four vicars-apostolic. In 1840 the four were increased to eight; and in 1850 Pius IX. created for England a new Roman Catholic hierarchy, consisting of an archbishop metropolitan of Westminster, and twelve suffragan bishops for England and Wales. This act of Rome excited considerable attention and some popular indignation, and an Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was passed



PISCINA IN SOUTH AISLE OF CHOIR, ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY.
(*From the drawing by J. Le Keux.*)

which forbade the assumption of any title by Roman Catholic bishops, taken from any place in the United Kingdom. This Act of Parliament, however, was practically

ignored, and in 1871 was repealed. The truth was, Rome and Roman claims had ceased to be feared in England. The feeling that general toleration, which is so marked a sentiment in modern English life, should be extended to Roman Catholics, was accentuated by the conviction among most serious churchmen that Rome was no longer a real danger either to church or the state. The loyalty of the English Romanists to the crown is above suspicion. In their attitude towards the Church of England, they cultivate naturally a persistent hostility; but the Anglican church can well afford to look upon their efforts with equanimity, since, although a considerable network of Romish agencies is at work, no real progress is being made in what Rome is pleased to term the conversion of England.* "It succeeds in making (a few) converts among the aristocracy and upper classes, though their number is small in proportion to the whole, and is falling off. . . . The Church of Rome has considerably, it is true, increased in England during the past half century. Its English adherents, indeed, are so few that, if they stood alone, Romanism would be the smallest sect in the kingdom. But it has received an accession of a million and upwards of Irish immigrants, brought over by the manufacturers. This immigration, however, is incapable of producing any effect upon the religion of the country." *

Considering the events sketched out above, the decision come to at Trent, and the subsequent excommunication and formal deposition of Elizabeth in 1570 by Pope Pius V. (the Dominican Michele Ghislieri), the present position of the Roman Catholic body in England is a position undoubtedly of schism, thoroughly un-English. Their position in England after 1570 was that, to use the contemporary term, of "Recusants."† Their priests were foreign-bred, trained at such seminaries as Douai, or else largely educated in foreign Jesuit colleges. They have been with justice termed "an alien body; their methods and their ways, like their liturgical and devotional books, have been for the most part foreign. They failed to maintain a succession, and made no claim to formal continuity. . . . The modern Romanist English leaders have done what they can to repudiate such historical

* The following are the totals of the collections in London on Hospital Sunday for twenty-five years of the different religious bodies, reckoned from the denomination of the places of worship where the collections were made:—

Church of England ...	... £627,447
Congregationalists ...	... 46,767
Jews	... 25,512
Baptists	... 24,897
Wesleyans	... 24,115
Presbyterians	... 20,435
Roman Catholics	... 12,615
Unitarians	... 6,044
Society of Friends ...	... 3,446

Without, of course, making too much of any figures, for various considerations have probably to be taken into account, such a table of statistics as this gives *some* index as to the position and weight of the Roman Catholic community in the great metropolis in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the metropolis containing roughly a population one million in excess of the population of England in the days of Elizabeth. The cause, too, for which these sums were received was one which would equally evoke the sympathies of all religious denominations.

* Sir William Palmer: Supplement to "Narrative," chap. iv. (1883).

† "Recusants."—The term recusancy may be defined as "refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of a sovereign or obstinately declining to conform to the established rites of a church."

position as they have; they even glory in being a 'new mission' recently organised from Rome; they boast in being not descended lineally from the pre-Reformation Church of England."*

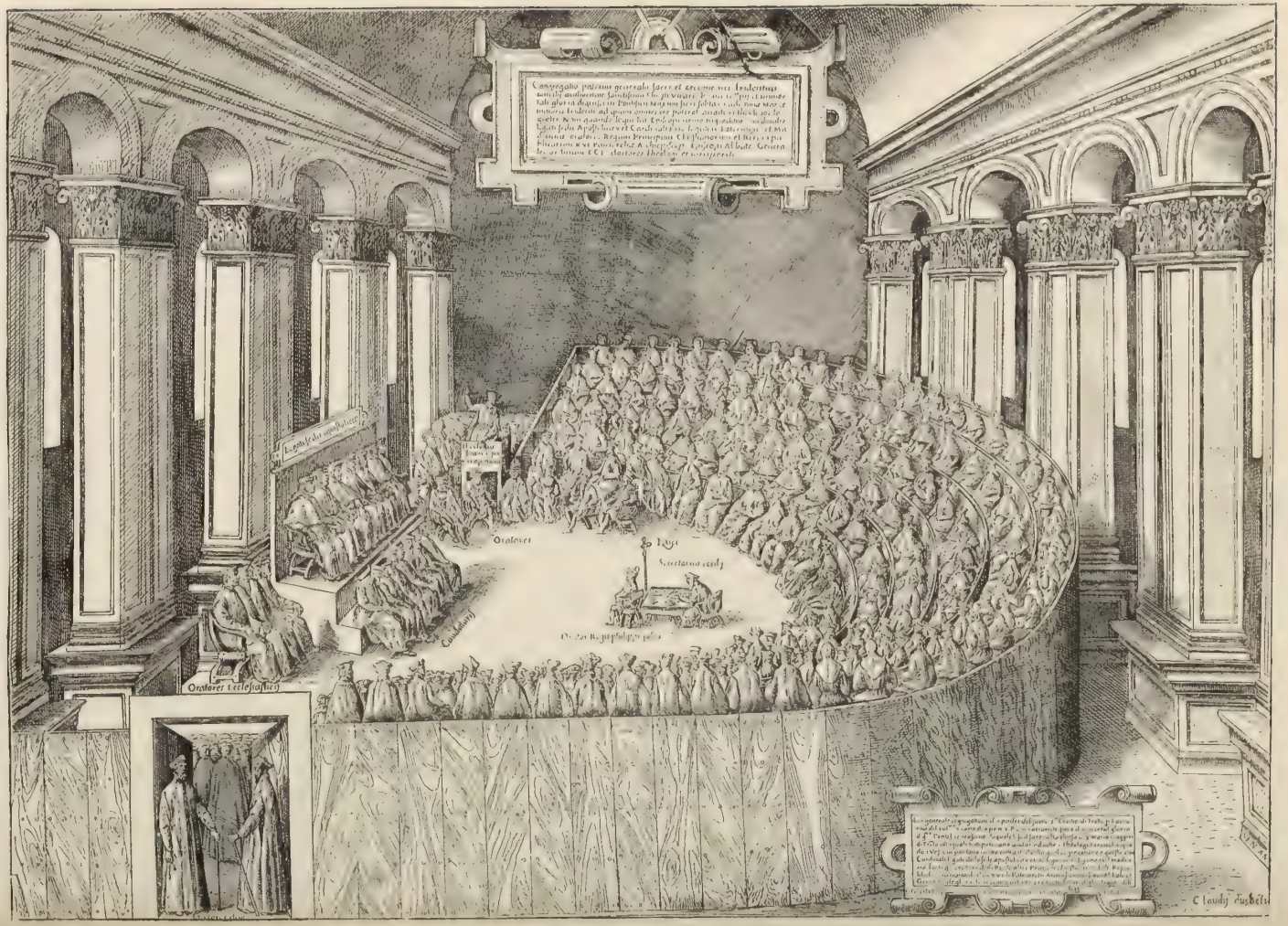
In the last years of the nineteenth century Pope Leo XIII. published a Bull "Apostolicæ Curæ" (1896), which has aroused considerable interest, declaring that Anglican orders were invalid. This, of course, as all acquainted with the past are well aware, was no new assertion on the part of Rome. The interest in the pronouncement of Leo XIII. lies (1) in the somewhat novel reasons given for this declaration of the Pope, and in the complete ignoring in the Bull of the old and exploded fable—so long a favourite and popular controversial piece with Roman teachers—of the supposed consecration of archbishop Parker and other nominees for several bishoprics at the "Nag's Head" Tavern in Cheapside by Scory, described in the Romish fable as having intruded himself without consecration into the episcopate; and (2) because the arrogant contention in the Bull of the invalidity of Anglican orders, has evoked from learned Anglican divines an elaborate and complete refutation of the arguments advanced in this, the latest manifesto of the Roman see on this subject.

The public interest in the question being considerable, we may give just a sketch of these objections, and the Anglican replies to them. The Pope in this Bull "Apostolicæ Curæ," dated 1896, gives his reasons for deeming Anglican orders invalid. They mainly turn on two points. Leo XIII. affirms that in the Edwardine ordinal there is a *defect of form* (which would be a grave question were it the fact), and also that there is in the English Church, or was in the sixteenth century, a *defect of that intention* which is necessary if holy orders are to be validly transmitted.

In the learned Anglican treatises which have been lately published on this subject, it has been clearly shown that the Edwardine ordinal, which is now used in the service of the Church of England, instead of showing a "defect of form," is *closer than the present Roman use* to the more primitive formulæ and custom of the Catholic Church. Nothing is indeed wanting in the Anglican ordinal. The oldest form seems to have been simply a prayer, as in Acts vi. 6, and then came laying on of hands. The Roman use of giving to the ordinand the chalice, with wine and water, and the paten with a host, accompanied by the words "Receive authority to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate masses as well for the quick as the dead, in the name of the Lord," was absolutely unknown for the first thousand years, and was purely Roman.* In the Leonine sacramentary, and indeed in the Roman sacramentaries generally, *anterior to the tenth century*, there was no giving (porrection) of the instruments, and in these

* See generally Mr. Frere's "Treatise," published for the Church Historical Society by the S.P.C.K., No. v. (1896).

* See, among other treatises, the XVI. Tract published under the auspices of the Church Historical Society by the S.P.C.K. (1897), by F. W. Pullen, the VI. Tract of F. E. Brightman, and the V. by the bishop of Bristol. In these treatises this subject is discussed at great length and most exhaustively, and the references to the older "uses" and quotations from the words of the schoolmen and other mediæval theologians will be found.



COUNCIL OF TRENT, 1563.

ancient sacramentaries in their unadulterated form there was no allusion to the power of offering the Eucharistic sacrifice. "Nearly all the schoolmen," wrote the deeply learned oratorian, Jean Morin (1591–1659), "who dispute concerning the matter and form of the episcopate, place its form in these words*—*Accipe spiritum sanctum* (Receive ye the Holy Ghost), which the consecrator and the assistant bishops pronounce together while they touch the head of the ordinand." †

Thus the first allegation of Pope Leo XIII. respecting the supposed "defect of form" in the Anglican ordinal, is fully answered. The second—the *defect of intention* dwelt upon by Pope Leo in his Bull—is a much vaguer charge, but it has been also exhaustively refuted in the learned tracts above referred to. "In order to prove this *defect of intention*, Pope Leo XIII. lays emphasis on the fact that in the Edwardine ordinal (the present Anglican use) no mention is made of the sacrifice . . . of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice. . . . Now what the English Church did was simply to revert to an earlier type of ordination service. She went back in several respects from the mediæval type to the primitive Roman type (as is found, for instance, in the Leonine sacramentary). *In this early service there is no allusion anywhere to the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice.*" *

To what is popularly known as "practical" work in the church, a vast impetus has been given during the last forty or fifty years of the nineteenth century. The day school, the Sunday school, the classes of preparation for confirmation, communicants' classes, mothers' meetings, religious guilds composed of both sexes, and last, but not least, foreign missions —all felt more or less the vivifying breath of the new religious spirit which was brooding over the Church of England. Other and powerful influences,† besides that exercised by the Oxford movement, were at work, and have largely contributed to these results. The Low Church school of practical philanthropy, of which lord Shaftesbury was for long years the honoured leader, and, somewhat later the great school of Cambridge expositors of the New Testament Scriptures, must by

* The following are the words used in the Anglican ordinal for the consecration of bishops: Then the archbishop and bishops present shall lay their hands upon the head of the elected bishop kneeling before them, the archbishop saying: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands," etc. In the Anglican use for the "ordering of priests" the words are (the bishop with the priests present shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of priesthood): "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands," etc.

† "De Sacris Ordinationibus," pars. iii., exerc. ii., cap. ii., sec. i. (ed. 1695), quoted by F. W. Pullen in Tract XVI. (S.P.C.K., 1897).

* Compare Tract XVI. (S.P.C.K., 1897), where this is discussed very fully, and see especially pages 44, 45, 49, 50, 51, where the opinions of Cranmer, Jewel (bishop of Salisbury), Bilson (bishop of Winchester), Andrewes (bishop of Winchester), Field, dean of Gloucester (representative Anglican divines of the reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I.), on the subject of the faith of the Church of England in the Eucharistic sacrifice, are quoted at some length.

† So H. O. Wakeman: "Introduction to History of the Church of England" (who comes to the same conclusion as to the several influences at work, though he lays especial stress on Tractarianism).

no means be ignored in any general summary of the various factors which contributed to the church revival of the second half of the nineteenth century. But, when all due allowances have been made for strongly-flowing contributory streams of influence, the fair critic must confess that a large share in the remarkable awakening of all church life during the long and singularly prosperous and peaceful reign of queen Victoria, belongs to the Tractarian or Oxford movement, the rise and progress of which we have been recounting.

Among the novel agencies discovered and developed in this great revival of church life, the more universal employment of women in religious and philanthropic work in the Church of England must not be forgotten. It is one of the strangest and saddest omissions in the Reformation work: the almost complete ignoring of this mighty agency in all religious effort in behalf of the poor—so often ignorant, sick, and destitute. The rude and arbitrary sweeping away of the nunneries and the sisterhoods, one of the darkest and saddest episodes of the years of stress and storm, 1530–40, destroyed at one blow all that vast machinery of female devotion and heroic self-sacrifice which for ages had existed, which had received its due recognition not only in the mediæval but also in the primitive church, and which in the Roman Catholic communion on the Continent was still effectively carrying on the work of mercy and Christ-like love. The popularising—so to speak—of so many of the writings of the Fathers of the early Christian centuries, one of the noblest of the works of the Tractarians, brought into light the widely-extended character of women's work in the church, in those far-back days. This was to many of the readers almost a new revelation, and gave a wonderful impulse to the revival of female energy in works of mercy and love, so marked a characteristic of the renewed church life during the last fifty years.

The Anglican sisterhoods, revived in a very humble way by Dr. Pusey as early as 1845, and which have since received a great development, have without doubt exercised a powerful if an indirect influence upon women's Christian work generally. The first foundation in Park Village-West, Regent's Park, was "the beginning of a series of experiments which resulted in many sisterhoods." The key-note of these female institutions was not religious contemplation, but active work among the poor and the sick at their own homes, in hospitals, in workhouses, in prisons. It included the teaching of destitute and neglected little ones. In the earliest rules of these communities five hours daily were set aside, to be spent in these active works of mercy.* The impulse, which was thus given to women's work among the poor, the suffering, and the ignorant, was felt in many centres where the teaching of the Tractarians never reached, and where it was even viewed with suspicion if not with positive dislike. But it is only just to ascribe to the work of Pusey and his friends a large share in the awakening of the spirit which has since inspired the noble female church work, one of the great features of the

* Dr. Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. iii., chap. i.

second half of the nineteenth century, and which has developed into the great army of nurses and teachers, women of various classes and orders, belonging to different schools of religious thought, engaged in ever-increasing numbers in hospitals and workhouses, in rescue work, charity organisation work, and such-like societies. With great justice it has been remarked,* "that whatever may be said of its priestcraft, the Oxford movement has filled the land with church-crafts of all kinds."

To sum up in a few words, the great Oxford revival has by degrees largely assisted to transform the Anglican churches — the ministers of its communion, its services, its ritual, its art, especially its architecture; and a curious outward uniformity in ritual is now perceptible in the large majority of parishes, in country districts as well as in cities. Still, it would be a grave mistake to suppose that the doctrinal teaching of Pusey and the great Tractarians of his school, on certain long disputed points, has by any means been accepted even by high Anglicans in its entirety. That English churchmen have become more and more "High Churchmen" is indubitable. But even in the case of the majority of pronounced high churchmen, in the nobler and truer sense of the appellation, the teaching has been that of the school of Harold Browne, bishop of Ely and then of Winchester, rather than that of the more advanced teachers of the Tractarian school.*

* By Mozley.

* As examples of this teaching may be instanced *Dr. Hook*, in "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. vii. chap. iii., pp. 152 and 153, and *Bishop Harold Browne:* "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles" (9th Edition), Article xxviii., section i., pp. 708–9, and Article xxix., section i., pp. 726–7 and 730.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

EVANGELICALISM IN THE LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE SO-CALLED "BROAD CHURCH" SCHOOL.

Outward Uniformity in Church Ritual—The Puritan Party still Existent—Reasons for its Less Prominent Position—Opposition to Church Progress and Development—The Church Association and its Legal Prosecutions—Effects of these Mistakes—Evidences of Evangelical Influence—The Church Pastoral Aid Society—Church Missionary Society—English Protestant Feeling—William Wilberforce—Lord Shaftesbury—Some Account of his Factory Legislation—The Ten Hours Bill—The "Good Earl's" Practical Beneficence—The Ragged School Union—His Views on Religious Education—Death and Funeral—Influence on the Popularity of Evangelicalism—Undenominational Enterprises—The Mildmay Conference—Keswick and other "Conventions"—The Islington Clerical Meetings—Present Development and Influence of the Evangelical Party—The so-called Broad Church School — Dr. Thomas Arnold — Frederick Denison Maurice—Charles Kingsley—Dean Stanley—Their Work in Liberalising the Church.

WHILE on the one hand it is indisputably true, as we have already remarked, that as a result of the Oxford movement English churchmen have become more and more High Churchmen, and that a remarkable uniformity in ritual is noticeable in the vast majority of Anglican churches, in rural districts as in towns, on the other hand it is equally true that in a large number of instances this general uniformity in ritual has not affected the teaching or touched the doctrinal belief. Outwardly, the casual observer might be tempted at times to conclude that Evangelicalism had well-nigh disappeared from the Anglican communion. But the historian, whose province it is to look beneath the surface of things, would be strangely at fault if he did not recognise that beneath the seeming general Anglican uniformity still existed, as sharply defined as ever, the old and striking differences which have for so long been the characteristic features of the two great parties which make up the Church of England. While wishing to bear the fullest and most ample testimony to the far-reaching influence of the Oxford movement; while granting that many of its lessons have permeated *the whole* Anglican Church, and largely coloured its ritual and practice; while acknowledging to the full the deep debt of gratitude which the Church of England owes to that great revival, which has stirred up such enthusiasm for all that was venerable and precious in the past, has deepened the reverence for the Sacraments, and emphasised the notion of the corporate aspect of Christian life, and has shown with a scholarly precision the unbroken continuity of the Church of England with the Church of the earlier times; we would desire at the same time to remind the thoughtful student of the Church's story of a truth which some writers among us would seem curiously to ignore—that the great

sister-school of thought is still a living, even a growing power in the Anglican communion.

And it is better so. The Church of England would sadly lose in vigour and in power, in its influence over the souls of men and women, if a dull uniformity in teaching universally prevailed. It must be remembered how diverse are the minds of the great multitude who make up the numbers of the Anglican communion; how, while the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity are equally precious to all, certain groups are specially affected by one presentment of religious truth, certain groups by another. What touches the hearts of some, fails to make any grave impression upon the hearts of others. The existence of the two great schools, as many now see, serves to quicken the spiritual

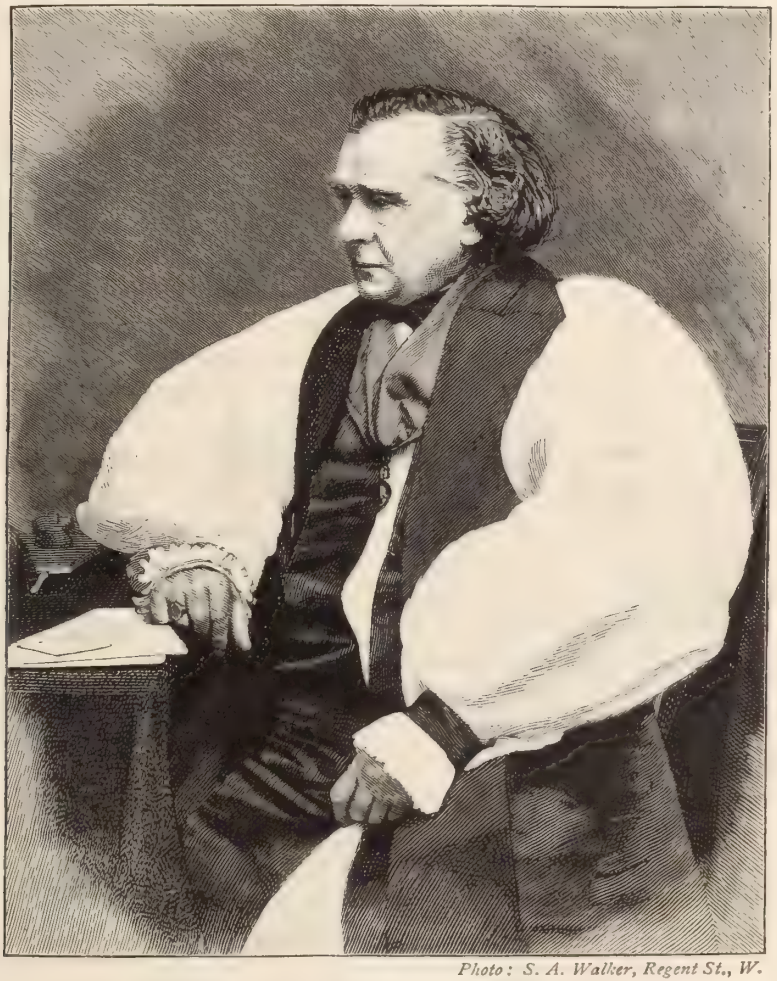


Photo: S. A. Walker, Regent St., W.

DR. WILBERFORCE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

life of the whole church. Each is tempted, too often, to exaggerate its own peculiar and favourite views; it is good that these possible exaggerations of one school should be somewhat neutralised by the teaching of the other. The high churchman, in his beautiful reverence for antiquity and his touching belief in the efficacy of the blessed sacraments, is tempted at times to ignore, if not to forget, the action of the Holy Spirit sometimes working in men independent of all sacraments; and even to prefer—perhaps unconsciously—the authority of tradition in the church to the plain words of the Bible. On the other hand, the low churchman, in his conviction of the ever-presence of the Holy Spirit, in his passionate attachment to the inspired Word of God, is too apt to neglect, if not to ignore, the priceless treasure of tradition; to undervalue if not to forget the glorious heritage of the unbroken continuity of his church; even at times to think too little of the blessed sacraments, those divinely appointed channels of grace. The teaching of one school serves to correct the omissions of the other, and to recall to earnest serious men aspects of truth they might otherwise lose sight of.

But beneath these seeming differences, common to the two great Anglican parties there exists, deep-seated, a strong determination to hold fast to the great fundamental principles of "the faith once delivered to the saints"; the essentials of the Christian religion are held by both parties with an equal fervour of belief. Very strikingly was this "oneness of faith" expressed in what then appeared to be a moment of common danger by the two great party leaders in 1864—lord Shaftesbury and Dr. Pusey. Dr. Pusey wrote to the *Record* newspaper, calling upon all Christians to forego minor differences, in mutual resistance to the great doctrinal errors of the day.* Referring to this letter, lord Shaftesbury wrote to Dr. Pusey as follows: "You and I are fellow collegians and old friends.† Time, space, and divergent opinions have separated us for years, but circumstances have arisen which must, if we desire combined action in the cause of one common Master, set at nought time, space, and divergent opinions. We will fight about these *another day;* in this we must 'contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints'; and it must be done together. . . . We have to struggle, not for Apostolical succession or Baptismal Regeneration, but for the very Atonement itself, for the sole hope of fallen man, the vicarious sacrifice of the Cross. For God's sake let all who love our Blessed Lord and His perfect Word be of one heart, one mind, one action on this great issue, and show that, despite our wanderings, our doubts, our contentions, we yet may be one in Him. What say you?"

To this Dr. Pusey replied: "I thank you for your letter and for the renewal of old friendship. I always sought to live in friendly relations with those who love our dear Lord and adore His redeeming mercy. Those few lines in the *Record* express what has for these thirty years been the deep longing of my soul, that we should

* The occasion was, when the case against the once celebrated volume of "Essays and Reviews" broke down before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

† Pusey and Shaftesbury were cousins.

understand one another and strive together against the common enemy of souls. . . . *I have ever loved the Evangelical party* (even while they blamed me) *because I believed that they loved our Redeeming Lord with their whole hearts.* So now I am one heart and one mind with those who will contend for one common faith against this tide of unbelief."

Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford (later of Winchester), another well-known High Church leader, wrote at the same time in similar terms to lord Shaftesbury: "It is my earnest desire that the terrible wound of this judgment (in the case of "Essays and Reviews") should become the means of healing the wound which the separation of high and low church inflicts upon us, by bringing together all who believe simply in the Bible and in the plain language of our Creeds."*

For many years the Evangelical party in the Church of England have occupied a less prominent position in the eyes of the public than their numbers (for while decidedly in the minority, they form a very large minority) and their earnestness would seem fairly to claim for them. How is this to be accounted for? The reasons seem to require a few words of explanation.

For some fifty years the Evangelical body has undoubtedly suffered by its long and somewhat stubborn resistance to ecclesiastical developments. Every kind of Church organisation—such as, for instance, the revival of Convocation, Diocesan Conferences, the Church Congress, and to some extent, the Lambeth Conference, and, in certain instances, Church development in the Colonies*—has been steadily opposed by the leaders of the Evangelical party and by its public organs. To take a well-known example, while bishop Wilberforce (of Oxford) and his friends were endeavouring by every means in their power to restore freedom of discussion to the long-silenced assembly of the church in Convocation, lord Shaftesbury, the trusted Evangelical leader, and the *Record* —the recognised organ of the party—were denouncing his proposals in the most vehement language. Indeed, the school as a whole looked upon the movement for restoring to the Church a powerful voice in the regulation of her own affairs as an attempt to limit the power of the State, as an effort to infringe the Royal supremacy,† as the manifestation of an evident desire to subject the laity to priestly

* See "Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury," by Edwin Hodder, chap. xxvii., where these letters are given at length. The date of this correspondence is February, 1864.

* That this is *not* the spirit which lives in the Evangelical party at the close of the nineteenth century, is emphatically shown by the action of the Church Missionary Society, which *entirely* supports fifteen Anglican bishops abroad, and contributes to the maintenance of four others.

† The Evangelical leaders always strongly upheld the Royal supremacy. But they were not open to the charge brought against them by both Tractarians and Dissenters, of looking to the Queen as "Head of the Church." "She is supreme," said Hugh Stowell, at the anniversary of the Church Pastoral Aid Society in 1851, "over all *causes* ecclesiastical; but she is not the 'Head of the Church.' That title was arrogated by Henry VIII., who was neither more nor less than a Pope himself. . . . But Queen Elizabeth refused the title. 'It belongs,' she said, 'to no mortal—to none but Christ Himself.' My friends," went on Hugh Stowell to say, "we could never give our Queen, much as we love and revere her, the title of 'Head of the Church.' The Lord Jesus Christ alone is our Head."—See *Missionary Register*, 1851, p. 372.

domination. On one memorable occasion, at a great public meeting, lord Shaftesbury even went so far as to say that Convocation meant priestly despotism.

It is clear that the old strong Church and State feeling which coloured the whole Church of England during the first half of the nineteenth century, survived chiefly in what is called the Low Church party. Their regrettable opposition to church development, which has been since universally recognised as an absolute necessity, was owing, in the first instance, to undue backwardness in perceiving the signs of the times. It has been, no doubt, a great cause of weakness among the Evangelicals, this prolonged and obstinate refusal to throw themselves heartily into church movements. Things have gradually changed, and the party now unreservedly accept what they once so strongly disliked and tried to hinder. It is a pity, however, that they did not do so long before. They sorely injured their position by their ill-judged opposition to the church's fair agitation for the recovery of ancient privileges, as well as by their hostility to certain necessary ecclesiastical developments at home and in the Colonies; and it will be long before they recover the influence and position they justly claim, but which in a measure they forfeited by a policy, which they in time came sadly to recognise as a mistaken one.

Another cause of the loss of influence of the Evangelical party must be briefly touched upon. We have already dwelt upon the disputes which have somewhat disturbed the church during the last fifty years of the century in the matter of Ritual observances. The Evangelical party for a long time strenuously resisted all advance in the church in the direction of a more ornate and elaborate ritual. Here, again, their action was not endorsed by the evident wishes of a large number of English churchmen. Still, it was perfectly legitimate, and in accordance with the views of many, to endeavour to preserve a plainer and more simple ritual and practice than what was being gradually adopted in a vast number of churches, generally with the approbation of the congregations. This striking difference of opinion was, indeed, no new feature among Anglican churchmen. We have, in the course of our history, often had to chronicle such divergences of opinion. As early as in the times of Elizabeth, archbishop Grindal and his school gravely differed on that point from his predecessor, archbishop Parker, and from his successor in the primacy, archbishop Whitgift. A little later we find that archbishop Laud was again in opposition to several of his suffragans.

Unfortunately, however, some of those (we are speaking of Evangelical churchmen of the last forty years of the nineteenth century) who disliked ritual developments, formed a society known as the Church Association, which made the fatal mistake of attacking individuals personally, and who carried the matters in dispute before the law courts, succeeding in actually bringing about the imprisonment of certain clergymen who, in the opinion of these courts, were pronounced guilty of transgressing the law in matters of ritual. These prosecutions and the consequences greatly shocked a vast number of persons who had no special sympathy with the peculiar views of the prosecuted

persons;* and although the responsible Evangelical leaders withdrew at an early date from the Church Association,† much of the odium incurred by the action of the society fell upon them. Nothing, in fact, has during recent years so much harmed the Evangelical cause in England as the ill-judged action of this society, and it is

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.
(*From the painting by George Richmond, R.A.*)

to be deplored that the low church leaders did not more openly dissociate themselves from a persecuting policy which is, and rightly so, at variance with the best instincts of all serious religious Englishmen, who justly feel that legal prosecutions are not the way to advance spiritual truth.

* Among these were notably Maurice, Kingsley, and Stanley, and their disciples belonging to the so-called "Broad Church" School.

† At the time of Mr. Green's imprisonment there was scarcely one of the recognised Evangelical leaders members of the Church Association. In the very large Committee of the Church Missionary Society not more than one or two members were ever members of the Church Association Council.

But when we have admitted to the full the grave mistakes of the Evangelicals, and the inevitable consequences of their mistakes, pains must be taken to counteract a common error, into which many historians and writers in late years have fallen—viz. that the Evangelical cause is a failing cause. The contrary is, in fact, the case. The hold which the party have on the people is a strong one, and not only shows no sign of diminishing, but indeed the opposite. For instance, the total population of parishes aided by the Pastoral Aid Society is, at least, between five and six millions. That is to say, that the teaching in these parishes is absolutely Evangelical in character, that being a necessary condition of the aid being granted; and this vast population, it must be remembered, belongs exclusively to large poor districts, since comparatively well-to-do parishes scarcely, if ever, ask for assistance from a society whose funds are, after all, but limited, and whose operations are necessarily confined to large and more or less poor centres of population.* This considerable number of five to six millions, then, is only a very small part of the population of England under the influence of the teachers of the school of thought of which we are now speaking.

The splendid and ever-growing enthusiasm evoked by the Church Missionary Society—which is mainly, though not entirely, supported by the Evangelicals in the Church of England—may also fairly be quoted as a striking instance of the hold on the affections of the people to which we have alluded. The Church Missionary Society, with the wide extent of its operations, with its elaborate and admirable organisation, with its noble income—an income, be it remembered, largely made up of the offerings of the masses—ranks as the first and most influential of the various Christian missionary companies formed for the evangelisation of the heathen. Such examples, among many, are simply quoted in this place as instances of the affection of at least a very considerable section of the English people for this school of thought.

That affection is largely fostered by the hereditary dread and dislike—we might almost use the term hatred—of the people to Rome, and to anything which in either doctrine or practice seems to lean in the direction of favouring Romish* views. The Low Church school is popularly regarded as providing the great bulwark against the introduction of the dreaded teaching.

Again, during the century, two great Evangelical leaders have arisen, who, in the eyes of the people of England, indisputably have filled the foremost places as the champions of the oppressed and the down-trodden: William Wilberforce (1759–1831), and the great and good Earl of Shaftesbury (1801–1885). These two eminent philanthropists, who as persistent and successful toilers for suffering humanity

* The income of the Church Pastoral Aid Society is, roughly, about £50,000 per annum, mainly derived from voluntary yearly offerings.

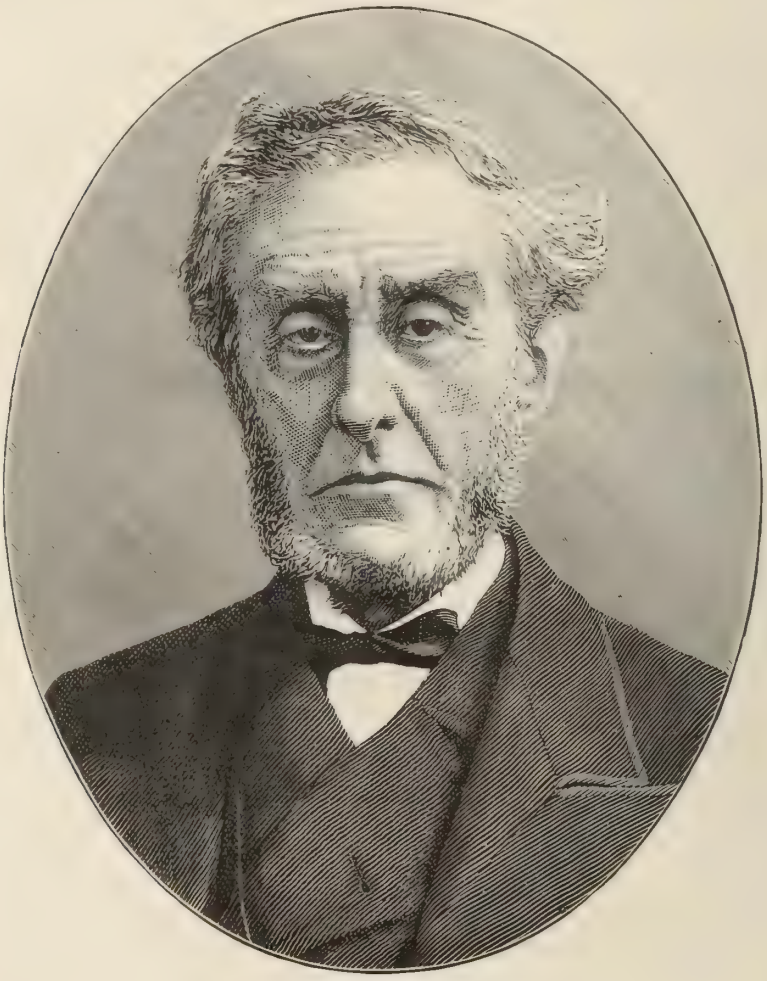
* It is, however, a fact—which ought to be pressed home, as perhaps it is not generally recognised by the people—that the great majority of High Church responsible leaders and teachers are as much opposed to Romish errors and papal pretensions as are the Evangelical leaders and teachers.

literally tower above all their contemporaries, are with justice looked upon as the representatives of the Evangelical party. The story of the first of them, William Wilberforce, has been already narrated at some length, and his indefatigable labours—in Parliament and out of Parliament—for the slaves whose treatment was the darkest blot upon Christianity, for the poor, and for education, have been already narrated. Wilberforce was the pupil of the great Evangelical teachers of the last century, and the friend and leader of the chief supporters of the same school during the earlier years of the present century. He was the centre and the guiding genius of that famous Evangelical group known as the "Clapham Sect."

Lord Shaftesbury, the second of the two well-loved Evangelical leaders, has been, in the England of the second half of the nineteenth century, a yet more commanding personality. His successful efforts on behalf of the poor and oppressed have been more exclusively confined to "home"-abuses. Much of our first great philanthropist's time was devoted to the cause of the slaves in the Colonial possessions of Great Britain; while the work of the second has been exclusively devoted to the amelioration of the lot of the suffering poor in England. If it were possible, too, Lord Shaftesbury was even more than Wilberforce a representative Evangelical. His own words may be quoted as a just expression of his position in the religious life of the Church of England. "I am essentially," he said on one occasion, "an Evangelical of the Evangelicals, from deep-rooted conviction. I have worked with them constantly, and I am satisfied that most of the great philanthropic movements of the century have sprung from them. I stand fast by the teachings held by that party." These remarkable words, spoken far on in the life of this noble toiler for God (as late as 1884), not only emphatically declare his own religious position, but express his conviction that to the party to which he was referring, was owing the majority of unselfish, helpful, charitable developments during late years. He bore this emphatic testimony to the school of religious opinion which had ever stood by him in all his "works and days," helping him earnestly and loyally to devise and carry out those great public measures and beneficent projects with which the historic name of Shaftesbury will be for ever linked.

Deep rooted also in the hearts of the people, is the old love of Protestantism; at times, we confess, a somewhat unreasoning love, but it must be allowed that, after all, it rests on lessons painfully learnt in the past. This old love for Protestantism has been wonderfully strengthened in the past hundred years by the part played by those two great Evangelicals of whom we have been speaking. The people have seen, and they will not soon forget, that from the counsels of the Evangelical chiefs have sprung—again, to use Shaftesbury's words—"the great philanthropic movements of the century." Before giving a few details of the more prominent recent efforts of the party of which we are speaking, a short account of the beneficent and far-reaching reforms planned and carried out by the great Evangelical leader and his party in the amelioration

of the lives of various groups among the working classes of England, will be useful and interesting, and will justify the assertion above advanced, as to the degree in which the practical work of the men of the Evangelical school of thought has stormed the hearts of a large number of our fellow-countrymen.



THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

It was as early as 1833 that the great work of "Factory-legislation" began, with which the name of Lord Shaftesbury (then known as Lord Ashley) and his friends will be for ever identified in the annals of England, whenever successful religious and philanthropic toil is chronicled. For more than thirty years a conviction had been growing throughout the country, that bitter wrong was being inflicted on women and children, especially on the latter, who were employed in ever-increasing numbers

in the rapidly multiplying factories and mills, especially in Lancashire and the north. The hours during which these unhappy, helpless beings worked, were excessive; the treatment to which they were subjected was harsh, at times even cruel; the time allowed for rest and refreshment utterly insufficient; for education frightful. Day and night the machinery was kept going, one gang of children working at it by day, and another set by night; while in times of pressure the same children were kept working day and night by remorseless task-masters. The horrors of the Factory system are scarcely conceivable to this generation."* From

ST. GILES, THE SEAT OF THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

and moral and religious training, never a moment was set aside. At first the demand for youthful labour was met by the "apprentice" system, by which large bodies of children were drafted from the workhouses of cities, and placed in the mills and factories as apprentices, where they were too often worked unmercifully, and treated with sickening brutality. "The waste of human life in these mills and factories was simply morning to night, in an overheated atmosphere reeking with the fumes of oil, and amidst the whirring din of machinery, sick, with aching backs, and often lacerated fingers, parched and half suffocated by the dust and flue—the weary slaves toiled on:

"For all day, the wheels are droning, turning,
Their wind comes in our faces,
Till our hearts burn, our heads with pulses burning,
And the walls turn in their places:

* "Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury," chap. iii.

Turns the sky in the high window black and reeling,
  Turns the long light that droops adown the wall,
Turn the black flies that crawl along the ceiling,
  All are turning all the day, and we with all.
And all day the iron wheels are droning,
  And sometimes we could pray,
'O ye wheels (breaking out in a mad moaning),
  'Stop! be silent for to-day!'" *

THE HAPPY FREE LABOURERS OF ENGLAND.

(*From a print published in* 1833.)

In 1802 the first Sir Robert Peel championed the cause of these unhappy ones, and carried through Parliament a modest measure providing in some degree for their care and education. But his "merciful" Act only went so far as to limit the hours of labour to twelve, exclusive of meals! and to abolish night work. It also appointed visitors to inspect the factories, with the view at all events of diminishing the most crying grievances of the system. In 1819 Sir Robert Peel succeeded in obtaining another Act, which forbade children *under nine years of age* working in a cotton factory, and no young person under sixteen was to be allowed to work *more than twelve hours a day*, exclusive of meals. In 1825 another Bill promoted by Sir John Hobhouse became law, which rendered it unlawful to employ any child in a cotton factory who should be under eighteen years of age for more than sixty-nine hours a week, or *eleven and a half hours a day!* But this somewhat feeble legislation related only to the cotton factories, whilst many other industries were growing up in that period of rapid industrial development, day by day. In 1830 a greater and more comprehensive movement commenced, which embraced the idea of limiting somewhat the hours of work not only for children in cotton mills, but for children employed in the manufacture of textile fabrics throughout the kingdom. But the legislation attempted in 1830–1, although in the right direction, was miserably insufficient to remedy the cruel, awful wrong which confessedly existed in these dreary homes of labour.

* Mrs. E. B. Browning: "The Cry of the Children."

At this juncture the Evangelical leader, lord Ashley (afterwards the earl of Shaftesbury) appeared on the scene, and constituted himself as the preacher, as the general tribune, in season and out of season, of the new crusade against the factory system; the champion of these thousands of pale-cheeked, suffering little ones, and of sad-eyed, helpless women employed in these great industries. Antony Ashley-Cooper, lord Ashley, was only thirty-two years of age, when in good earnest he commenced the labours of his great and beneficent life. Intensely pious, an Evangelical of the Evangelicals, a follower of the best and purest teachers of the school he loved so well, a disciple of the Venns, of Romaine, of Cecil, and of Simeon, he brought religion into every-day life, referring every action to a Higher Power, and seeking hour by hour fresh strength from the source of all power and light—his blessed Redeemer, Jesus Christ.

What he accomplished in the course of the next twenty work-filled years, is succinctly and admirably told in the words of his own private diary, dated Christmas day, 1851:—"It would be curious to take an impartial review, if I could, of what I have gained by many years of toil, for myself, *for the public*, and, may I say it? for the cause of our Blessed Master. What have I gained for the public? That is according to my own estimation. . . . (1) Seventeen years of labour and anxiety obtained the Lunacy* Bill in 1845, and five years' increased labour since that time have carried it into operation. It has effected, I know, prodigious relief, has forced the construction of many public asylums, and greatly multiplied inspection and care."

Then the diary dwells but very lightly upon the great work of his life, in which he gained so vast a notoriety, the beneficent factory legislation, which has made tolerable and even sweetened the condition of life for so many thousands of our toilers, especially for the young and helpless. (2) "Seventeen years from 1833 to 1850 obtained the Factory Bill. The labour of three hundred thousand* persons, male and female, has been reduced within reasonable limits, and full forty thousand children under thirteen years of age attend school for three hours every day! Let the people themselves, let the reports of the inspectors, let the records of bygone days, be heard against the contempt, the misrepresentation, the ignorance, the hatred, of those who opposed or discouraged me.

"(3) A commission, moved for in 1841, reported in 1842, and in 1843 passed a Bill to forbid labour of females in mines and collieries. No one can deny the blessed results of this measure. (4) Passed Bill to regulate and limit labour of children and women in print-works."† . . . "Thus

* Reference is here made to the early efforts made by lord Ashley in behalf of the "insane." His especial care, however, was directed to the treatment of that unhappy class in our community—the "pauper lunatics." The awful revelations of cruelty and misery, which were too often the lot of these helpless sufferers, are almost incredible in our days, when lunatic asylums are conspicuous for their order and cleanliness, for the wise and humane treatment of the unfortunate inmates. These efforts, crowned with success, although comparatively little remembered now, were the beginning of the great Evangelical philanthropist's life-work in behalf of the suffering poor of England.

* These numbers, quoted from 1851, of course have enormously increased since that period.

† Other Parliamentary work is here chronicled in the diary—of the same kind, but of a less important character.

far Parliament: out of it have spared no trouble nor expense (and both have been excessive) for Ragged Schools, Model Lodging-houses, Emigration committees, and meetings by day and night on every imaginable subject."

"JACK CADE'S INSURRECTION."
(*From the cartoon by "H. B."*)

The "Colliery" Bill, to which reference is made in this summary, was one of the greatest boons ever granted to the working classes. It dealt with a state of things which existed in the great coal industry—a condition of things almost incredible for the amount of suffering endured by the wretched toilers. Children and young people of *both* sexes were largely employed and shamefully ill-treated; education was totally neglected, and the morals of this great host of underground workers, many of them of a very tender age, were simply deplorable. The poor little ones laboured like beasts of burden, and, toiling on the long week through in their subterranean workshops, scarcely ever caught a sight of the sunshine during the six days of unremitting work. The seeds of many diseases were thus early sown. Many became permanently sickly, and not a few died. Scenes of revolting cruelty were too common in these mines and collieries.

The foes to the urgent demands for reform urged the impossibility of working the pits with profit, unless child labour was largely used. Lord Ashley with enormous pains made himself master of

this most complicated question, procured the appointment of a Government Commission of Inquiry, exposed in Parliament and outside Parliament the awful iniquities of the system, and laid bare the undreamed-of sufferings it involved. He writes in his diary the following: "I hear that no such sensation has been caused, since the first disclosure of the horrors of the slave trade. God, go before us, as in Thy pillar of a cloud!" Describing the scene in the House of Commons when he brought forward his great measure, "the Mines and Collieries Bill," which dealt a death-blow to the iniquitous system of cruelty and oppression, on which occasion the Evangelical chief thrilled the House with his terrible picture, "Oh," he writes in his diary, "that I had the tongue of an angel to express what I ought to feel! God grant that I may never forget it, for I cannot record it. On the 7th brought forward my motion. The success has been wonderful. . . . For two hours the House listened so attentively you might have heard a pin drop, broken only by loud and repeated marks of approbation. . . . As I stood at the table, and just before I opened my mouth, the words of God came forcibly to my mind — 'only be strong and of a good courage.' . . . From that moment I was as easy as though I had been sitting in an arm-chair. Many men, I hear, shed tears. . . . God prosper the issue."*

CHILD AND WOMAN LABOUR IN THE COAL MINES PRIOR TO 1843.
(Drawn from contemporary prints.)

'This earlier legislation on behalf of the downtrodden, oppressed working classes was only obtained after years of toil and in the

* "Life of Lord Shaftesbury," chap. x.

teeth of the bitterest opposition. In 1844 we find such entries in the diary as follows: —"Nearly eleven years have elapsed since I first made the proposition to the House which I shall renew this night. Never at any time have I felt greater apprehension or even anxiety. . . . I know well the hostility I have aroused, and the certain issues of indiscretion on my part affecting the welfare of those who have so long confided their hopes and interest to my charge."* But in spite of the long, sickening delay, to the great Evangelical, confident in the righteousness of the sacred cause to which he had devoted his life, supported by the strong religious conviction of his party, victory came at last all along the line. The "Ten Hours Bill" of 1847 was one of his greatest triumphs, and proved only the precursor of a long series of kindly legislation, which has effectually remedied many of the crying evils that his great heart burned to do away with. How important was that early piece of legislation to mankind, when we remember that out of 544,876 persons employed in the various textile industries, no less than 363,786 were young persons and women, whom the Act directly affected. The great parliamentary victory, we read, was received throughout the country with intense enthusiasm, the rejoicings in the manufacturing districts being such as had never before been witnessed. Ovations everywhere greeted the champion of the poor operatives. Medals were even struck in commemoration of the event.

Evasions of the law were, however, attempted, and more legislation on the subject again occupied the attention of the House of Commons, every stage being anxiously watched and guided by lord Ashley and his friends. In 1850 a more complete Bill at length received the Royal assent. The principle laid down by the "Ten Hours Bill" of 1847 was firmly established, and since that memorable date, owing to the tireless perseverance of lord Shaftesbury, that principle has been gradually extended, till now, in the last years of the nineteenth century, we have "a complete, minute, and voluminous code for the protection of labour. Buildings must be kept pure of effluvia; dangerous machinery must be fenced; children and young persons must not clean it while in motion; their hours are not only limited, but fixed; continuous employment must not exceed a given number of hours, varying with the trade, but prescribed by the law in given cases; a statutable number of holidays is imposed; the children must go to school, and the employer must every week have a certificate to that effect; if an accident happens, notice must be sent to the proper authorities; special provisions are made for bakehouses, for lace-making, for collieries, and for a whole schedule of other special callings. For the due enforcement and vigilant supervision of this immense host of minute prescriptions there is an immense host of inspectors, certifying surgeons, and other authorities, whose business it is 'to speed and post o'er land and sea' in *restless guardianship of every kind of labour*, from that of the woman who plaits straw at her cottage door, to the miner who descends into the bowels of the earth, and the seaman who conveys the fruits or materials of universal industry to and

* "Life," chap. xii.

fro between the remotest parts of the globe."*

Such have been the results of nigh half a century of ceaseless endeavour on the part of the great Evangelical and his friends; such the splendid results of perhaps the noblest crusade ever undertaken on behalf of suffering, toiling humanity by a devoted and earnest churchman. Well indeed have the labours of Wilberforce and Shaftesbury, spread over about a hundred years, though different in their direct object and varying in their detail, been classed together. They both were distinguished and loyal sons of the Church of England, and both not only belonged to, but were most distinguished leaders of, that great school in the church called Evangelical. They and their school of religious thought have left an ineffaceable mark on the story of England, and the people will never forget what they owe to the Evangelical leaders Wilberforce and Shaftesbury. Very admirably, and withal very grandly, one, long an ardent and even a bitter antagonist, but who was in the end converted by the exceeding nobleness of the saintly work, thus speaks of the lessons of the great crusade. The writer, after stating that he had become a convert, and that he, as far as he was able, had been led to imitate the example and follow in the footsteps of the brave Evangelical earl, goes on to say: "The present state of these poor women and children† is a serious lesson to all legislators. It teaches us in a way not to be mistaken, that we ought never to trust to the justice and humanity of masses of men whose interests are furthered by injustice and cruelty. The slave-owner in America, the manufacturer in England, though they may be individually good men, will, nevertheless, as slave-owners and masters, be guilty of atrocities at which humanity shudders, and will, before the world, with unblushing faces, defend cruelties from which they would recoil with horror if moral judgment were not perverted by their self-interest."*

But this bringing of practical religion into actual common life, was not confined to the classes who toiled in the great and widespread industries covered by the mills and factories, and the innumerable toilers in all textile crafts, nor was it limited to the army of workers in the collieries and mines whence come the vast mineral wealth of our island. We can only venture barely to give a catalogue of the minor industries and crafts in which the poorest of people earn their daily bread, which were helped and materially benefited by the same tireless religious zeal and Christian love. We may just instance such half-forgotten industries as those which employed flower girls, water-cress girls, shoeblacks, chimney-sweeps, costermongers. To these poor children of toil, among the clients of the good earl and his Evangelical friends, must be added the great army of sewing-girls, and the unnumbered crowd of boys of our great cities, well-nigh homeless and destitute—all these in their turn have had occasion, in good truth, to arise and

* Morley's "Life of Cobden."

† The writer is alluding to one special industry, but he could apply it to the great mass of helpless toilers.

* "Mr. Roebuck, M.P., to Lord Shaftesbury," quoted in the "Life," chap. xv. The letter bears date March, 1860.

LORD SHAFTESBURY'S VISIT TO THE WESTMINSTER RAGGED SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY.

(From the picture by Alex. Blaikley.)

call Shaftesbury and his company blessed. Nor were the public deeds of the good Evangelical earl and his friends by any means confined to great arenas. His memory will, of course, float down the stream of history as the unwearied public philanthropist, as the parliamentary orator and eloquent advocate of his well-loved sad-eyed clients, as the statesman who piloted the far-reaching Factory and Colliery Bills through the mazes of House of Commons opposition, as the impassioned defender of God's Holy Book, as the unwearied advocate of Evangelical religion upon a thousand platforms. These things must be his title of honour in the many-coloured chronicles still to be filled with the story of the second half of the nineteenth century. But the great love which filled the people's hearts for Shaftesbury, was based upon something else besides his splendid public services on their behalf. Uncounted thousands, it is true, who had never looked upon his face or heard his voice reverenced him as their fearless and successful champion, as the one who had fought their battles for them in the senate and the council chamber. But not a few among the suffering poor, loved him because they knew him. "If a poor flower girl or little children in distress called at his house in Grosvenor Square to tell their troubles to 'the good earl,' they would never be turned away. They knew, too, that as in past years he had visited day after day, night after night, the mills and the factories, the collieries and the mines—those scenes *once* of nameless suffering—so in later life, by day as by night he went to the common lodging-houses and sought out men and women there . . . they knew how on the day after his visit the bare walls of their sad homes were made gay with bright pictures that produce the semblance of a home-look; they remembered how when on some of these quiet visits, as one or other of them told him of cruel worry or heart-breaking sorrow, they saw the tears pouring down his face, and heard his faltering expression, 'God help you, poor dear!' It is no wonder surely that the poor worshipped the ground upon which he trod, and that his name was held in veneration in every hovel from Whitechapel to Westminster."*

In this too brief sketch of the work of the Evangelical school and their great leader† during the last fifty or sixty years of the nineteenth century, some notice should be especially taken of the Ragged School Union, of which lord Shaftesbury was the indefatigable president for some forty years. Indeed, he was its virtual creator, and he and his friends were ever the main supporters of the "Union" and of the vast work which gradually clustered round it. The question of the enormous population of London and the consequent rapid increase of vagrant and outcast children, began to be a pressing question to many religious men as early as 1843, and a small beginning of a ragged school in Field Lane attracted lord Shaftesbury's attention. He and his friends devoted themselves to the object, conscious of the

* "Life," chap. xxxvi.

† Some of these "memories" were of course *personal*, but such a personality as Shaftesbury's touches the hearts of a whole people; while his public deeds were not only endorsed, but were enormously helped on by the religious party in the church of which for so long he was the foremost figure.

rapidly-increasing numbers of neglected children and young people in the great metropolis. Too wild, ragged, and dirty for the church schools which in those days represented well-nigh the whole machinery available for the education of the poor, these adults engaged in some daily occupation; women's evening schools for improving character and extending domestic usefulness; homes for boys, night refuges for the utterly destitute, Bible classes, and other organisations of a similar nature.

LORD SHAFTESBURY INSPECTING A COSTERMONGERS' DONKEY SHOW.

utterly neglected ones were growing up trained by their sad surroundings for a life of degradation and crime, rather than for a useful, happy existence. The "ragged school," under the powerful and able guidance of the Evangelical leader, rapidly developed. Round the original little "ragged school," struggling for a precarious existence, grew up a network of healthy, happy institutions—such as day schools for infants, evening schools for youths and

With extraordinary rapidity these ragged schools and their various satellites, as above faintly detailed, grew in London. After about seven years, in 1853–4, more than a hundred of these strange, novel "seminaries" for the outcast and almost destitute class were included in lord Shaftesbury's famous Union. Considerably over ten thousand children (and the numbers rapidly increased) were, before 1853–4, brought into the sphere of their blessed

influence. The difficulty was evidently to keep these ragged schools down to one mark. To use the words of their President and chief supporter: "You must keep them, as I have said a hundred times, in the mire and gutter, as long as the mire and gutter exist. So long as this class exists, you must keep the schools adapted to their wants, their feelings, their tastes, and their level. I feel that my business lies with the gutter." But among the useful practical things taught in this great Ragged School system was the simple religion of Jesus. This was ever placed in the forefront of the simple curriculum. "What is wanted," wrote lord Shaftesbury, years later, to canon Wilberforce, "for my small, sorrowing, abject children, and when obtained, relished by all that class, is the notion and feeling of a personal Saviour, of one who can understand them, enter into all their sorrows, be, as it were, near them, almost visible."

The time, however, came when this most useful and beneficial work was no longer needed. With the "Seventies" the Board School system came into operation, and State provision was made for the education of all children, even of the most destitute, ragged, and forlorn in London and the provinces. In 1872, in the "Shaftesbury" Diary, we come upon this pregnant entry: "The Ragged Schools are sinking rapidly. To attempt their prolonged existence will be a waste of time, health, and strength." Then, as the Ragged School under the new State development was dying, we catch sight of the master-passion of the good earl. Far above the material things with which he longed to endow his poor, helpless clients, he desired the weal of their immortal souls. He dreaded—no baseless dread, as we have seen since—the exclusion, or at least the discouragement, of religious teaching in State-aided schools. Very earnestly and unceasingly he resolved to resist any such movement to the death. The burning, eloquent words of the great Evangelical on one famous occasion deserve to be quoted at length, for the peril is ever with us: "What we ask simply is this, that the Bible and the teaching of the Bible to the children of this vast Empire shall be an essential and not an extra, that religious teaching shall be carried on within school hours. Take conscience clauses and time tables enough to satisfy the greatest cormorant for things of that kind, but they will in my opinion be all useless. The people of England will never require them. What! exclude by Act of Parliament religious teaching from schools founded, supported by public rates! Declare that the revealed Word of God and religious teaching shall be exiled to the odds and ends of time, and that only at such periods shall any effort be devoted to the most important part of the education of the youth of the Empire! It is an outrage upon the national feelings, and more than this, it is without exception the grossest violation of the rights of religious liberty that was ever perpetrated or even imagined in the worst times by any Government whatever. . . . We have now come to a period in the history of our country when there has just been granted to the people almost universal suffrage. Is this a time to take from the mass of the people . . . the checks and restraints of religion? Is this a time to harden their hearts by the mere

secularity of knowledge, or to withhold from them the cultivation of all those noble and divine influences which touch the soul?"*

We have dwelt at some considerable length upon some of the works and days of Antony Ashley-Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, because, to a great extent, they cover many of the efforts of the Evangelical party between 1840 and 1885; also, because in many respects Shaftesbury was a typical Evangelical. It has been well said that millions in our land have thanked God—these thanks are still rising—for the noble and successful efforts of Shaftesbury and his party for the poor and the oppressed; such efforts, such successes, considering they were carried out and accomplished in about half a century, as are perhaps matchless in the world's history. Still toiling in the causes he loved so well till the last, at the ripe age of eighty-four he passed to his well-won rest. Before all that was mortal of Shaftesbury was laid in the quiet village church, under the shadow of his ancestral home of St. Giles (Dorset), there was a solemn funeral service in Westminster Abbey. The scene in the storied Abbey, where sleep the kings and queens and a great crowd of the illustrious men and women of our England, was such as never before had been witnessed in the sacred national sanctuary. It was a striking testimony to the work the great Evangelical had done, and to the popular love which he had won for himself and his cause. The mighty Abbey was full of mourners—and true mourners, not sight-seers; it was no impressive pageant such as a great State funeral provides. "Never before, in the memory of living men, had there been brought together at one time and in one place, and with one accord, so many workers for the common good, impelled by a deep and tender sympathy in a common loss. For no other man in England or in the world could such an assembly have been gathered together. While the coffin stood under the lantern of the church buried beneath the masses of wreaths—the offering of the Crown Princess of Germany resting beside the 'Loving tribute from the flower girls of London'—strong men wept as they gazed on the sea of upturned faces, every face bearing traces of sorrow."* The most remarkable feature in that vast company of mourners was the number of religious and philanthropic institutions represented that day. There were delegates from some 200 to 250 of such institutions, many of them of world-wide notoriety, with which the "good earl" was more or less directly connected.

A hundred instances could be massed together indicative of the love his works had kindled in the people's hearts, and, to a very large degree, the love is yet reflected in popular affection for the "party" of which he was so faithful, so genuine a representative. Over his bed, for instance, in his London house, hung a rough but carefully worked piece of needlework, the offering of factory girls. The clock in the earl's dining-room was the gift of poor flower and watercress girls. The bed coverlet he ever used at St. Giles' House, was a loving present from a number of ragged children. Well was the sorrow of the people voiced

* See the "Life," chap. xxxi.

* "Life," chap. xxxvii.

by a poor artisan in the crowd, with ragged clothes but with a piece of crape sewed on his sleeve, who stood silent near the Abbey door as the coffin passed within: "Our earl's gone! God A'mighty knows he loved us, and we loved him." Very deeply has the memory of these great and successful

ALMSHOUSE WALK AND CHURCH, ST. GILES.

efforts for the people sunk into the hearts of Englishmen, and that memory has in no slight degree helped to keep burning the old love for Evangelicalism among vast numbers of our population.

Lord Shaftesbury, for so many long years the leading and typical Evangelical churchman, was devotedly loyal in his affection for the Church of England. Such public words as the following well express the feeling of his party: "So long as the Church of England stands by her formularies, her articles, and her homilies, and so long as she crowns all by declaring that the Bible is the sole ground of her faith, rejecting every argument of human invention, so long may she confidently assert that she is a true church in the sight of God. . . ." "Leave her! (the Church of England)," cried the great religious leader in a noble outburst of true oratory, spoken in reply to some who were deeply pained at what they deemed grave errors in matters of doctrine and ritual; "leave her! Why, I should just as soon have expected that St. Paul would call upon Timothy to renounce his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice." This was far on his life in the 'seventies. In his

diary in 1872 we come upon the following entry:—"Must and will do much under God's blessing to resist Disestablishment, and secure the parochial system."

Loyal and devoted churchman though he was, grave criticism advanced by certain earnest Anglican churchmen, which cannot be ignored by an impartial historian of the Church of England, has been urged in respect to some important branches of lord Shaftesbury's religious and philanthropic work; a similar criticism has to be met in the case of certain widely extending religious operations undertaken by other prominent members of the Evangelical party during the last forty or fifty years. The works to which this criticism applies. cannot be said to be solely and distinctively in connection with the Anglican Church—notably such causes as the Ragged School Union, the Young Men's Christian Association, the London City Mission, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and other important religious movements of the Evangelicals presently to be alluded to. These and not a few more are what is termed undenominational. In some of them, however, the great majority of workers are churchmen, and in the opinion of many, the Church of England owes much to their self-denying labours, for it is indisputable that through these varied and various agencies the Anglican Church is brought into close touch with masses of the people, who otherwise would have no contact at all with her teachers. It is of course a thing which many regret, and with good reason, that all these religious and philanthropic movements are not distinctively Church of England movements, but the historian has to accept facts, and has honestly to chronicle them. Advantages to the church counterbalance disadvantages, and are weighed differently according to the stand-point occupied by the critic. A number of smaller but at the same time powerfnl religious agencies which exist in England, such as the Railway Mission, the Policemen's Mission, the Postmen's Mission, the Navvy Mission, the Children's Special Service Mission, the Children's Scripture Union, the various prayer unions for civil servants, lawyers, etc.—all these come under the same non-denominational category. Still they are in great measure practically worked by loyal members of the Church of England of the Evangelical party, and they have been and still are exercising a vast and perhaps little suspected influence upon the general Christian life of England.

A very brief notice at least is called for among this somewhat bare catalogue of religious agencies, not distinctively Church of England movements, but all the same largely worked by Evangelical churchmen, mostly laymen, of two most remarkable movements of which the world at large knows little or nothing. To a few perhaps they are the shadow of a name but no more, and yet the quiet influence they are exerting is very great, and it must be borne in mind the influence widens considerably with each year. These are the "Mildmay Conferences" and the "Keswick Convention." The first of these two—the "Mildmay Conferences"—have been at work for a good many years, but since 1864 have been considerably developed. Originally founded by Mr. Pennefather, an Evangelical clergyman, subsequently vicar of

St. Jude's, Mildmay Park, London, these conferences have now grown so as to require for those who attend them one of the largest halls in London, in which 2,000 persons can be seated ; and every June this great hall is filled three times a day for three days. Among other things the Deaconess' Institution, which has had widespread influence in promoting women's work among the sick and poor, is an offshoot of these conferences. The "Mildmay Conferences" are professedly non-denominational, but are largely in the hands of Church people. The main object held in view is the deepening of the spiritual life, but a strong missionary element runs through them. This peculiar missionary spirit fostered in these really notable gatherings deserves a word of notice ; it will probably one day, and that not a far distant day, bear abundant fruit. What is specially pressed home is not a question of the support of a particular society ; nor is the question of the raising of funds for the carrying out missionary operations mooted. The teaching confines itself especially to the solemn command of the divine Founder of Christianity, to preach His Gospel to all nations ; it urges as an indisputable fact the conspicuous neglect of this command by the *whole* church of Christ. It enforces the inescapable duty of every individual to take his part in pushing the holy mission cause, in some way or other, either by taking up the cross himself, or by inspiring others, or, failing these, then by giving of money.

The "Keswick Convention" was originated in the year 1875 by Canon Harford-Battersby, vicar of St. John's, Keswick. At first, for several years, it was little more than a holiday gathering in the beautiful lake country, where a few hundreds of religious people met together to pray, and to endeavour mutually to deepen their spiritual life. The little religious holiday gathering has, however, grown into the now mighty Keswick Convention, where some 10,000 persons every July come together for prayer and for religious teaching. Of late, as in the "Mildmay Conferences," the missionary element has become a very marked feature in the vast Keswick gathering. This has been notably observable since 1887. Similar local conventions are being held in imitation of Keswick in different parts of the country. The Keswick, like the Mildmay gathering, while nominally undenominational, is virtually under the direction of members of the Church of England. Like Mildmay, Keswick aims not at the support of any existing society, but at infusing a deeper and more earnest missionary spirit among the people; *personal service*, in obedience to the Lord's last command, is the burden of its teaching. The question of money is rarely, if at all, referred to. There is no doubt but that the fervour and zeal which lives, especially in these latter years, in the Church Missionary Society, and which year by year increases, is indirectly to be largely referred to the influence and teaching of these strange quiet gatherings, so little known outside a comparatively small circle. The seed sown is bearing already a notable harvest. Indeed, very many thoughtful men feel a far greater satisfaction, and recognise the grounds for a deeper sense of gratitude to the Master, in the numbers and earnest self-denying spirit of those

who devote themselves to the work of evangelising the heathen world, than in the vastly increased revenues of the Church Missionary Society; splendid though the income of the Church Missionary Society at present is. Those also who guide on

A MEETING OF THE KESWICK CONVENTION. *Photo: A. Pettitt, Keswick.*

earth the fortunes of the Church Missionary Society consider *men* as much more important than *money*. It is a fact well known that between 1887 and 1897, a period of ten years, the number of Church Missionary Society missionaries has been positively doubled.

Passing from these somewhat irregular powerful religious movements of Keswick, Mildmay, etc., which owe their genesis to this great party, and mainly draw their strength from its ranks, to the more regular Evangelical body within the church, a most striking proof of the resources and vitality of the Evangelical party exists in the comparatively recent foundation of the sister colleges of Wycliffe Hall in the University of Oxford, and Ridley Hall in the University of Cambridge. These two colleges, now recognised among the foundations of the older universities, were projected, roughly speaking, in the year 1876, but were not formally opened for a few years later. They differ slightly in their object from the other colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, being destined *only for graduates* of the University. In "Ridley" as in "Wycliffe," men who

have taken their degrees receive especial theological training preparatory to their taking holy orders. The teaching is purely Evangelical. Both colleges are always overfull of students, and the result is a constant flow of earnest and well-equipped clergymen belonging to the school of thought of which we have been speaking, who had previously received a university training, into the Anglican communion.*

The living power in England of a school of thought which not a few curiously suppose is fading fast away, is singularly manifested by the growth of the Islington Clerical Meeting, which assembles at the beginning of each year to hear a few selected speakers or readers of papers, on subjects peculiarly cognate to Evangelical thought and teaching. It is almost exclusively confined to clergymen, and to clergymen of the Church of England whose loyalty to the Church is undoubted; but it would not be an exaggeration to style the gathering as exclusively composed of loyal "Evangelicals of the Evangelicals." This annual meeting was begun by Daniel Wilson the elder, vicar of Islington, afterwards known as bishop of Calcutta, some seventy years ago. One of the speakers† at the Islington Clerical Meeting of 1898, in the course of his address, mentioned how fifty-two years back, in 1846, he had been first taken to this Clerical Meeting. It was held, he said, then in Mr. Daniel Wilson's study, and some *thirty or forty persons* were present on the occasion. The speaker, looking round the great hall where the Islington Clerical Meeting of 1898 (January) was being held, and where some 750 *Evangelical clergymen* were assembled together, asked his brethren if that remarkable gathering had the appearance of being a meeting of men who belonged to a fading school of thought in the Church of England. "This, my brethren," went on the venerable speaker to say, "does not look like it. As long as the great truths of Apostolic and Reformation times are firmly held and fearlessly proclaimed, Evangelical life shall know no decay; it builds upon Christ, and resting upon the Rock, it must and will prevail."

A quiet, thoughtful comment which was made upon the general tone of this important and numerously attended gathering of 1898 at Islington, gives some index to the spirit which now lives and inspires the Evangelical party in the Church. It was, that in the papers read and in the words spoken there was an almost entire absence of party spirit, the whole atmosphere being deeply spiritual and uncontroversial. There was a lack, perhaps, of the rousing orations of former days, in which Popery and Ritualism were denounced; and in the place of these there were high-toned addresses fearlessly pointing out the weaknesses of Evangelicals, while at the same time the old Evangelical doctrines and truths were as firmly held as in the old days when Romaine or Cecil, Venn or Simeon, held their listeners spell-bound as they preached and taught the beauty and the truth of the old paths.

With great power one of the most

† Ridley Hall and Wycliffe Hall are at present (1898) respectively under the government of two well-known and acknowledged theological scholars of great learning and influence, Dr. Moule and Mr. Chavasse.

† The Rev. Sir Emilius Laurie, Bart., of Maxwelton, N.B.

ROOM IN WHICH THE COMMITTEE MEETINGS OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY WERE HELD FROM 1799 TO 1812, AND FROM WHENCE ITS FIRST MISSIONARIES WERE APPOINTED ON JANUARY 2, 1804.

scholarly of the selected speakers* described the place held by the Bible in the closing years of the nineteenth century among the English people, and then pressed home the urgent necessity for a clergy learned in and conversant with the science of theology —this, as the outcome of the work of the Church of England after so many centuries, is a statement of the deepest interest : † "Never, I believe," urged the speaker, "was there an age when a larger section of the English Church were more willing to be taught about the Bible, or out of the Bible, than at the present. The extraordinary prominence given to biblical subjects in secular newspapers and magazines is a remarkable and significant fact. But the people naturally require that those who teach them should have some knowledge of the subject they teach ; and knowledge of the Bible can only be gained by hard, patient, earnest, continuous, prayerful study. . . . Let us read, study, meditate, pray, and they will listen to our message." The Evangelical teacher was re-echoing the words of Alfred, the great Anglo-Saxon king, when he wrote a letter to his archbishop, Plegmund ; was repeating the teaching of the famous Dunstan when Edgar reigned ; was reiterating the weighty exhortations of men like Grosseteste and bishop Hugh of Lincoln, of mediæval fame, when he dwelt on the necessity of a body of clergy in the Church of England at once *learned* as well as *devout*.

Very grandly in his peroration the same eloquent and thoughtful speaker summed up the position in 1898 of the great party in the loved Anglican communion to which he belonged : "As Evangelical Churchmen we bear a great name ; we are heirs of a splendid inheritance ; we are entrusted with a noble work. But we are not what our forefathers were. The fact cannot be gainsaid. And the reason lies here, that they were more diligent in prayer, and in reading of the Holy Scripture, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, than we are. On their knees before an open Bible, they won a sanctity and light to which we are partial strangers. They walked with God in peace and equity, and did turn many to righteousness. But we, as a school, grew worldly and ambitious ; we did not lay aside, as we promised, the study of the world and the flesh. We were too little alone with God ; we were too much in public before men.

> "'The world was too much with us, late and soon;
> Getting and spending, we laid waste our powers,
> Little we saw in heaven that was ours;
> We gave our hearts away, a sordid boon.'

"And even to-day cries are heard in our ranks, which would have sounded strange indeed in the ears of those great and unworldly men of old, that Prime Ministers overlook us, that Bishops ignore us, that society looks down upon us. If they do, may not the fault in some measure be our own? So long as this is our temper, God cannot use us. The ambitious and the worldly, the murmuring and the

* Mr. Chavasse, of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford.

† The words and the spirit of very many of the words spoken by the Evangelical teachers at the Islington meeting of 1898 will, the writer of this "history for the people" is assured, be heartily endorsed and sympathised with by all the more serious and thoughtful of the sister school of Anglican thought, popularly known as the High Church school, one with the Evangelical school in all essential doctrines.

complainer, He sweeps on one side as out of harmony with His will, and as incapable of accomplishing his purposes. It is when we are content, like our Master, not to be ministered unto, but to minister, to be amongst men as those who serve, to

the century which is fast closing* has yet succeeded in stirring the heart of England. The English people, as a whole, are sturdily Protestant. They still think much of the Bible. . . . For their sakes let us sanctify ourselves."

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE.

count it our highest glory and happiness to be soul-winners and soul-strengtheners, to heal, to sweeten, to purify our national life with the love of God, to leaven the Church with His truth, to evangelise the world with the Gospel of His Son—it is then that we live out our great and beautiful name, and fulfil our high destiny. The door of opportunity still, thank God, stands open. No religious movement of

In this little fragmentary study on the "Evangelicals" of the past fifty years, only the fringes of a great subject have been touched upon, for the last chapters of our History must perforce be of a fragmentary character — notes, out of which history must one day be written, rather than history itself. But enough

* The words, we must remember, were spoken in the January of 1898.

has been said to show that, as the sands of the century are running out, the great historical school of Evangelicalism is still a real spiritual power in the Church of England. Its mistakes during deep and permanent impression upon the minds of a very large proportion of Englishmen.

The influence, too, of the Evangelical school upon religious thought and upon

BOARD ROOM OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S HOUSE.

that period have not been glossed over; but the shortcomings in question have not partaken of the nature of lethargy or of careless indifference; they were simply errors in judgment and in policy. Such as they are, however, they belong to the past, and are not likely to be repeated; while its work, as we have shown, has been noble and beneficent, and has left a religious action is a far-reaching one. It would be a comparatively easy task to dwell upon the numbers of the many congregations in London and in the important provincial centres guided by Evangelical teaching; to write of the growing work of great Evangelical societies like that of the "Pastoral Aid," and of the many smaller and less known

societies more or less closely allied with the school of religious teaching which is here occupying us; to dilate upon the glowing enthusiasm of the Church Missionary Society, and upon its great income, due, as it has been well said, "in a wonderful measure to the gifts of poor givers who love from the soul the Gospel of the grace of God." But it would be a less easy task, perhaps, to tell of that new and nobler spirit which is beginning to inform and to inspire this great school. Evangelicalism—as is well known to that small circle of men to whom religion is all in all—is gradually, in its more influential centres (but not slowly by any means), largely divesting itself of polemical bitterness; it is, while accepting much that is good and true and real, taught by men who think differently from itself on many points, all the while holding firmly as ever the great distinctive truths affirmed by its most trusted teachers in old times. It is pressing home to the younger members of the school the urgent, pressing necessity of earnest, prayerful, continuous study in all things connected with Biblical scholarship and learning. In the future which lies before the Church of England—an unknown future, but a future full of hope—the Evangelical party has undoubtedly a great part to play. Those most conversant with its inner life look forward to that part with a serene confidence, for they are conscious that "underneath are the everlasting arms."

We have now spoken at some length of the genesis of the Oxford movement, and of the far-reaching influence of the school of thought which may be said to have sprung from it. The position and work of the Evangelical school in the Church of England during the second half of the nineteenth century have also been sketched. The High Church and the Evangelical schools of thought roughly, perhaps, but still fairly represent the large majority of Anglicans in the present day, as they did a century ago and earlier. A third school is, however, sometimes popularly reckoned to exist beside these: men speak not unfrequently of the "Broad Church" school. This is, however, a mistake; there is no such party in the Church of England. The term is used carelessly, and serves, as a rule, to designate this or that teacher, writer, or preacher who, in the mind of the speaker, fails to sympathise wholly with his particular views, and who can be scarcely classed among definite professors of what is generally termed high or low church teaching. It is too common to brand with the somewhat obnoxious epithet men who would shrink from latitudinarianism in any form, and whose Catholic orthodoxy is unimpeachable.

The supposed party or school is popularly credited with having sprung from a singular and strangely lovable little group of men who arose in the church during the period upon which we have been dwelling, and whose words and writings, directly and indirectly, have exercised a very considerable influence upon their contemporaries generally, and especially upon the teachers of the two great Anglican schools. Their names—household words among us—are Arnold, Maurice, Kingsley, and dean Stanley. To these must be added as, in many though by no means in all points deeply sympathising with much

of their teaching, Thirlwall, bishop of St. David's, F. W. Robertson, and archdeacon Julius C. Hare.

Of these, the earliest in point of time, perhaps the most eminent of them all, Thomas Arnold, the famous headmaster of Rugby, died in 1842, after presiding over the well-known Midland school for some fourteen years. It is as the greatest schoolmaster ever known in England that he has won his undying fame. We must not dwell here upon this phase of his influential career, simply contenting ourselves with saying that he infused new life, and a nobler, purer, more religious spirit into the peculiar system of our English public schools. He was something more than a great teacher; he recognised, in a way no one before him had done, the importance of the moral and religious training of the boys of the higher classes of the country, educated in our public schools. His chief, though by no means his only instrument for the work he set himself to accomplish was the college pulpit of his Rugby school. There, Sunday after Sunday, in those simple but impressive school sermons, in language the youngest boy could understand, he set before his pupils the besetting sins and temptations of schoolboy life. He told them of their duties and high responsibilities, and described to them, as only Arnold could describe, their eternal destiny. Those who listened to him have never forgotten his burning words, which went home alike to their hearts and heads. Since Arnold's days, as we have said, a new and nobler spirit has lived in and inspired all our greater English schools. His friends, and they were many, love to paint his generous, pure-minded, and withal intensely devout character, full of sympathy with the suffering, scorning all that was base and selfish—a very knight *sans peur et sans reproche*.

As a theologian he was less happy. In his famous pamphlet on Church Reform, he advocated the embracing of almost all Dissenters within a church which should be founded on an Erastian basis, in which the distinction between clergy and laity should be virtually obliterated.* "He divides the world into Christians and non-Christians. Christians were all who professed to believe in Christ as a Divine Person, and to worship Him; and the brotherhood of Christians was all that was meant by 'the church' in the New Testament. . . . Church organisation was, according to circumstances, partly inevitable or expedient, partly mischievous, but in no case of divine authority." † But, with all his unhistorical and revolutionary views on the church, Arnold was an intense and fervid believer in the great cardinal Christian doctrines. He was, too, ever a persistent foe to the Oxford or Tractarian movement, which he assailed in language strangely bitter, and even violent. ‡ And yet, in spite of his inveterate rancour against the Oxford Tractarians, he could write of their great leader, whom he admired and even reverenced, in the following chivalrous

* Canon Overton: "History of the Church of England," vol. ii., chap. xi., who adds here that Dr. Hawkins, provost of Oriel, Arnold's old friend, told him "he was writing on a subject about which he knew little or nothing."

† Dean Church: "Oxford Movement," chap i.

‡ See especially his well-known article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the "Oxford Malignants and Dr. Hampden."

terms, to a friend who was in communication with Dr. Pusey, asking his advice on patristic reading: "From Pusey you will learn, I am sure, nothing virulent or

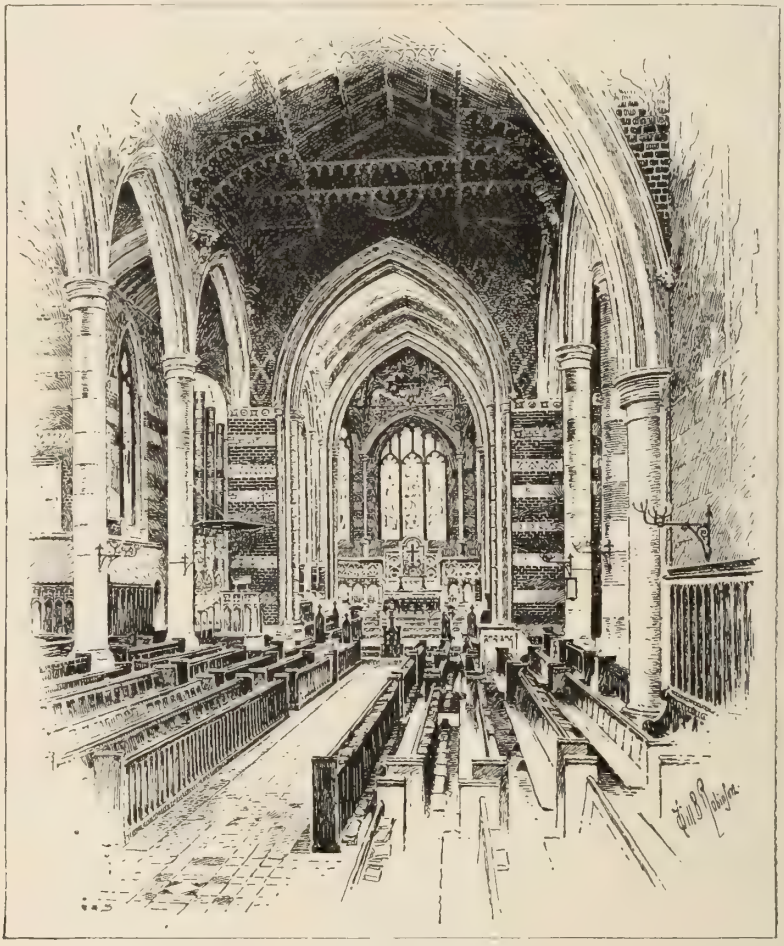


Photo: A. H Fry, Brighton.

THE CHAPEL, RUGBY SCHOOL.

proud or false, but self-denial in its true form, combined with humility and honesty." *

Frederick Denison Maurice, who died in 1872, was ever a loyal churchman, but

* Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. ii., chap. xviii.

was not in sympathy with either of the church parties. He detested, however, the appellation of "broad churchman." Kingsley, who ever spoke of Maurice as "my master," describes him as "the most beautiful soul whom God has ever in his mercy allowed me to meet with on this earth; the man who, of all men I have seen, approached nearest to my conception of St. John, the apostle of love." The

high church party, however, suspected his orthodoxy; and the opinion of the Evangelicals also is clearly expressed by Shaftesbury, who wrote of him thus: "Mr. Maurice is one of those who must be ranked according to old Foxe's definition, as 'neither sound Protestant nor true papist.'"*

Charles Kingsley, who passed away in 1875, though of course not to be reckoned as a theologian in the sense of Maurice and who, perhaps, exercised through his charming and fascinating stories a wider influence even than his master, has been classed as the apostle of muscular Christianity—a term he, however, peculiarly disliked.

Dean Stanley, who survived until 1881, touched another and far-reaching public

Photo: Elliott & Fry, Baker St., W.
CHARLES KINGSLEY.

by his brilliant studies on Old Testament subjects, as well as by his writings on many important points connected with ecclesiastical history. Men of all schools of thought, quite outside the little world

Photo: Elliott & Fry, Baker St., W.
F. D. MAURICE.

of scholars and students, were led, through the wonderful charm of his style, by his graphic and descriptive power, to interest themselves in subjects which, as a rule, few save those specially interested in history or theology had cared to master.

All these, and a few other distinguished men, whose names, however, are less known, were, without being in any definite way his disciples, more or less influenced by the spirit of Arnold. With scarcely an exception, the group were bitterly opposed to all prosecutions, whether directed against ritual excesses or errors in doctrine. Indeed, their vehement dislike to all doctrinal prosecutions has caused them not once or twice to be suspected of sharing heresies, with which they had no sympathy what-

* Hodder: "Life of Lord Shaftesbury," chap. xi.

ever. The Evangelical dislike of dean Stanley, a dislike and suspicion shared by high churchmen, is fairly expressed by the great Evangelical leaders. In his diary (July, 1881), Shaftesbury writes: "Dean Stanley died last night. I deeply regret him. He was kind, friendly, genial, affectionate. He was full of love and interest for the poor, and rejoiced in every thought and act of generosity. His abilities and acquirements were brilliant. *I trembled at the contemplation of his theology*, but I loved the man. Another who showed me attachment, and who always did me more than justice, is now gone."

The power that these independent writers, teachers, preachers, and thinkers, who are generally classed by the well-known term, Broad Churchmen, have exercised in the Church of England, has been well and fairly summarised by a recent historian, when he says that their work and influence has "tended generally to liberalise both high churchmen and low churchmen alike. Let anyone compare," he goes on to say, "a typical high churchman and a typical low churchman of the present day [he is writing of the last years of the nineteenth century] with a type of either class of fifty years ago, and he cannot fail to observe the enormous difference which half a century has made in widening the horizon of both; and the change seems to be largely due to the influence, direct or indirect, of the remarkable men we have just been considering."* But it would be inaccurate and misleading to class these "teachers" as belonging to any definite party. The power they wielded and the influence they exerted were rather wielded and exerted as *individuals*, not as leaders of a school.

* Canon Overton: "History of the Church of England," vol. ii., chap. xiii.

Photo: S. A. Walker.

DEAN STANLEY.

LAMBETH PALACE, FROM THE RIVER THAMES.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

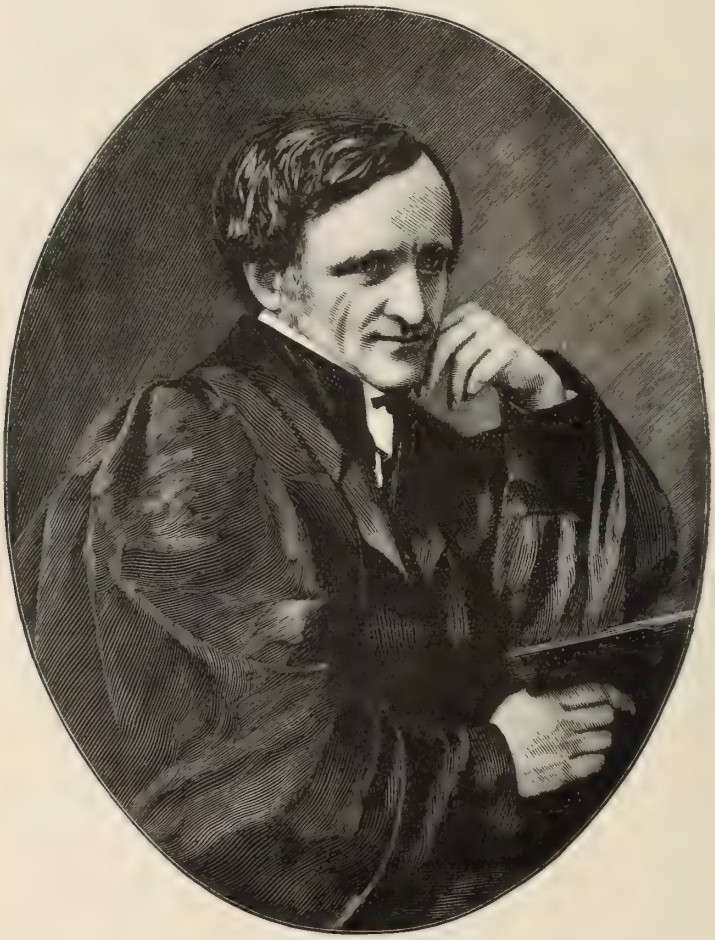
THE ANGLICAN CHURCH DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

General Growth and Progress of the Church—The "Essays and Reviews" Controversy—Failure of Judicial Proceedings — Synodical Condemnation — The Modern School of Criticism — The "Colenso" Controversy—The Resuscitation of Convocation—The Church Congress—Diocesan Conferences—The Pan-Anglican Conferences—Foreign and Colonial Expansion—Extension of the Hierarchy—Vast Increase in Pastoral Work—Building and Repair of Churches—Cathedral Services—The Gothic Revival in Architecture—Apparent Finality of Gothic Art—The New Music—The Higher Criticism—Summary and Conclusion.

MORE than half a century has passed since the revival which we related in some detail under the general name of the "Oxford movement," took place. Sufficient has been said respecting the special work and influence during that period of the two great schools into which the Anglican Church may be said to be divided; but something remains to be said respecting the more general history and developments of the church at large. It has been a stirring time, a somewhat restless period, but a period marked by enormous activity, by rapid growth in population and in national wealth and power. The sounds of war and its attendant suffering and sacrifice have never reached our favoured shores, though once in the far east of Europe and several times in India great and world-famous campaigns have been conducted with conspicuous success. But, on the whole, the fifty years have been for Great Britain a period of peace and generally prosperity. All through this long time one sovereign has sat upon the English throne, to whose quiet wisdom and devoted patriotism the

prosperity in question has been very largely owing. While other countries have been the scenes of revolutions, dynastic changes, and internal conspiracies, England alone has witnessed none of these things. Whatever changes have taken place in the British Empire, have been carried out quietly, peacefully, with the consent of the crown and people, acting together; and, as far as men can see, the future of the Anglo-Saxon race, although many anxious questions tarry for a solution, is bright with hope.

All through these years the Church of England has played an important part. Never, through the thousand years or more of the eventful story we have been telling, has its influence been so great or so far-reaching. With the cynicism of old age, the great statesman, lord Beaconsfield,



ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D.
(*From a photograph.*)

is reported to have said, lamenting over the disappearance in modern times of much that was venerable and impressive: "There are not many grand things left in England, but the national church is one of them."

But some future hand must write the church's story in detail during that wonderful half-century. It is all too recent now. Of the men who played the leading parts, many are with us still; of these we can, of course, say but little. Some have too lately passed within the veil, for any writer to be able to estimate aright their virtues or their shortcomings. We can only venture to give a brief account, little more than a dry summary, of the work and progress of the church, and of the events which seem noteworthy in its history, in what we must call our own time. That work has been most diverse, the progress has been enormous, and there are features in its history of great interest during that memorable period, not only in our own England, but in the greater England beyond the seas.

During the period (roughly dating from 1845 to the closing years of the nineteenth century) now under consideration, some grave controversies have arisen in the Church of England, which seem to call for some account. That which affected so many important questions connected with the ritual and practice of the Anglican Church has been already dealt with; but there were two others, known as the *Essays and Reviews* controversy, and the "Colenso" controversy, which touched the articles of the Catholic faith.

In the year 1860 appeared a volume, under the somewhat ambiguous title of *Essays and Reviews*. The names of the seven contributors to this book, invested it with an importance independent of any literary power or research and scholarship which may have characterised the several essays. They had no direct connection one with the other, and the preface formally disclaimed any responsibility of the authors beyond the limits of their respective essays. But six of the seven writers were Anglican clergymen of position and ability, and several of them occupied posts of influence and dignity; and "the book was at first read as a whole, in the light of its more startling portions."* The six papers to which grave exception was taken were the "Review of Bunsen's Biblical Researches," by Dr. Rowland Williams, somewhiles vice-principal of Lampeter college, and, at the time of the publication of the book, vicar of Broad Chalk, in the diocese of Salisbury; an "Essay on the Study of the Evidences of Christianity," by Professor Baden Powell; "The National Church," by the Rev. H. B. Wilson, vicar of Great Houghton, formerly an Oxford tutor of high reputation; "The Mosaic Cosmogony"; "The Tendencies of Religious Thought in England—1688–1750"; and "The Interpretation of Scripture"; the last three written respectively by Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Mark

* It is only just to remark that the *first* essay in the book—on "The Education of the World," by Dr. Temple, who has since filled with conspicuous ability and universal approval the position of bishop of Exeter, bishop of London, and, later, that of archbishop of Canterbury—is simply a *résumé* of a university sermon, preached on the occasion of his appointment to the head-mastership of Rugby. No charge on the score of orthodoxy has ever been raised against this essay.

Pattison, and Professor Jowett. Of these six essays, the papers of Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson were subsequently the subjects of public litigation.

Before the end of the year (1860) public attention was called to the book by a highly commendatory notice in the *Westminster Review*. This was followed, in the January of 1861, by a strongly condemnatory article by Dr. Wilberforce in the *Quarterly*. The press generally also took notice of and called attention to the startling statements advanced by these responsible writers. The result of these various criticisms was a general arousing of public attention to the volume, six large editions of which successively appeared; and the mass of churchmen were seriously disturbed. Dr. Stanley (afterwards dean of Westminster), who was then Regius professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford, before the great outburst of indignation, expressed his own opinion of the two essays of Mr. Wilson and of Dr. Rowland Williams, in the following terms: "Wilson's (essay) has committed the unpardonable rashness of throwing out statements, without a grain of proof, and which can have no other object than to terrify and to irritate, and which have no connection with the main argument of his essay. . . . Williams is guilty of the same rashness as Wilson, on a larger scale, casting Bunsen's conclusions before the public, without a shred of argument to prepare the way for them or to support them." *

* The words occur in a letter of Stanley's to the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. See "Life of Dean Stanley," ii., 34; and Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. iv., chap. ii. This early estimate of Dr. Stanley, whose subsequent article in the *Edinburgh Review* excited some attention, is remarkable.

Without attempting to set forth the various destructive conclusions arrived at in this mischievous volume, the subject matter of the two essays which were publicly challenged in the courts, may be briefly given. Dr. Rowland Williams in his paper proposed to exhibit the destructive criticism of Baron Bunsen on the books of the Old Testament. Bunsen had generally accepted "many of the vague theories which were flying about Germany" in the matter of Biblical research, and had enumerated them in a confident tone, as though they had been established by proof. Dr. Williams reproduces these, not always professing his agreement with them, but describing them as "suggestive" or "well worth consideration."* Mr. H. J. Rose, whose careful, accurate scholarship and high qualities as a divine and thinker have been already dwelt upon at some length in the course of our history, speaks of Bunsen as "denying the genuineness of half the books in the Bible, and as treating a large portion of its history as mere idle tales or legendary myths."†

The other essay which obtained the greatest notoriety, that of Mr. Wilson, is yet more vague in its language. It has been described as manifesting a design on the part of the author "to show his contempt for all received opinions and accepted creeds." In the extracts subsequently sub-

* See Canon Perry: "History of the English Church (Third Period)," chap. xx.

† Bunsen's striking and winning personality, his pure and stainless life, his many and varied gifts, his high position in the diplomatic world, gave his theological writings a weight they would not otherwise have obtained. His was a strange complex character. It is noticeable that many of his writings, however, breathe the spirit of the most exalted devotion and piety.

mitted to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Dr. Williams was charged with saying that the Bible is not the Word of God, and Mr. Wilson was charged with contradicting the Articles and formularies, by holding that the Bible was not written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and that it was not necessarily at all, and certainly not in parts, the word of God.

The judicial proceedings resulted in a condemnation by Dr. Lushington in the Court of Arches, and in a subsequent acquittal by the Privy Council, to whom the condemned essayists appealed. The voice, however, of the Church of England, by a vast majority, unhesitatingly condemned the book and its views. A most important declaration was drawn up at Oxford, which, among other points, declared the firm belief of the signatories that the Church of England, in common with the whole Catholic Church, maintained without reserve or qualification the inspiration and divine authority of the whole canonical Scriptures, as not only containing but being the word of God. This weighty declaration was signed by no less than eleven thousand Anglican clergymen. It was formally presented to the archbishop of Canterbury, and in the next month it was followed by a synodical condemnation of *Essays and Reviews* by both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury. This controversy drew together into one solid phalanx of resistance the two great schools of thought in the Anglican communion, thus demonstrating that the Anglican High Churchman and the Anglican Evangelical are absolutely one in all the really great points of fundamental Catholic doctrine, many of which had been lightly spoken of if not put aside in the reckless pages of the book so justly condemned. The Bible, as it came down to the church of the present day unchanged from the church of the first days, was a priceless heritage, equally precious in the eyes of Shaftesbury the Evangelical, as of Pusey, the High Church leader.

The *Essays and Reviews* of 1860, which at the time so alarmed the Church of England, and which called out so unparalleled an expression of opinion, so general a repudiation by the church,* were, however, soon forgotten. The book had no successor. The various assertions and deductions contained in it were ably and exhaustively answered by more profound scholars and divines than the writers of the essays in question. It created no new school of thought ; the number of disciples of the new views was insignificant. The defence of the faith called forth in the form of replies by such men as Thompson, archbishop of York, Ellicott, bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, H. J. Rose, of Cambridge, McCaul, the learned Hebraist, and others, has been a permanent and

* The formal acquittal by the Privy Council, which reversed the condemnation of the book previously pronounced by the Court of Arches, and which for a time gravely disturbed earnest churchmen, when carefully examined, will be found to have been based, to use the words of the judges themselves, on "the meagrest disjointed extracts" contained in the reformed articles as they came from the lower court ; the judges stating that they had no power to decide doctrine, and could but examine the plain grammatical meaning of "the extracts" placed before them ; and these extracts, they decided, were insufficient to justify a conclusion that they were in conflict with the true construction of the Articles and other formularies of the Church of England.

valuable addition to the theological library of the Anglican communion. Among the pieces of defence thus evoked, the *Lectures on the Book of Daniel* by Dr. Pusey deserve a special notice. This work of the great scholar and churchman is rather a text-book for the student than a work adapted to the ordinary reader, and though some of his conclusions are by no means universally accepted, the treatise will ever remain a noble contribution to the study of this difficult but precious book.

In the later years of the century, since Pusey, ever the stalwart defender of the old canons of Old Testament criticism, fell asleep, a new school of theologians has arisen in the older universities. Their deductions in respect to certain dates, and also as to the composition of much of the Old Testament,* are varied, and in some cases even startling; but the adversaries of this school of higher criticism, as it is commonly termed—and these adversaries are numerous—frankly admit that the tone of the writers of the new school is very different from the flippant and reckless assertions of the men of the *Essays and Reviews* of 1860, and especially from the somewhat scornful tone in which these speak of Catholic creeds and Catholic doctrines. It is characterised by scholarly research, and generally its conclusions are couched in guarded and reverent language. "We are now accustomed to listen to the confident hope, which speaks of the time when the terms of reconciliation between the New Criticism and the Old Faith may be stated without compromise and without surrender. . . . Pusey (years before) saw there was 'death in the pot' that

* After all, the conclusions of the advocates of the so-called "Higher Criticism" are most precarious, and the attitude of students towards the deductions of scholars of this school of thought should be one of extreme caution, not to say of distrust. The last pronouncement of one of the most distinguished writers in the department of theology which is especially devoted to the study of the Old Testament Records (Mr. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford), made at the close of 1897, is a startling one, and his weighty words cannot be lightly passed over. For instance, in his Preface to "The Early History of the Hebrews" (Rivingtons, 1897), he says: "Over against the facts of archæology stand the subjective assumptions of a certain school, which, now that they have ceased to be predominant in the higher latitudes of scholarship, are finding their way into the popular literature of our country. Between the results of Oriental archæology and those which are the logical end of the so-called 'higher criticism,' no reconciliation is possible, and the latter must therefore be cleared out of the way before the archæologist can begin his work." In chapter ii., pp. 110–111, Professor Sayce writes: "At last we are able to call in the aid of the scientific method, and test the age and character, the authenticity and trustworthiness of the Old Testament history, by monuments about whose historical authority there can be no question. And the result of the test has, on the whole, been in favour of tradition, and against the doctrines of the new critical school. It has vindicated the antiquity and credibility of the narratives of the Pentateuch. . . . We are still only at the beginning of discoveries; those made during the past year or two have, for the student of Genesis, been exceptionally important; but enough has now been gained to assure us that the historian may safely disregard the philological theory of Hexateuchal criticism, and treat the Books of the Pentateuch from a wholly different point of view." Again, on pages 129 and 133, he writes: "The philological theory, with its hair-splitting distinctions, its priestly code, and 'redactors,' must be put aside with all the historical consequences which it involves. . . . The philological theory, with its minute and mathematically exact analysis, is brushed aside; it is as little in harmony with archæology as it is with common sense. The Pentateuch belongs to the Mosaic age, and may therefore be accepted as, in the bulk, the work of Moses himself."

contained the wild gourds of the young prophets. Now the young prophets are engaged in casting in the meal; time will show whether they have succeeded in healing the pot." *Adhuc sub judice lis est.**

The second important controversy, also in matters connected with the Catholic faith, sprang also from within the ranks of the ordained ministers of the church, and again the heresy complained of concerned the Bible. As we have seen, in the first controversy the position of the writers of the heretical book gave it a weight, and invested it with an influence quite incommensurate with its literary power and ability. So in the second case, the rank and conspicuous place of the bishop of Natal in South Africa, gave his strange writings an importance which they would never have obtained had they been put out under different circumstances—in other words, had anyone save a bishop of the Anglican communion been their author.

Photo: Elliott & Fry.
DR. COLENSO.

In 1853 the vast diocese of South Africa, which since 1847 had been under the government of bishop Gray, of Capetown, was divided into three dioceses. To carry out the re-arrangement, bishop Gray resigned his see, which he had hitherto occupied as a suffragan of the archbishop of Canterbury. He was immediately reappointed as metropolitan, with jurisdiction over the two new sees of Grahamstown and Natal. For the new see of Natal, Mr. Colenso, a distinguished mathematical scholar of Cambridge, then working in the diocese of Norwich, was chosen, being already well known for his zeal in the missionary cause.

For some time after his appointment, bishop Colenso distinguished himself in his distant and lonely diocese by activity and earnestness. It was in 1856 that he incurred the displeasure of his metropolitan by innovations he had introduced into the Prayer-book, and by certain imprudences in his dealings with the heathen population of his diocese. Still, bishop Gray spoke kindly of him, writing in the following terms: "If he [Colenso] will only learn caution and deliberation, this will do no harm. His fine, generous, and noble character will overcome all difficulties." Alas! Dr. Gray's hopes were never fulfilled, and in 1861 we find the bishop of Capetown speaking thus of his suffragan: "The bishop of Natal is a very wilful, headstrong man, and loose, I fear, in his opinions on vital points. . . ." And again: "I am very anxious about 'Natal'; his views are dangerous. I fear we may have taught in South Africa another Gospel which is not another."

* Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. iv. chap. iii., edited (since Dr. Liddon's death) by Mr. Johnston, principal of Cuddesdon, Dr. Wilson, late warden of Keble College, and Mr. W. C. E. Newbolt, canon and chancellor of St. Paul's

In 1861 Dr. Colenso put out a new translation, accompanied by a commentary, of the Epistle to the Romans, containing many strange ideas. Bishop Gray in vain entreated him to suppress it. The work was carefully examined and considered in England by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans,* with the result that it was agreed Colenso should be requested to withdraw the work ; and, failing this, he was desired not to officiate in English dioceses in the course of a visit to England he was proposing to make.

Between 1862 and 1866 the bishop of Natal published the unfortunate book with which his name will be always connected, "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined." The work was published in parts. The second part contained a violent diatribe levelled against the Anglican clergy, whom Colenso charged with dishonesty in upholding the doctrines of the church, and with teaching what he was pleased to call "transparent fictions." The book, as a whole, was a crude, ill-digested work, mainly based on second or third-hand sources, containing little that was original or suggestive. The bishop of Natal was no theologian, and had little real knowledge of the Hebrew language ; was, indeed, miserably equipped for the task he had taken upon himself. The caustic remark of the great statesman† was well founded: "The bishop of Natal commenced his theological studies after he had grasped the crozier." His conclusions in respect to the Old Testament writings were that they contained much matter that was not historical, and that, in consequence, he could no longer use the Anglican ordination service, in which the truth of the Bible is assumed ; while the baptismal office in its present condition must, he considered, be laid aside, on account of its allusion to the Deluge.

In England the book was at once generally condemned, even by those who deemed that it would be ill-advised to take any formal proceedings against it. In South Africa, after a judicial inquiry, the bishop of Capetown as metropolitan, with two episcopal assessors, formally deposed Dr. Colenso from the see of Natal. Upon this Dr. Colenso appealed to the privy council at home. The privy council reversed the South African judgment, but purely on technical grounds ; curiously enough alleging that the letters patent creating the South African bishopric had no force, as, previously to their being issued, the colony had received representative institutions; and that, in consequence, there were no bishops of Natal and Capetown known to the law, and no metropolitan with any rights of judging. The action of the bishop of Capetown was, however, very generally approved, in South Africa as in England, the Convocation of Canterbury, through the archbishop, conveying to Dr. Gray and to the bishops associated with him the expression of their admiration of the courage, firmness, and devoted love of the Gospel manifested by him and them under most difficult and trying circumstances.

Dr. Colenso, however, insisting upon his rights as bishop, returned to Natal. In 1866 a sentence of excommunication was

* There were only two bishops who dissented from this course of action.

† Mr. Disraeli, afterwards earl of Beaconsfield

passed upon him by the bishop of Capetown, which sentence the dean of Maritzburg was directed to read from the altar of the cathedral church. We need not approval of his proceedings. The Rev. W. K. Macrorie, vicar of Accrington in Lancashire, was consecrated in 1869 "bishop of the church in Natal and

Photo: Cassell & Co., Ltd.

ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL, CAPETOWN.

dwell any further upon the details of this painful case. The action of the bishop of Capetown was not only generally approved by the church in England, but the American convention and the provincial synod of Canada had previously conveyed to the South African metropolitan their Zululand, in communion with the bishops of the province of South Africa and with the Church of England." Mr. Macrorie took the title of bishop of Maritzburg. The great Anglican church societies, the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., also transferred their grants for Natal to bishop Gray, of Capetown.

Still Dr. Colenso refused to vacate his office, and much difficulty for a considerable period existed, as the churches and schools generally, in Natal, were vested in him. New work had to be recommenced in the distracted diocese, fresh churches and schools had to be built; and, as the result of quiet, patient endeavour, the churches under bishop Macrorie after a time became four times as numerous as those which still acknowledged the authority of the schismatical Dr. Colenso.

The author of all this trouble and confusion died in 1883, and the unhappy affair is now well-nigh forgotten. Like the famous controversy of the "Essays and Reviews," it cannot be said to have left any permanent scar on the life of the Church of England.

Our register of the important developments of the Church of England since 1845 naturally commences with the resuscitation of Convocation. The ancient synod of the church had been virtually suspended for a century and a quarter; having fallen under the displeasure of the Whig government of the day in 1717, when George I. was king, owing to its action in the case of the Latitudinarian bishop Hoadley of Bangor. Convocation was regarded as unwisely taking sides in the political controversies of the time, by its implied censure of the Whig bishop. It was, therefore, by the advice of the ministers, prorogued, and never suffered again to meet for the despatch of business until the year 1852. Its existence was publicly recognised by its being formally summoned at the beginning of a parliament, when it voted an address to the crown, and then immediately separated. In later times various spasmodic attempts were made to revive its activity. In 1840 Samuel Wilberforce, when archdeacon of Surrey, had urged its revival, and other prominent churchmen had joined in the agitation, which was principally kept alive by a body of earnest men who in 1850 formed themselves into a "Society for the revival of Convocation." Wilberforce, who had become a bishop, seconded by bishops Blomfield and Philpotts, and a lay peer lord Redesdale, pressed the matter vigorously forward.

In 1852 the earl of Derby, who was then prime minister, saw no objection to the revival of the ancient church assembly. The question excited much interest, and vehement opposition was displayed in some quarters. Amongst other adversaries, the press was conspicuous; and the argument was advanced that the meeting of Convocation for the despatch of business would be perilous to the Church of England, and inimical to the order and tranquillity of society. But in spite of all opposition, the government of the day being decidedly favourable to its revival, the efforts of Churchmen were crowned with success, and on November 5, 1852, a day ever memorable in the annals of the Church of England, the synod of the province of Canterbury met in St. Paul's Cathedral.

It was a curious moment for the assembly to meet, for the great cathedral was being prepared for the imposing state funeral of the duke of Wellington, and was in a state of extreme confusion. We will quote here from a vivid and picturesque contemporary account of this gathering

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY: THE "UPPER HOUSE," THE ARCHBISHOP PRESIDING.

of the representatives of the church under the vast dome of the cathedral :—

"The crowd of dignitaries, arrayed in their quaint official costumes, showed that Convocation had mustered in large force. Deans, archdeacons, and proctors glided about, full of mutual recognition and enquiries, and presented a curious and suggestive scene. We saw a highly educated and ecclesiastical-looking collection of men. They looked like what they were, and the sight gave strength and reality to our convictions that Convocation had met for business. From the dome a movement was made towards the morning chapel at the north-west corner of the cathedral. Here the bishops assembled in their red chimeres, and were shortly summoned to the west door to receive the archbishop of Canterbury. The procession, which forthwith commenced towards the choir of the cathedral, was a wonderful phenomenon. Here was the Church of England by representation in the most stately costume. Then followed in the rear, as the climax of honour, the archbishop himself, with his long scarlet train borne by an attendant. All marked to a thoughtful eye the majesty of Lambeth, which enjoys a longer pedigree and a more uninterrupted history than any temporal throne or dynasty in Europe." *

Thus was the action of Convocation, after the intermission of more than a century, at last restored. The work of the northern Convocation of York was, however, longer delayed; and it did not formally meet for the transaction of business until 1860, when Dr. Longley was archbishop of the see. Since 1852, when the southern province assembled in St. Paul's, Convocation has constantly sat, and has been busily engaged in a great variety of ecclesiastical matters. It has effectually disposed of all the various objections which were urged against it, and has largely contributed to the effectual work of the church. Its debates have been conducted with moderation and dignity. It has brought to bear on many important questions learning, experience, and forbearance. On the whole, its influence has served to heal party divisions and to quench party spirit. Many and various have been the subjects which have been discussed in this representative synod of the church ; important have been the reforms and developments of church work advocated in its sessions, not a few of which reforms and developments have been successfully carried out. We would instance, among the questions which have been debated in the church assembly, clergy discipline, lay co-operation, cathedral chapters, rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, ecclesiastical fees, spiritual provision for soldiers and sailors, the revision of the authorised version of the Bible, a revised table of lessons, the diaconate and the employment of lay agency, cemetery fees, law of marriage, hours of divine service, etc. etc., besides many practical reforms, such as methods of reaching the masses.

Convocation has a great future before it, and its rare prudence and sagacity in the past, which has effectually disarmed all hostile criticism, give high promise of even vastly extended usefulness in the

* From the *Christian Remembrancer*, December, 1852, quoted by canon Perry: "English Church History," vol. iii., chap. xvi.

future. The revival of Convocation in 1852 has, indeed, proved a real accession to the power and influence of the church. The comparatively recent addition, in the form of a house of laymen, supplies, without in any way detracting from its ancient composition, the element which was imperatively needed to keep it in touch with the people, for whose welfare the church and the synod exist. One of the reforms, however, which are still in the future, and which it is to be hoped will not be long delayed, is the inclusion among the members of Convocation of a much larger number of representatives of the parochial clergy. The present number of *ex-officio* members of the synod, being dignitaries, is apparently out of all proportion to the number of elected members of the whole body of clergy. But all practical suggestions for the settlement of this and other important reforms may be well left to the thoughtful wisdom of a body which has shown itself in difficult times so thoroughly capable of wisely considering measures which are best adapted to the true interests of the great church which it represents.

The revival of Convocation in 1852 led to other movements of a similar character. It was felt how extremely desirable it was that the laity should be interested generally in all ecclesiastical questions, especially in those which more immediately concerned the relation of the church to the masses. This feeling led to the establishment in 1860 of general Congresses of churchmen, lay and clerical. The first of these now famous gatherings of churchmen was held in 1861, in the hall of King's College, Cambridge. The idea of this first Congress was simply that a large local representative meeting should be summoned by the Cambridge Church Defence Society. It was repeated on a somewhat more extended scale in the following year at Oxford, under the presidency of bishop Wilberforce, and since 1862 it has gone on increasing and developing. The Church Congress, now an annual institution, is an open assembly of clergy and laity; the solitary condition existing is that the speakers at the Congress and the readers of the papers must be really members of the Church of England. Since the first comparatively small gathering at Cambridge, the "Congress" has gradually grown in numbers and in importance. The number of tickets sold for these important gatherings has even reached 5,000 and upwards.

In these congresses, subjects previously arranged are treated first in papers, carefully prepared by writers selected for their knowledge of the subject dealt with in the paper, and are then discussed by (1) speakers previously chosen, (2) by any member of the congress who sends up his name to the chairman. These gatherings of members of the Church of England have, at the close of the nineteenth century, become a considerable power in church life. Among various noticeable points connected with them may be mentioned:—(1) Indirectly they have contributed to promote harmony and kindly feeling between the different schools of thought represented at them, by showing, in the course of the discussions which have followed the papers read formally, how beneath much apparent divergence of opinion, substantial agreement in all

really vital points exists among serious Anglican churchmen. (2) They have served to bring the laity into direct contact with the responsible clergy, and the laity have been enabled in these gatherings to express their opinions freely on many questions connected with discipline, church order, and other matters in which they feel reform is desirable if not absolutely necessary.

Out of the same universal desire of the church for the revival of synodal action, which resulted in the restoration to activity of Convocation, and which led to the assembling of the Church Congress, sprang the idea of "Diocesan Conferences." Here, too, as in the case of the general Church Congress, the desire to associate the laity in the deliberations of the church has arranged in the constitution of these Diocesan Conferences, that the laity should be amply represented in the composition of the conferences. Again the diocese of Ely took the lead, and the first of these important gatherings took place in the diocese of Ely in 1864. Its utility was quickly seen, and the Diocesan Conference has been adopted, with slightly different modifications, in all the dioceses of England.*

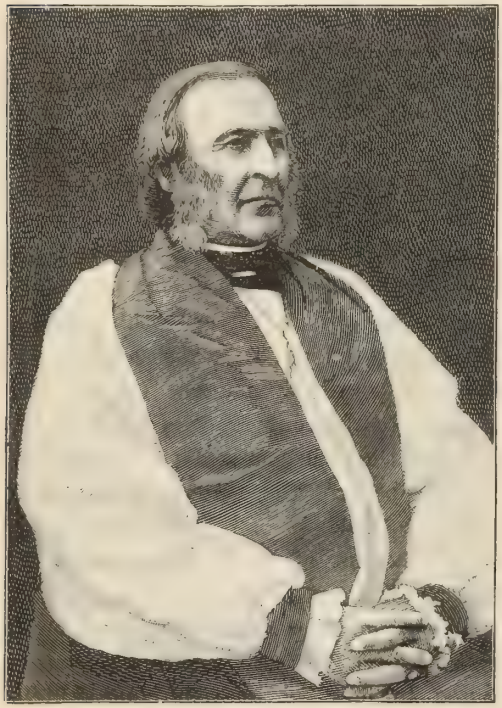


Photo: Russell & Sons, Baker St., W.

DR. TEMPLE, PRESENT ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

In order to bring the result of these various conferences together, a Central Committee of Diocesan Conferences has been since arranged, this committee being composed of a small number of representatives, clerical and lay, chosen by the members of the several conferences. A fairly perfect system of representation has thus been created in the Church of England. It has been found to work admirably, and no doubt will, as time goes on, receive further developments.

One more, and that a most important feature in the matter of united action on the part of the Anglican communion in the last fifty years, must be briefly chronicled. In 1867 it was determined that the bishops of the Anglican communion in all parts of the world should be invited to meet at Lambeth, under the presidency of the archbishop of Canterbury,† in conference. In this first Pan-Anglican Conference, as it was named,

* The indefatigable work of archdeacon Emery of Ely, formerly tutor of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in this work deserves special mention. It has earned the gratitude of all Anglican churchmen.

† Archbishop Longley.

seventy-six bishops responded to the invitation, and met at Lambeth. An important Encyclical was published by this council of Anglican prelates. The special occasion which called forth this "Address to the Faithful," was the consideration of the case of Dr. Colenso, the bishop of Natal, whose writings on the Pentateuch had been already condemned by the Convocation of Canterbury. In the Encyclical, among other things specially dwelt upon, were the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which were alluded to as the "sure word of God" and as "the oracles of God"; and the Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is styled, in the Encyclical, "our Saviour, very God and very man, ever to be adored and worshipped." "The pretension to universal rule over God's heritage asserted by the see of Rome," is mentioned as among "the growing superstitions and additions with which in these latter days the truth of God has been overlaid," as is also "the practical exaltation of the blessed Virgin Mary as mediator in the place of her Divine Son, and the addressing of prayers to her as intercessor between God and man." Of such superstitions the faithful are to beware.

Under archbishop Tait, in 1878, another Pan-Anglican Conference was held at Lambeth on a yet larger scale; and in 1897, Lambeth was again the scene of one of these memorable episcopal gatherings, when nearly two hundred prelates of the Anglican communion met in solemn conference under the presidency of Dr. Temple, the archbishop of Canterbury. These bishops came from all quarters of the globe—from India, Australia, Africa, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States, as well as from all the home dioceses in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

Photo: London Stereoscopic Co.
DR. TAIT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Very marvellous has been the expansion of the Church of England beyond the limits of England proper. Some fifty years ago there were only seven Anglican bishops in "foreign parts"; now there are ninety-one, besides those of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.* It must be borne in mind that the extension of the episcopate means the

* The bishop of Kentucky, in a sermon preached during the Lambeth Conference of 1897, at St. James's, Piccadilly, after explaining the circumstances of the church in the United States, spoke of the present outlook of his church as being most glorious. In the bishop's words: "In the last decade of which we have national census, the church increased more rapidly than any other religious body, and four tmes as rapidly as the population."—"*The Anglican Communion:* Its Position," etc., edited by bishop Barry (1857).

strengthening of ecclesiastical organisation, as well as the expansion of the church's work. To give some of the details of this progress in the two great colonies: In Australasia, which includes Australia and Tasmania, at the accession of queen Victoria, there was only one bishop. This state of things continued until 1842, when a second bishop was sent out; there are now fourteen dioceses in Australasia, and the number of the clergy at work there amounts to eight or nine hundred.* In North America, in the whole consolidated church of the dominion of Canada, there are now, in all, twenty dioceses: ten in the ecclesiastical provinces of Canada, and eight in the province of Rupert's Land, as well as two extra provincial dioceses of Columbia and New Westminster. The archbishops of Ontario and Rupert's Land rank as metropolitans.† In India and in South Africa there has also been a large subdivision of the original sees, and a corresponding augumentation in the number of the working clergy. "The whole Anglican communion, which half a century since numbered about fifty dioceses and bishops, has, notwithstanding the suppression of half the Irish episcopate in 1833, increased to more than four times that number."

With this vast augumentation in the number of Anglican bishops in foreign parts, the name of bishop Blomfield, of London, will be ever honourably connected. The formation of the episcopate in the English colonies was one of the objects of his busy, active life; and the society which he founded for the increase of the colonial episcopate, was the main agent in the early days of this urgently necessary completion of church government abroad, which is destined to play so great a part in the future of the Church of England.

At home, in view of the enormously increasing population, among other agencies devised so as to adapt its organisation to meet the new responsibilities of the country, a considerable extension of the episcopate has been arranged. In all, seven new sees — St. Albans, Truro, Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, Wakefield, and Bristol—have been constituted; the last five endowed solely by the liberality of churchmen; and by the revival of an old Act of king Henry VIII. a certain number of suffragans, as assistants to the overworked diocesan bishops, have been appointed.

But, after all, the vast growth of the Church of England during the second half of the nineteenth century is most conspicuously exhibited in the marked revival of pastoral work in many and most varied forms. "Half a century since, the clergyman stood alone, the sole representative of religion in the parish. . . . Now all is changed; wherever it is possible for him to obtain help, he is surrounded by ready and willing assistants in all grades of life. He is aided perhaps by three or four curates (often by more), through various societies, and these curates multiply services in mission chapels. He has the aid of mission women or sisters, who devote their time to works of mercy and charity.

* The archbishop of Sydney: Sermon in St. James's, Piccadilly, 1897.

† The archbishop of Rupert's Land: Sermon in St. James's, Piccadilly, 1897.

He has numbers of visiting ladies and laymen endeavouring to aid his people in all temporal and spiritual matters, and of Sunday-school teachers of both sexes. Societies of all kinds for religious objects surround him. In every direction his labours are increased enormously, but with the increased labours have come help, wide and general, often from distant quarters, and he is enabled to do a great work, amidst great self-denial, perhaps distress, and many severe trials."*

To take, among many examples of men who have given a new conception of the duties and influence of the parish priest in the Church of England, a few conspicuous and well-known instances of men who have worked in different centres and who belonged to different schools of thought, we would instance Dr. Hook, of Leeds; Dr. Butler of Wantage; Dr. Miller of Birmingham; Mr. Champneys, of Whitechapel, and then of St. Pancras; Mr. Thorold, of St. Giles's, and then of St. Pancras; † Mr. Hampden Gurney, of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square; Mr. Maclagan, of Kensington; Mr. Wilkinson, of St. Peter's, Eaton Square. These are, however, only well-known examples of an almost countless number of earnest and devoted parish priests of different schools of thought, but all working for the same ends.

Nowhere has the extraordinary vitality of the Church of England, during the second half of the nineteenth century, been more conspicuously shown than in the construction and repair of her churches, which, as it has been well described, has become a "national passion." We give the figures in round numbers. From the returns laid before Parliament on the motion of lord Hampton in 1875-6, it appears that, in the building and restoration of churches belonging to the Anglican communion at home, a sum of over twenty-five millions and a half sterling had been expended between 1840 and 1874, a period of thirty-four years. From the last return, presented to the House

* Palmer: Supplement to "Narrative," chap. iii.

† As an example of the organisation of one of these great parishes, we would briefly put down the "heads" of the work organised in the great London parish of St. Pancras. No explanation will be needful for the selection: the ten years' connection of the writer of this History with the parish in question, enables him to put these brief memoranda down with absolute certainty. St. Pancras, again, is but an example of many others in London and in the great provincial centres of population. The district of the mother church of St. Pancras contains some 15,000 or 16,000 souls; it possesses a staff consisting of the vicar and four (sometimes five) curates, two churchwardens, two sidesmen, three Scripture readers or city missionaries, four biblewomen or nurses, forty members of the choir, eight church attendants, 240 to 250 Sunday-school teachers, forty or more teachers in the day schools attached to the church, thirty to forty district visitors. In all, the working church staff of St. Pancras' mother church numbered, roughly, at least 350 persons. For the education of the poorer parishioners, two groups of public elementary schools exist, each with separate departments of boys, girls, and infants; two groups of immense Sunday schools, the numbers of scholars and teachers in these amounting, roughly, to about 3,000. Several small free libraries of well-chosen books are attached to the schools and church institute; Bible classes are held for young men and women; seven large mothers' meetings are assembled weekly. There are also a very considerable temperance organisation, a working men's institute, a young men's institute, with club rooms annexed, besides various guilds and clubs, an invalid kitchen and soup kitchen, penny dinners for poor school children, etc. etc. Several mission rooms, where short services are constantly held, supplement the regular services in the great parish church. (From a farewell address issued by the vicar of St. Pancras in 1887.)

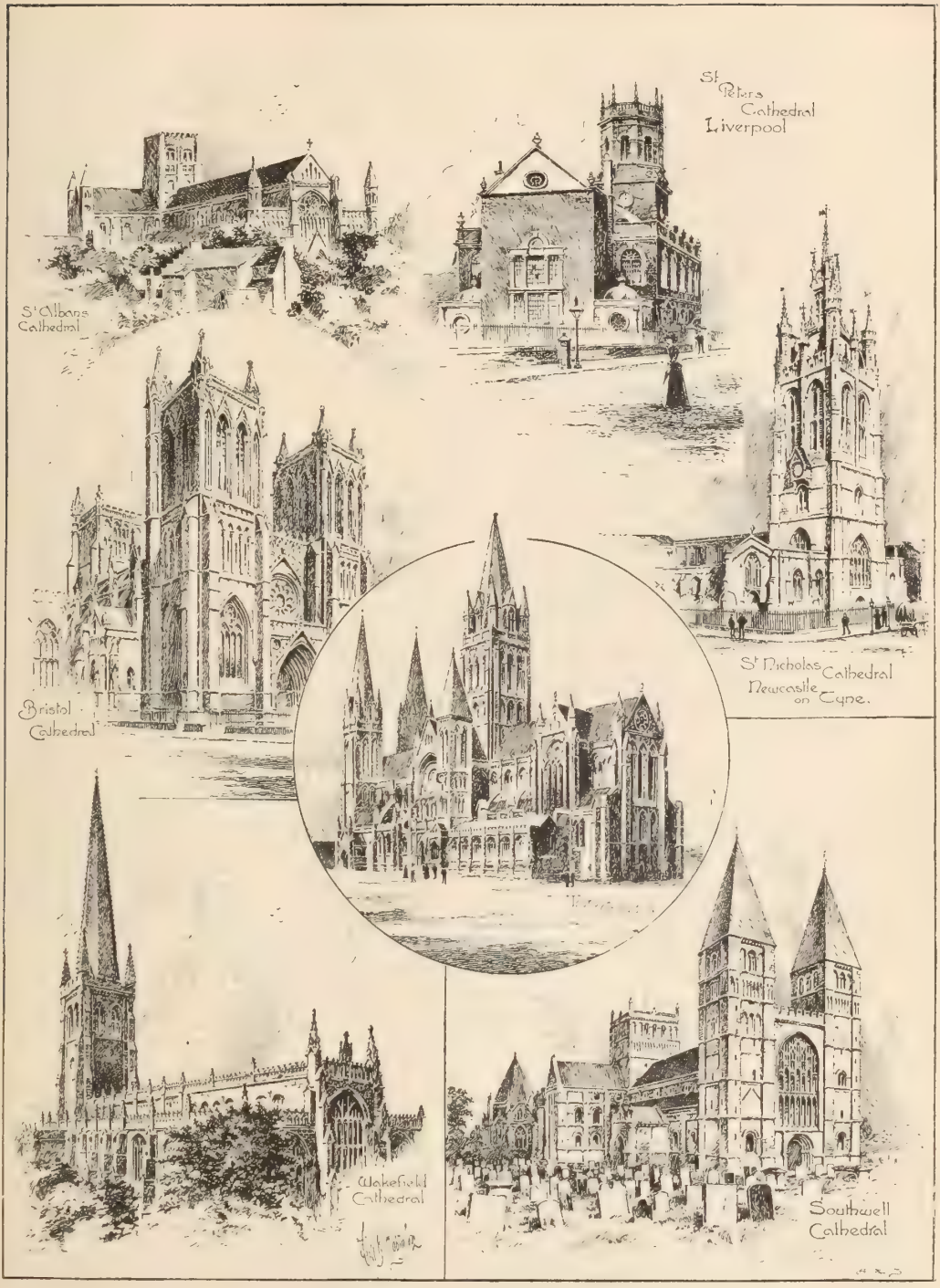
of Lords in 1892, for the eighteen previous years, we find a sum of twenty millions and a half more has been raised and spent upon the same objects; amounting in about half a century to the amazing sum of about forty-six millions sterling, the later period—and this is a specially encouraging fact—showing by far the larger sum in proportion. During the six or seven years which have elapsed since the last parliamentary return was made, enormous sums raised and expended upon similar objects must be added to the above huge totals. And out of these great sums thus spent solely upon the fabrics of our churches, comparatively very little was derived from any source, save from private voluntary gifts and contributions from loyal and devoted English churchmen.*

In the course of the last half-century it would be difficult to find a church in England which has not been more or less thoroughly restored and put in order, or entirely rebuilt. It is no exaggeration to say that the number of churches has been generally doubled, while in the larger towns and in centres where the population has been considerably augmented, the number of churches has been trebled, or even quadrupled. Of these new churches, although the secret of the power of the great mediæval builders, alas! is no longer with us, not a few are really beautiful. Some are even magnificent, and will bear comparison with the wondrous beauty of the creations of the great architects of the Middle Ages, being indeed, within and without, fitting temples for the worship of the Most High.

The mighty Norman and Gothic cathedrals of England, the pride and glory of our country, which were some fifty years ago fast falling into ruin and decay, have one and all been more or less restored at vast cost by skilful, loving hands. The threatened ruin has been averted, and we may fairly hope that these precious reliques of the piety of our forefathers will now stand unharmed for centuries, a joy and a delight not only to Englishmen, but to the countless pilgrims from the greater Britain beyond the seas, to whom some English cathedral is often the first object of their pilgrimage.

Nor in our brief catalogue of the more prominent points in the mighty church revival of these last fifty years must we omit to dwell for a moment on the altered tone and work of these great homes of prayer and praise. Not many years ago, English cathedrals attracted few besides the scholar, the antiquary, and lovers of the splendid architecture of the past. Now they have become centres of spiritual life; they are filled constantly with crowds of devout worshippers, to whom their pathetic loveliness and elaborate symbolism once utterly failed to appeal. The cathedral in late years has become a mighty religious power among the masses of our people, and this power is increasing day by day. For many generations the vast naves of the great minster churches of England, save on rare and special occasions, had not been used for public worship; they were deserted, save by their custodians and the curious visitor. It was in 1858 that the idea of popular services being held in these

* Compare Sir Roundell Palmer, earl of Selborne late lord high chancellor): "Defence of the Church of England," part ii., chap. ix.; and "Official Year-book of the Church of England," 1895-6-7-8.



CATHEDRALS OF NEW SEES.

beautiful buildings first took root, mainly owing to the suggestion of the then bishop of London, Dr. Tait, afterwards the wise and thoughtful primate. Westminster Abbey, and then St. Paul's, led the way, and showed what a splendid use could be found for these long-deserted sacred piles. The example set in 1858 by the abbey and cathedral in the metropolis, was followed by the cathedrals and minster churches in the provinces,* till in well-nigh every diocese the cathedral, the abbey, or the minster is no longer simply the recognised school of church music, the type and model of an elaborate and perfect Anglican service, the scene of the daily offering of morning and evening prayer, with all the adjuncts of trained musicians and singers, but on week-days as well as on Sundays the cathedral has become *the* church of the people, the acknowledged centre of innumerable popular gatherings for worship and for teaching.

Among the works accomplished by the great Anglican revival which we have been dwelling upon, the restoration of a purer taste in the architecture of sacred buildings will ever hold a distinguished place. It has been already remarked, that while the Middle Ages from the end of the eleventh century were especially remarkable for the costly and magnificent churches which were erected—churches not only costly, but exquisitely beautiful in design and execution, the period which followed the Reformation was absolutely barren in this particular. Church architecture was completely neglected during the age of Elizabeth and the first Stuart kings. The Puritan domination, as might have been expected, was generally hostile to art, especially to all ecclesiastical art. After the Restoration, Sir Christopher Wren, the first really great English church architect who had arisen since the Reformation, was curiously hostile to the mediæval school of Gothic architecture, and even termed the magnificent cathedrals of the Middle Ages "vast and gigantic buildings indeed, but not worthy the name of architecture." And public opinion coincided with the views of the popular architect. Evelyn, whose well-known diary admirably reflects public opinion at this period, speaks of mediæval buildings as "congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy, and monkish piles, without any proportion, use, or beauty." Sir Henry Wotton* writes of "the natural imbecility and the very uncomeliness of pointed arches"; they ought, he thinks "to be banished from judicious eyes among the reliques of a barbarous age." Milton, whose beautiful lines on a mediæval cathedral in his "Il Penseroso" have been already quoted,† was some two hundred years in

* As a good instance of a great provincial cathedral: Gloucester, with which the writer of this History has been closely associated for several years, is now the recognised headquarters of all important diocesan gatherings. Its vast Norman nave, so long deserted by the people, is now, some sixty or seventy times each year, thronged with crowds of devout worshippers. Not unfrequently the great nave is unable to contain the congregation; and the choir, and even the transepts, have to be used at the same time. Each year the love of the people for these magnificent homes of praise and prayer and teaching evidently increases.

* Sir Henry Wotton wrote "Parallels of Ancient and Modern Architecture," published in 1664. To this work Evelyn wrote a dedicatory epistle.

† See p. 100.

advance of the revival of taste for Gothic architecture.

St. Paul's cathedral, and the churches generally of Sir Christopher Wren and his school, were Greek, or, to use the ordinary term, rather "Renaissance" in their architecture; and the style of Wren was followed as a rule by most church-builders all through the eighteenth century. But the architects were men of little talent, and scarcely an ecclesiastical building all through the Georgian period possesses any merit or beauty. Greek architecture and its lineal descendant, the so-called "Renaissance," even under the hands of a great master like Wren, is not adapted to the climate of northern Europe, and, even in the case of the mighty London cathedral, "is wanting in religiousness. It aspires to magnificence, and nothing beyond magnificence." All through the Georgian times—indeed, until the age of the great revival of the nineteenth century—the number of churches built was comparatively very small. For instance, the whole number of churches erected at the latter end of that period (1800–1807) was only twenty-four. With the close of the great continental war, however, at once the number of new churches increases, and between 1821 and 1830 as many as 308 were erected. Shortly after this last date the "revival" set in, and soon the birth of a new spirit in church architecture has to be chronicled.*

To the "Oxford movement" undoubtedly was owing in great measure the revived taste for Gothic architecture in churches. It awakened a new and vivid interest in mediæval worship, and inculcated a more elaborate and striking ritual. Men came to see that no school of church building was so adapted for public Christian worship, when carried out with dignity and reverence, as the Gothic. Simultaneously with the re-awakened love for the architecture of the beautiful pre-Reformation churches and abbeys, arose several distinguished men of real genius, who were able to give effect to the newly revived taste for the ancient style; among these we may fairly instance the names of Pugin, Pearson, Gilbert Scott, and Street. The first of these great artists, Pugin, was fanatically devoted to the "new school." He held that the only true architecture for churches was that produced by the mediæval artists under the guidance of the Catholic church, and that only by casting aside pagan models, and humbly following in the footsteps of our forefathers, could we hope to bring about a revival of Christian architecture. His influence during the early years of the revival was very marked, but he died comparatively young in 1852.

A yet more famous name in the "new" school is that of John L. Pearson (1817–1897), who through a long and laborious career has perhaps more than any other man contributed to the popularising of the various mediæval styles of Gothic in England. He may justly be regarded as the founder of the modern school of Gothic architecture.*

* Some of the statistics of sums expended in building and restoring churches during the years of the church revival have been already given.

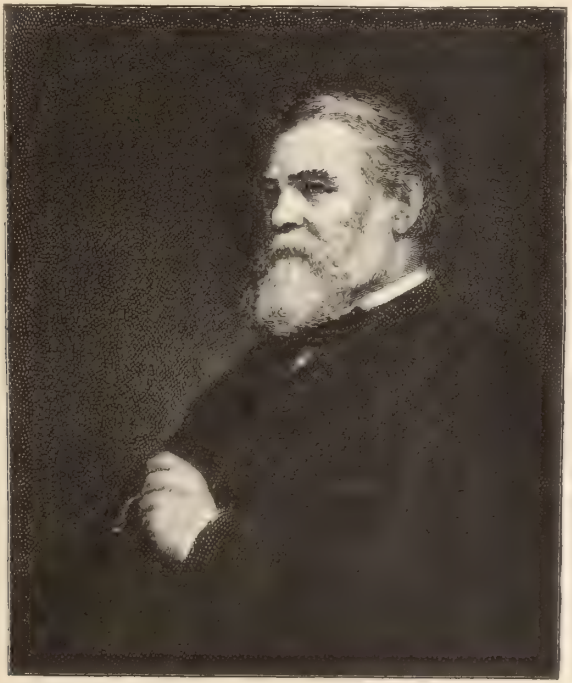
* Even those who in many points differ from some of the principles laid down by Mr. Pearson, would unite in this high tribute to his scholarship, his reverent care for his work, and his undoubted power.

The list of churches built and restored, of abbeys and minsters saved from impending ruin, by this great artist, is indeed a long one. In the new cathedral of Truro, still unfinished (1898), it is allowed that Pearson has provided the only great modern church which "possesses true cathedral character, and does not rather suggest that it is merely an overgrown parish church; indeed, the only important criticism that has been passed upon it is that it is too truly mediæval." When Pearson began to influence church architecture—roughly, about 1843—the revival in church building was still very young, and few men knew much of Gothic architecture. From that date onward, through the remainder of the nineteenth century, in the vast works in connection with Anglican churches which have been continually undertaken and carried out, the Gothic spirit has been the dominating, well-nigh the solitary influence.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. *Photo: F. G. O. Stuart, Southampton.*

On the whole, much of the vast work done during the second half of the century in the restoration of existing

mediæval churches and in the erection of new ones, has been admirable. If any criticism be hazarded, it would be in the direction of the monotony of the prevailing tone of architecture. The church artist usually contents himself with faithfully copying the creation of the architects of the thirteenth and two following centuries; rarely, if ever, does any sign appear of an attempt to strike out new paths. As far as can be seen, ecclesiastical architecture had reached its highest point of development about five centuries ago. It is a somewhat saddening reflection, but there is no escaping from the conclusion that the art which created the glorious abbeys and minsters, the beautiful parish churches so plentifully dotted over our country—abbeys, minsters, and churches which the churchmen of the second half of the nineteenth century so reverently and wisely restore and seek to copy stone by stone, arch by arch, window by window, down to the smallest bit of ornament—is a lost art! Men have come reluctantly to the conclusion that mediæval architecture, with its many and exquisite developments, is the close of that long and stately line of architectural styles, "commencing in far-back ages in Egypt and passing on in continuous course through Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome, and Byzantium, and thence taken up by the infant nations of modern Europe, and by them prolonged through



J. L. PEARSON, R.A.
(From the painting by W. W. Ouless, R.A.)

successive ages of continuous progress till it terminated in the beautiful thirteenth and fourteenth century Gothic, and has never since produced a link of its own. . . . Alas! it is the last link of that mighty chain which had stretched unbroken through nearly 4,000 years—the glorious termination of the history of original and genuine architecture." Well may men love it and seek to preserve the examples they possess of it, and aim at copying it as well as they can, for "it is the only Christian style which has arisen or is likely to arise, and has been entirely developed under the influence of the Christian religion. It is not only exclusively but *par eminence* Christian." *

Nor has this Gothic revival of which we are speaking only affected the *fabric* of the Anglican churches; an equally reverent and discriminating care has been bestowed upon the internal fittings of the houses of God. The masses of ecclesiastical metal work, which necessarily form an important part of the furniture of a church, are well and skilfully designed; but, like the fabrics, they are but faithful copies of ancient pre-Reformation designs. A similar observation will hold good in respect to pulpits, lecterns, reading-desks, and stalls; here, again, skilful reproductions of mediæval patterns alone are aimed at. The result is generally happy, it must be allowed; still, at the same time, the inventive faculty in these matters also has to all appearance died out from amongst us, and the curiously pathetic saying of the great French Romancist is sadly justified: "The book has killed the building." * In other words, the invention of printing, which turned men's minds into other directions, and to a certain extent superseded the necessity of the teaching symbolism of "the book of stone," arrested the progress and development of architecture, and even to a certain extent of its kindred arts.

In this very brief sketch, the recovery to some extent of the old skill in the craft of glass-painting, must not be ignored. Much of the wondrous beauty of the mediæval churches was owing to the glory of colour possessed by their windows. Many, alas! of these frail treasures perished, as we have seen, in the stress and strife of the Reformation, and more in the days of the Puritan domination; and little serious effort to replace these exquisite creations of our forefathers seems to have been made during the centuries which elapsed between the reigns of Henry VIII. and queen Victoria. But the same spirit which in the Anglican revival has inspired the ecclesiastical architect and designer, has awakened the glass painter; and although the glories of the windows of York and Canterbury, of Gloucester, and King's at Cambridge, and the yet grander and more perfect colouring of Chartres and Rheims, of Bourges and Rouen, are apparently inimitable, † beautiful glass is now produced among us, and

* Sir Gilbert Scott: "Mediæval Architecture," Lecture I., delivered at the Royal Academy.

* Victor Hugo: "Notre Dame de Paris."

† We can scarcely speak of any modern glass, beautiful though some of it is, in the following terms: "It is as though in a dream" (the writer is speaking of Chartres), "you found yourself in some huge cavern, lit only by the light of jewels, myriads of them gleaming darkly through the gloom. It is difficult to imagine anything more mysterious, solemn, or impressive."—"Windows," by Lewis F. Day (1898).

in countless instances is being daily introduced into the now reverently adorned cathedrals and churches of England.

One marked addition to the services of the Middle Ages deserves especial notice as a great feature of the Victorian age—the new music. It is strange that amidst all the gorgeous and striking ceremonial of the mediæval services, with their wealth of colour and ornament, with all their touching and elaborate symbolism, music, as it is now understood, was unknown and comparatively neglected. In the noblest cathedral of the Middle Ages, in the stateliest Benedictine or Cistercian abbey, while the eye was filled with sights of solemnity and beauty, each sight containing its special and peculiar teaching, the ear was comparatively uncared for. Strangely monotonous, and even harsh, would chaunt and psalm and hymn, as rendered in the mighty abbeys of Westminster, Durham, or Gloucester in the days of the great Plantagenets, of the White Rose or Red Rose kings, sound to the musically-trained ears of the worshippers of the second half of the nineteenth century. There were organs, it is true, in the great churches of the Middle Ages; but the organ, with the vast forest of pipes and elaborate machinery we are accustomed to see in our cathedrals and larger churches, and which, on a smaller scale, is now a necessary adjunct even to the smaller churches, was then absolutely unknown. Indeed, music as a great science was unknown in pre-Reformation times. The popular anthem-book may be searched through by the curious scholar; but scarcely a musical composition of any note will be found in these collections, of a date earlier than the reign of queen Elizabeth.* It would seem as though, when architecture ceased in the sixteenth century to be a living craft, a new art was discovered and worked at by men. And with rare skill and persistence has this new art of music been adapted by churchmen in their services. It has become a marked feature in all Anglican public worship. Indeed, so much attention, so much pains and thought have in the latter years of the century been devoted to this, comparatively speaking, novel adjunct to the services of the sanctuary, that not a few thoughtful, serious men even see some danger of injury being done to the purely spiritual side of prayer and praise, owing to exaggerated attention being given to the musical portion of public worship.

Through all the many centuries of the life of the Church of England, ever and anon we come upon grave and earnest reminders addressed by eminent ecclesiastics holding positions of power in the community, to the rank and file of ordained ministers, pressing upon them the inescapable necessity of a good equipment

* "It is a question," said Professor Hullah, in his lectures on the history of Music, delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in 1861, "whether before the time of Josquin Desprès, the Flemish composer who flourished at the end of the fifteenth century, any so-called musician had attained to anything beyond the vaguest conception of the effect of what he was putting upon paper." Indeed, there was no regular music school in Rome before the year 1540. It was Arcadelt, the Fleming, who in the first half of the sixteenth century helped to lay the foundation of the Roman school, subsequently so famous as the school of Palestrina and his contemporaries. Palestrina was born in 1524 and died in 1594.

in the various fields of sacred literature. The influence of the pastor over his flock, these thoughtful ecclesiastics clearly saw, in a large measure depended on the possession by the pastor, alike in a village community as in the case of a town parish, of a greater or less proficiency in the various branches of sacred learning. The danger of neglect of sacred study, in the wonderful revival of active pastoral diligence, so noticeable a feature in the church life of the Victorian age, is no slight one. The innumerable agencies at work in the many parishes of England; the schools, day and Sunday, the guilds, the clubs, the temperance societies, and many other agencies, absorb in too many cases all the time, the thoughts, and energies of the minister. These practical labours often prevent any attention to patient study; and not a little danger is incurred that a body of earnest and zealous, instead of learned clergymen, may grow up in the Anglican communion. The close of the nineteenth century is emphatically an active rather than a contemplative period; and with much that is admirable in these developments of work, there is some danger in such an absorption of energy.

One great and enduring monument of sacred scholarship, however, belongs to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and deserves more than a passing notice. In 1870 the Convocation of Canterbury decided that a revision of the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures should be undertaken. Among the principal reasons which called for this Revision, the following may be noted:—(1) the large amount of fresh critical and exegetical matter which had been collected since the date of the putting out of the Authorised Version in 1611 (this, of course, chiefly refers to the New Testament); (2) certain necessary grammatical emendations in the translation; (3) alterations required in obscure and ambiguous renderings; (4) re-arrangement of paragraphs, italics, and punctuation (these evidently required reconsideration and attention, for in the Authorised Version they were sometimes arbitrary and often even incorrect).

In the case of the New Testament, the labours of the Revisers were spread over some ten years and a half. In the case of the Old Testament, the company of scholars sat for some four years longer.

The most important feature in the work, perhaps, was the revision of the Greek text of the New Testament. The Authorised Version of 1611 was founded for the most part on MSS. of late date and few in number. Nearly all the more ancient of the documentary authorities have become known only within the last two centuries, some of the most important within the last few years. The English reader of the New Testament in the Revised Version now possesses a text which closely approximates to that presumably current during the second and third centuries.

In the case of the revision of the Old Testament, comparatively speaking little change has been made in the text of 1611; for the earliest known Hebrew MS. is not older than A.D. 916, and the state of knowledge on this subject is not at present such as to justify any reconstruction of the text. The Massoretic text, as it is termed, upon which the Authorised Version was based, is still, save in a few

Photo: Cassell & Co., Ltd..

THE CHOIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, LOOKING WEST.

exceptional cases, used.* The changes in the Old Testament have been mainly confined to the language, when that was archaic, or obscure, or grammatically faulty.

The work was entrusted to two companies† of scholars: the one for the Old, the other for the New Testament. Two committees of American scholars were also formed, and their conclusions were remitted to England, and were carefully considered before the Revised Version was finally put out. The comparatively few cases of final disagreement between the English and American companies are recorded in an appendix at the end of the volumes.

Although it has not seemed expedient as yet to displace the Authorised Version from the place which it has occupied since 1611, and which holds so unique a position in the hearts of all the English-speaking peoples, yet, for all sorts and conditions of men to whom the English Bible is the most precious of possessions, the Revised Version, especially of the New Testament, is of incalculable service. For innumerable difficulties in language, in expressions, in arrangement, are cleared away; new and more trustworthy "readings" are adopted; and the reader of the volumes, which represent the labours of our leading scholars during many years, are placed abreast of most of the great advances which in later years have been made in textual criticism and in important points of grammatical accuracy.

The long and many-coloured story of the Church of England has been told. It is with some reluctance and with a feeling somewhat of dissatisfaction that the writer here concludes his task. The later pages, which speak roughly of the fifty years which followed the momentous period of the Oxford movement, contain little more than memoranda of events too recent for any fair judgment or even summary on the part of the chronicler. It has been, without doubt, an age of marvellous activity in all church questions. Perhaps its most distinguishing feature has been its zeal in what is generally termed practical work. All these practical works, as we have noticed in the foregoing short sketches, are by no means confined to the followers of any special school of thought. High churchmen and low churchmen, to preserve the old familiar appellations, are equally in earnest in their efforts. Nor is the ordinary parochial "machinery" made use of by both parties in the church different; the ways of conducting Sunday schools, mothers' meetings, clubs and societies for artisans, for young men and women, for boys and girls, temperance associations, guilds for the development and deepening of a more religious life, are in no marked way dissimilar. The history, properly speaking, of these things is still to be written; but not here—not now.

Thirteen hundred years in the life of a nation is, indeed, a far-reaching period, and

* This text is the one still current among the Jews up to this date; it is, in fact, the "Received" text of the Old Testament. For an exhaustive account of the Massorah and its relation to the received Massoretic text, see Dr. Ginsburg's scholarly volumes on the Massorah lately published. The word "Massorah" literally means "tradition."

† The numbers were as follows:—Twenty-seven for the Old Testament (the chairman, as a rule, was the senior bishop present); twenty-four for the New. The bishop of Gloucester and Bristol was the perpetual chairman.

during well-nigh the whole of this long long time, England and the English people have played a great part in the history of the West—a part, as the centuries passed, gradually increasing in importance. To-day, in extent of dominion, in power, in nation. For well-nigh a thousand years of that life the church supplied most of its chief rulers. By the throne, during those first thousand years, generally stood a group of ecclesiastics, who guided its policy and acted as the sovereign's chief

YORK MINSTER.

riches, in influence, in the quiet fields also of literature and art, England has no superior; many, not only at home, but across the silver streak of sea which girdles the well-loved island, think, and with good reason, it is on the whole occupying the foremost place among the nations of the world.

During these thirteen centuries of quiet progress upwards, the church has been closely intertwined with the life of the advisers. To recall only a few of these as notable examples: by Alfred's side stood archbishop Plegmund; by his great descendant Edgar, stood Dunstan; no counsellor was the Conqueror's friend like Lanfranc; Becket, till he voluntarily left the council chamber of the mighty Anjevin, Henry II., was the inspirer of the policy of that great English king; Hubert Walter played the chief part in the government of England when Cœur de Lion was carrying

the name and fame of England into distant foreign lands; Stephen Langton was the centre of the English party which successfully defended the people's rights in the terrorism of king John. Then, glancing through the later mediæval times, such names as those of cardinal Beaufort (of Winchester), cardinal Morton (of Canterbury), cardinal Wolsey (of York), during the reigns of Henry VI., Henry VII., and also the earlier years of that of Henry VIII., remind us how, to the very close of the mediæval period, the great prelates influenced, and often bore a chief part in, the direction of all state affairs, civil as well as ecclesiastical.

Even for some time after the Reformation upheaval the same church influences prevailed. During the reign of the boy-king Edward VI. and of his sister Mary, Cranmer, Gardiner, and cardinal Pole (notably the latter) bore a leading part in all state matters. After the Reformation, with the diffusion of learning among other classes besides ecclesiastics, the influence of the church in secular affairs declined; but it made up for that loss by an additional power which, under the new conditions of church life after the Reformation, it gained over the hearts of the people. But its loss of even civil influence was very gradual. Our popular historian* represents Elizabeth as treating the Anglican bishops with studied contempt. This conclusion is scarcely borne out by the history of her reign, for we find the great queen pressing in vain the chancellorship upon archbishop Whitgift. Whitgift, however, declined the custody of the great seal, recognising that the work of the church lay in other ways. James I. admitted archbishop Bancroft into his close confidence; bishop Andrewes, and later Laud, were among his most trusted counsellors. Charles I. we know invested Laud with almost supreme power.

In the meantime, from the date of the death of Wolsey till the period of the Civil Wars, the church more and more had quietly entwined itself into the regard and affections of the nation; and its rapid rebound into its old place after the catastrophe of the great Civil War and its momentary ruin, showed unmistakably how closely it was bound up with the national life. Indeed, the reaction after the Restoration of 1660, and the position of almost boundless influence and consideration in which it found itself after its temporary degradation under the Commonwealth, was positively injurious to the church; the comparative deadness and stagnation of church work and life during the first half of the eighteenth century being in a large measure owing to it. How, under the power of the Evangelical revival, long before the eighteenth century closed, the church awoke to life again; how the Oxford movement some fifty years later, with its various developments, supplemented much that was wanting in that Evangelical revival; how during the second half of the nineteenth century the Anglican revival breathed fresh life into the Church of England, restored its stately cathedrals, its innumerable parish churches, built a great number of new homes of prayer, set on foot and maintained a vast network of religious and philanthropic

* Mr. Froude: Vol. xii., "Conclusion," pages 393-556.

associations which touch every class and order with whom suffering and sorrow are too frequent guests, gave a new and mighty impulse to foreign missionary work, has been told with some detail in the later chapters of our story. Above all, it must be remembered that the enormous sums, amounting to many millions, needed for carrying out these vast and often costly works were solely the free-will offerings to the church, made by the English people, in whose hearts love for the immemorial Church of England had indeed sunk deeply.

One reproach often levelled at the church deserves at least a passing notice. It is said, and rightly, though often with some exaggeration, that the church fails, with all its ministrations, to reach vast masses of the population. Alas! the charge is partly true; would, indeed, that the reproach could be wiped out! But those who often make it, forget what is, after all, the primary cause of their too true allegation. Have those who lightly make the charge ever considered what has happened in this island in later times? When Elizabeth was queen, and Cecil, the ancestor of the historic house of Salisbury, was the minister, the population of England and Wales was computed at a little over *four*

BELL HARRY TOWER, CANTERBURY.

millions. In the days of queen Anne, the population still only numbered just over *six millions*. In the year 1891, in the reign of queen Victoria, these *four millions* of Elizabeth had increased to *twenty-nine millions* of souls in England and Wales.*

And it is this nineteenth century, it must be borne in mind, which has witnessed most of this startling increase in the population; for in the nineteenth century's earlier years there were but a little over *nine millions* in England and Wales. True it is, that many a new church has been built, that the ranks of the clergy have been considerably increased;† but the number of the new churches and of the additional clergy are utterly disproportionate to this enormous and strangely rapid increase. No efforts of the church, great though these efforts have been, have at all sufficed to keep pace with this undreamed-of growth of the population. A somewhat similar sudden need occurred in the first half of the thirteenth century, when a vast increase in the town populations took place; and the numbers of the clergy was found quite insufficient for ordinary and regular pastoral ministrations. The rise of the mendicant orders was largely due to this need.

We have more than once in the course of this History dwelt with peculiar insistence on what we have termed the "continuity" of the Holy Catholic Church in England. It is this "unbroken continuity" which has been—still is, a principal source of her wonderful strength and power. We mean by this that, all through the thirteen hundred years, *there never has been a break in the life of the Holy Catholic Church of England*. It has ever, from the days of Augustine at the close of the sixth century,* to our own days at the close of the nineteenth, professed the faith which is the Catholic faith. It has ever taught the Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself. It has ever possessed the succession of bishops, priests, and deacons, the Catholic orders of the ministry.† Its faith has been the faith contained in the Nicene Creed, originally recited in that form at the council of Constantinople in 381, repeated and ratified by the councils of Ephesus in 431, and of Chalcedon in 451.‡

Unbroken, too, has been its "succession." There was no interruption here in the darkest hours of the viking raids in the time of Alfred; no interruption at the time of the Norman Conquest, for Lanfranc followed the Saxon Stigand at Canterbury, being consecrated in 1070 by nine bishops of English sees. There was no interruption in the days of queen Mary; even she, "Roman" though she was at heart, went

* Ireland and Scotland are not included here.

† In Wales, where the increase of population has been extraordinarily rapid, the number of the clergy has been doubled in the last fifty years.

* Although the formal story of the Church of England dates from A.D. 597, it has been shown (chaps. ii., iii., iv.) that a powerful branch of the Catholic Church had existed in Britain several centuries before that date.

† See Appendix, giving the succession of the archbishops of Canterbury.

‡ Save in the addition of the words "Filioque" ("and from the Son"), which words have been added to the assertion of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father. This one addition the Church of England, in common with the Church of Rome, has made to the primitive creed of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. The Greek or Eastern Church, as is well known, has declined ever to sanction this solitary addition, which is peculiar to all the churches of the West, Roman and Protestant.

on with the old succession, and her archbishop, Pole, did not suffer himself to be consecrated to the arch-see of Canterbury till Cranmer had been burnt at Oxford. There was no break in the Anglican settlement of queen Elizabeth. Pole died a few hours after his loved queen Mary, and Parker was consecrated to the vacant arch-see with the greatest care, being consecrated by four bishops, whose episcopal orders have been again and again examined by lynx-eyed theologians and historians, with never a flaw yet fairly discovered. No serious critic now ventures to impugn the purity of the Anglican succession.

We may well close with the expressions of one or two of the great Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, serenely confident as they were that the Church of England is apostolical in doctrine, in worship, and government; free from the extremes of both irreverence and superstition;* on the whole, the best constituted church in the world; for its doctrines government, and way of worship, in the main, are the same with those of the primitive church.† In this Church, so constituted, with its splendid history, which is, after all, the history of England, with its sacred traditions reaching back into an immemorial antiquity, we have lived; in it, God willing, we will die.‡

The thoughts of these great sons of the Church of England may well be our thoughts, their words ours; for all that they loved and prized in the church of their fathers belongs to us now. Happier yet than they, we have some two centuries' further experience of God's dealings with that Church which has made the great and mighty England with which we are acquainted, and of which we are so justly proud; happier yet than they, for our hopes and aspirations for the future of the Anglican communion are immeasurably grander and more far-reaching than any hopes they dared to entertain. With a grateful heart, the dean of one of the proudest of the English cathedrals, closing his long eventful story, craves leave, with bishop Taylor,* though with different surroundings, that he "may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the Temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifices, and that eternal fire of devotion which went not out by day nor by night—these are the pleasures of our peace."

* Hickes, dean of Worcester (the very learned non-juror); Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells.

† Bull, bishop of St. David's.

* So Laud, Bull, and Sanderson

† Works—vol. vii. (284).

APPENDIX.

TABLE SHOWING ROLL OF ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY UNTIL THE RESTORATION, 1660, WITH DATES OF THEIR CONSECRATION AS BISHOPS, AND OF THEIR ACCESSION TO THE ARCH-SEE; WITH A FEW BRIEF NOTES BEARING ON THEIR CAREER AND TIMES.

Augustine.—Consecration, 597; accession, 597; death, 604. Formerly prior of the monastery of St. Andrew, on Mount Cœlius, Rome, the site of the story of Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus and the nymph Egeria. Nothing in detail is known of Augustine before he left Rome with forty companions at the bidding of Pope Gregory on his mission to Britain. Augustine was consecrated archbishop by Vergilius, metropolitan of Arles—formerly Abbot of Lerins.

Laurentius.—Consecration, 604; accession, 604; death, 619. A monk of St. Andrew's, on Mount Cœlius. He was one of the band of Roman missionaries sent by Pope Gregory to assist Augustine, A.D. 601, and was originally known as Laurentius the Presbyter.*

Mellitus.—Consecration, 604; accession, 919; death, 624. Mellitus was the head of a band of Italian missionaries, sent to reinforce the mission of Augustine by Pope Gregory from Rome, A.D. 601. In the lifetime of Augustine he was consecrated bishop of London in the then Pagan East Saxon kingdom of Essex. He refounded St. Paul's, originally probably a church of the British bishops. Mellitus traditionally built the first abbey of St. Peter's, Westminster; as East Saxon bishop he took part in the council held at Rome, A.D. 610. He became archbishop on the death of Laurentius.

Justus.—Consecration, 604; accession, 624; death, 627. Augustine appointed him first bishop of Rochester in A.D. 604. He was among the missionaries sent from Rome to join Augustine in A.D. 601. It was Justus who consecrated Paulinus to the see of York, A.D. 625, when Paulinus undertook the Northumbrian mission on the occasion of the marriage of Ethelburga, the Kentish princess, to Edwin, king of Northumbria.

Honorius.—Consecration, 627; accession, 627; death, 653. This fifth archbishop of Canterbury was a pupil of Pope Gregory the Great; he was consecrated by Paulinus of York. A Roman by birth, he was the last of early Italian archbishops. When, on the failure of the Northumbrian

* So Montalembert, who maintains that the second archbishop was a monk.

mission after the death of Edwin, Paulinus returned to Kent with the widowed Ethelburga, Honorius appointed Paulinus to the see of Rochester, A.D. 633.

Deusdedit.—Consecration, 655 ; accession, 655 ; death, 664. The first English-born archbishop. He changed his name from Frithona ; by birth he was a West Saxon. His name appears as one of the Mercian Witenagemot. As metropolitan he was present at the dedication of the great monastery of Medeshamstede, afterwards known as Peterborough.

Theodore.—Consecration, 668 ; accession, 668 ; death, 690. [A Saxon monk of Canterbury named *Wighard* had been chosen for the primacy by the kings of Northumbria and Kent (Oswiu and Egbert). Wighard, however, died at Rome of the plague before consecration.] It was this Theodore who, exercising authority over most of England, may be said to have formally organised the church in England, dividing it into several sees and establishing the parochial system, founding, too, various schools of learning.

Brihtwald.—Consecration, 693 ; accession, 693 ; death, 731. This archbishop was related to Ethelred, king of Mercia. Bede writes of him as deeply read in the Scripture. He had been previously abbot of Reculver, in Kent. Boniface, the famous archbishop of Mentz, generally spoken of as the apostle to the Germans, gratefully alludes to Brihtwald's encouragement and help in his early days of missionary zeal when he (Boniface) was known as Winfrid of Crediton.

Tatwin.—Consecration, 731 ; accession, 731 ; death, 734. He was a renowned scholar, deeply versed in Holy Scripture, and also was famous as a poet.

Nothelm.—Consecration, 735 ; accession, 735 ; death, 740. Nothelm, too, was a diligent student and a great collector of manuscripts. In this period the libraries of England became among the most famous in Western Christendom. Before his elevation to the primacy he was the chief or arch-presbyter of St. Paul's, London. In his time York became the seat of a metropolitan.

Cuthbert.—Consecration, 736 ; accession, 741 ; death, 758. Previous to his elevation to the archbishopric he was bishop of Hereford (736). In 747 he convened a synod at Cloveshoe.

Bregwin.—Consecration, 759 ; accession, 759 ; death, 765. He was known as an eminent scholar and teacher, and, when generally designated as the fittest successor to Cuthbert, only accepted the nomination with extreme reluctance, preferring the life of a student.

Jaenbert.—Consecration, 766 ; accession, 766 ; death, 790. The curious episode of the raising the bishopric of Lichfield into an arch-see occurred at this time. It was probably carried out by Offa, king of Mercia, with the view of lessening the influence of Canterbury, where the archbishop Jaenbert was his enemy. Strange intrigues were carried on for a long period between the Pope and "Charlemagne," as the great Frankish emperor was afterwards called, and Offa and Jaenbert. With the consent of the Pope and the Witan of Mercia, then the dominant power in England, Lichfield became, at the expense of Canterbury, the seat of a metropolitan. The Pope's approval of the transaction

was procured by Offa's consenting to admit legates from Rome to a synod of the Church of England as an acknowledgment of the dependence of the Church of England on Rome, which hoped thus to create a precedent. The elevation of Lichfield to the position of an arch-see was only temporary, and the Anglo-Saxon Church admitted no more legates to their synods.

Ethelhard.—Consecration, 793; accession, 793; death, 805. Representatives of Ethelhard sat in the council of Frankfort called by Charlemagne (794), which condemned the second council of Nice which had given a quasi-sanction to a worship of images. In the time of Ethelhard, Higbert of Lichfield gave up the archbishop's title, which was never resumed by the bishops of Lichfield. Alcuin, the world-famous scholar and minister of Charlemagne, was the personal friend and adviser of this Ethelhard. At the synod of Cloveshoe (803), under the presidency of this archbishop, the arch-see of Canterbury was restored to all its former privileges. Since that date these privileges have never been further tampered with.

Wulfred.—Consecration, 805; accession, 805; death, 832. Wulfred had been archdeacon of Canterbury, an office probably instituted by Ethelhard. In these days the decay of earnestness and piety, later so deplored by king Alfred, seems to have begun in the Church of England.

Feologild.—Consecration, 832; accession, 832; death, 832. He had been previously a Kentish abbot, and died soon after his accession.

Ceolnoth.—Consecration, 833; accession, 833; death, 870. Ceolnoth was the first dean of Canterbury. The terrible Danish raids became, at this period in England, a severe scourge, Canterbury being sacked by the Vikings in 839, and again in 851. To use Asser's words, "the world was out of joint." The perpetual devastation of the Northmen, which afflicted the whole of the northern and central parts of Europe, weighed with especial severity upon England.

Ethelred.—Consecration, 870; accession, 870; death, 889. Ethelred's tenure of the archbishopric corresponded with the earlier and middle portion of the reign of Alfred, of whom he was the friend and counsellor.

Plegmund.—Consecration, 890; accession, 890; death, 914. Plegmund was nominated archbishop by Alfred on the refusal of Grimbald, the monk of St. Bertin in the north of France, to undertake the office. He was the devoted friend and minister of the great king, and was associated with him in the great reformation of the clergy, which was one of the objects of Alfred's life. Plegmund is supposed to have been one of the writers of the Saxon Chronicle. He is styled by Alfred as "my archbishop."

Athelm.—Consecration, 909; accession, 914; death, 923. Athelm was a monk of Glastonbury and subsequently first bishop of Wells after its establishment by Plegmund. Athelm was chosen for the primacy by king Edward the Elder.

Wulfhelm.—Consecration, 914; accession, 923; death, 942 He previously had been bishop of Wells. The well-known "order" of king Athelstan directing his own "reeves" (or officials) to pay tithes, made at the council of bishops, bears the date 925, during the primacy of this

Wulfhelm, upon whose advice it appears the king acted.

Odo.—Consecration, 926 ; accession, 942 ; death, 959. Odo was the son of a Danish Viking who, after the invasions of the Northfolk, had obtained a settlement in East Anglia. Against the will of his family he became a Christian, and was in time distinguished as a scholar, and became a clerk ; eventually he was preferred to the bishopric of Ramsbury (later merged in the diocese of Salisbury). Something of the old Viking spirit dwelt in Odo, for in the great battle of Brunanburgh it is said he saved king Athelstan's life. After he had been appointed primate, he espoused heartily the cause of the regulars (the monks) in their fierce disputes with the secular and married clergy, and especially favoured the Benedictine order. In this archiepiscopate, by a law of king Edward passed in a national synod (944), the penalty of excommunication was denounced against those who refused to pay their tithes.

Dunstan.—Consecration, 957 ; accession, 960 ; death, 988. Trained in the famous school of Glastonbury, he at an early age, from his great and versatile abilities, became a prominent personage. He was appointed abbot of Glastonbury (about 943 ?), which he reformed after the Benedictine model. In 957 we find him bishop of London and also of Worcester. He succeeded to the primacy in 960 owing to the favour of king Edgar, during whose reign he was *the* minister with almost absolute power. As a great church reformer he introduced the Benedictine rule into the English monasteries, and discouraged, though without extreme severity, marriage among the clergy. In the days of Dunstan the laws of king Edgar, passed about 970, were the first which acknowledged the right of particular churches to tithes. They were the first, too, which, among the Anglo-Saxons, appointed definite times and seasons for their collection, and enforced the payment of these tithes by temporal penalties. This law respecting "tithes" was repeated by king Canute, and is also found in the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws, often (but erroneously) attributed to king Henry I. (Beauclerc).

Ethelgar.—Consecration, 980 ; accession, 988 ; death, 989. Trained at Glastonbury, he was appointed abbot of Newminster, at Winchester (964), a house which followed the Benedictine rule. In 980 he was consecrated bishop of Selsey. He only survived his translation to Canterbury a few months.

Siric.—Consecration, 985 ; accession, 990 ; death, 994. Trained at Glastonbury, later abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury, then bishop of Ramsbury (Wilts), one of the chief advisers of Ethelred in the matter of the first payment of the tribute to the invaders, generally known as the Danegelt, Siric was a scholar and a great collector of books. It was this primate who formally sanctioned the famous "Homilies of Elfric the Grammarian," and commanded that they should be read in all the churches of the land. It was from these that we learn, amongst other things, the Eucharistic doctrine held in the Anglo-Saxon Church.

Elfric.—Consecration, 990 ; accession, 995 ; death, 1005. Trained at Glastonbury, a monk of Abingdon, abbot of Cerne Abbot (Dorset), then bishop of Ramsbury

(990), generally identified with the writer of the famous "Homilies of Elfric."

Alphege.—Consecration, 984; accession, 1005; death, 1012. Trained at Glastonbury, a monk of Derehurst (Gloucestershire), abbot of the Benedictine house of Bath, then bishop of Winchester (984). In the Danish raids he was murdered by the Vikings, and ranks as a martyr. The name is sometimes written as Elphege.

Living.—Consecration, 999; accession, 1013; death, 1020. Probably but not certainly trained at Glastonbury, bishop of Wells (999). He partly restored Canterbury cathedral, wrecked by the Danes.

Ethelnolth.—Consecration, 1020; accession, 1020; death, 1038. A monk of Glastonbury, later dean of Canterbury and chaplain to king Canute, of whom he was the intimate friend and adviser. He completed the restoration of Canterbury cathedral, destroyed in the Danish raids.

Eadsige.—Consecration, 1035; accession, 1038; death, 1050. A chaplain of king Canute, coadjutor-bishop to Ethelnolth (1035). He crowned Edward the Confessor, and preached on that occasion a famous sermon alluded to in the Saxon Chronicle.

Robert.—Consecration, 1044; accession, 1051; death, 1070. Abbot of Jumièges in Normandy, bishop of London (1044), friend and adviser for a time of Edward the Confessor. He was driven into exile by the English party under earls Godwine and Harold, and deposed by a sentence of the king and the Witan (1052). He appealed for reinstatement, with success, to the Pope, but the Roman decision was disregarded, and Stigand became archbishop.

Stigand.—Consecration, 1043; accession, 1052; death (in prison at Winchester) some time about 1070. First mentioned as priest of Assandun, bishop of Elmham or the East Angles (1043), bishop of Winchester (1047); received his pallium from the Anti-pope Benedict; formally deposed in 1070 by the authority of the Pope.

Lanfranc.—Consecration, 1070; accession, 1070; death, 1089. Student of Pavia, then a teacher at Avranches, in the north of France, monk and prior of Bec (Normandy), one of the foremost scholars of Europe, later abbot of St. Stephen's, duke William's abbey, at Caen. He became archbishop of Canterbury on Stigand's deposition (1070). He was for years the intimate friend, adviser, and minister of William the Conqueror. He rebuilt Canterbury cathedral, pulling down the older pile, on the new French model, copying more or less closely his own new abbey of St. Stephen's, Caen, thus introducing into England the new French style of architecture and the feeling in favour of vast churches. The reforms introduced by Lanfranc infused new life and vigour into the English church; but at the same time, it must be remembered, the "Norman" bishop became rather a great feudal lord than a father in God, and for good or for evil the power and influence of the church fell more and more under the sole influence of the monastic orders. With Lanfranc came the Cluniacs (Reformed Benedictines) and the Austin Canons. In the next age followed the Cistercians (another vast company of Reformed Benedictines), and shortly after arrived the mendicant friars—Franciscans, Dominicans, and others.

Anselm.—Consecration, 1093; accession, 1093; death, 1109. After Lanfranc's death,

between three and four years elapsed before William Rufus, under the pressure of the fear of death, allowed the vacancy to be filled up at Canterbury. For many years monk and abbot of Bec, Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc, deservedly possessed the reputation of being the profoundest thinker and scholar in the church of the West. As archbishop he was without doubt the greatest Christian prelate of his age, but there is no doubt that his victory over the ecclesiastical policy of the sovereigns William Rufus and Henry I. (Beauclerc) had an enormous effect in strengthening the ever-growing claims of Rome to a supremacy in all church matters. The result of the long contest, and the partial victory of, Anselm over Henry I., and somewhat later of Becket over the Angevin Henry II., was largely to change the character of the Church of England; it ceased to be a national church, and became rather an ecclesiastical province of a vast foreign empire. This work of the great archbishops of the early Norman kings was not undone, until the Reformation of the sixteenth century broke up the old mediæval conditions of society, ecclesiastical and civil.

Ralph d'Escures.—Consecration, 1108; accession, 1114; death, 1122. He had been for many years monk and then abbot of Séez (Orne), the friend of Gundulph, bishop of Rochester (who will be remembered as the great building ecclesiastic), and of Anselm. He succeeded Gundulph at Rochester in 1108. An example of Papal assumption in 1119 is chronicled. In that year the Pope consecrated on his own authority Thurstan, archbishop of York, who had previously refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the archbishop of Canterbury.

William de Corbeuil.—Consecration, 1123; accession, 1123; death, 1136. A chaplain of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham; prior of St. Osyth (Essex). In de Corbeuil's time the legative question was settled. The archbishop remonstrating against the appointment of John de Crema as legate to England, de Corbeuil went to Rome and obtained the Papal commission as legate, with jurisdiction over all England. Anselm had previously claimed a similar privilege. This was the beginning of the long series of archbishops, who with rare exception were legates of the Holy See, until the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Theobald.—Consecration, 1139; accession, 1139; death, 1161. Monk and abbot of Bec. There was an interregnum of two or three years, owing to the intrigues of Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, king Stephen's brother. Henry de Blois held the legateship until 1143. In 1150 Theobald became legate. He was a great patron of learning, and especially encouraged the study of canon law. During his long archiepiscopate he was generally distinguished for his prudence and wisdom. It was a disturbed and distracted period, the kingdom being rent asunder by the wars of Stephen and the empress Maud.

Thomas à Becket.—Consecration, 1162; accession, 1162; death, 1170. In early life he was a favourite of archbishop Theobald, who, becoming aware of his brilliant abilities, carefully trained him and made him archdeacon of Canterbury. Henry II. appointed him chancellor, gave him his entire confidence, and for some eight years

Becket played the part of a great and vigorous minister. In 1162 he was preferred to the primacy. His zeal now took a different direction. Archbishop Becket became the fervid champion of every supposed ecclesiastical right. Anselm was his model, but the career of Becket has been well described as "forced and unnatural; every act was overdone and almost theatrical. . . . It was an artificial striving after saintship." Much of his enormous reputation he owes to the striking circumstances of his death. For long years after his death he was the popular saint of England, greater, for a time, than the Blessed Virgin—greater than any of the saints. The boundless veneration and exaggerated reverence, which for more than three centuries were paid to his memory, are as strange and unreasoning as the obloquy and hatred which took their place in the sixteenth century.

Richard —Consecration, 1174; accession, 1174; death, 1184 After a lengthened delay Richard, a Benedictine, prior of St. Martin, Dover, was by the king (Henry II.), with general approbation, chosen for the vacant primacy. He was a just and upright though not a learned man, who avoided all the burning questions which had lately agitated the church. He seems ever to have enjoyed the king's confidence and respect.

Baldwin.—Consecration, 1180; accession, 1185; death, 1190. In the earlier part of his career he was archdeacon of Exeter. Resigning his office, he became a Cistercian monk and abbot of Ford, in Devon. In 1180 he was consecrated bishop of Worcester, and in 1185 was chosen to be archbishop. Pope Urban is said to have addressed a letter to him in these terms: "Monacho ferventissimo, abbati calido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso"—sarcastic reproaches not without a basis of truth. He strangely abandoned the care of his vast see, and became a Crusader with Richard Cœur de Lion in 1190, dying eventually in Palestine, it is said, of a broken heart at the sight of the licentiousness and evil deeds of the Crusading army.

[*Reginald Fitzjocelyn* was regularly elected to the arch-see, but died before the formalities of his election were completed. He had been bishop of Bath and Wells.]

Hubert Fitzwalter.—Consecration, 1189; accession, 1193; death, 1205. This prelate was the son of a Norman baron, of Norfolk. was successively dean of York and bishop of Salisbury, and accompanied archbishop Baldwin as a Crusader. In the Holy War he was distinguished as a great soldier and also a fervid ecclesiastic, and became the trusted friend of Cœur de Lion. Returning home after the disasters of the Crusade, king Richard named him as archbishop. The career of the famous archbishop of Cœur de Lion was rather that of a statesman than of a great ecclesiastic. In the frequent absences of Richard I. from England, Fitzwalter was virtually regent, and was conspicuously loyal all through the treasonable intrigues of prince John, whom, however, when on the death of Richard he became king, he faithfully served as chancellor. No English subject has ever held so many great offices as did archbishop Fitzwalter—primate and legate, in succession chief justiciary chancellor, king's vicegerent. In his administration

of all these posts he has left behind him a white and stainless record.

Stephen Langton.—Consecration, 1207 ; accession, 1207 ; death, 1228. He was first distinguished as a brilliant scholar at the University of Paris. Through the private friendship of Innocent III. he was appointed a member of the Papal household, and became a public teacher at Rome, and in 1206 was nominated a cardinal ; and when more than one strongly-supported candidate appeared for the vacant arch-see of Canterbury, Innocent III., who was asked to settle the dispute, named Stephen Langton as primate. King John, however, resisted the Papal nomination, but in the end Langton was acknowledged archbishop of Canterbury, but not before the kingdom had been placed under an interdict. In the terrible tyranny of John, Stephen Langton took the part of the outraged barons of England, even when the Pope, before whom John had humbled himself, had made John's quarrel with the baronage of England his own. As the leader of the barons his name appears first among the signatories of Magna Charta. Throughout the long-drawn out struggle between John and the nobility of England, Langton firmly resisted the Pope Innocent III.'s boundless assumptions of authority—the result, of course, of such resistance being that the old friendship between Innocent III. and Langton was changed into hatred. Langton was formally appointed legate by Innocent III., but was constantly thwarted by special legates despatched from Rome, such as Gualo and Pandulf. From the time of Langton the archbishops of Canterbury, as a rule, received their legative commission directly they were recognised at Rome. They were the "legati nati." Special legates "a latere" were, however, sent from time to time, who superseded temporarily their authority.

Richard Grant.—Consecration, 1229 ; accession, 1229 ; death, 1231. A scholarly man of no conspicuous ability. Before his consecration he had for some years been chancellor of Lincoln. He died within two years after his consecration.

Edmund Rich.—Consecration, 1234 ; accession, 1234 ; death, 1240. This is one of the more famous archbishops of Canterbury, though his reputation is due rather to his personal sanctity than to his acts. From childhood he seems to have been devoted to religious exercises and self-denial. At Oxford as a teacher and then as one of the Salisbury Chapter, his fame for saintliness was widely spread abroad. By very general consent he was nominated to the primacy. Henry III. was on the throne, and his court was mainly composed of foreign favourites. As archbishop, Rich sided steadily with the national party in opposition to the king and the foreigners. At no period in mediæval history did the exactions of Rome press so heavily on the English Church as during the weak and vacillating reign of Henry III. Archbishop Edmund nobly opposed these Papal exactions. Eventually harassed by continual enmity shown him on the part of the king and Pope, and no doubt enfeebled by the exaggerated austerities he had practised for long years, the primate left the country and took refuge in the religious house of Pontigny, once the asylum of Becket. He survived his exile but a short time, dying in the odour of sanctity. The popular voice clamoured for and procured, his

canonisation, and he is known as St. Edmund of Canterbury.

Boniface.—Consecration, 1245; accession, 1245; death, 1270. A son of the count of Savoy. The chroniclers describe him as inferior to all his predecessors in the arch-see. He seems to have been a worldly-minded foreigner, often an absentee from England. Few kind words are spoken of him by contemporary writers.

Robert Kilwardby.—Consecration, 1273; accession, 1273; death, 1278. A Dominican friar of considerable learning and a voluminous writer. He was devoted to the interests of Rome. Pope Nicholas III. nominated him a cardinal, when he resigned the arch-see, dying, however, a few months after his resignation.

John Peckham.—Consecration, 1279; accession, 1279; death, 1292. A Franciscan of considerable learning. He went abroad for purposes of study, and was appointed canon of Lyons and "Lector Palatii" at Rome. Peckham was nominated by the Pope archbishop of Canterbury, as being devoted to the Papal interests. The famous statute of mortmain was vigorously opposed by Peckham. While he was archbishop of Canterbury, another Franciscan was elevated to the Papacy—cardinal Jeronimo—as Nicholas IV.

Robert Winchelsey.—Consecration, 1294; accession, 1294; death, 1313. An English student of great distinction at Paris, then rector of the university there, subsequently chancellor of Oxford, archdeacon of Essex, canon of St. Paul's. He was nominated archbishop by Edward I. and appointed a cardinal. Then commenced an unfortunate and confused career. He resisted king Edward I.'s exactions from the clergy. He intrigued against the king and was disgraced, was then summoned to Rome, whence he returned after the death of king Edward I.; and we find him taking a prominent part in the persecution of the Knights-Templars. In the later years of his life he tried, but in vain, to guide the unfortunate Edward II.

Walter Reynolds.—Consecration, 1308; accession, 1313; death, 1327. Tutor, then treasurer to prince Edward (afterwards Edward II). He seems to have exercised an evil influence over him. When Edward II. became king, Reynolds was appointed bishop of Worcester in 1308, then chancellor, and in 1313 the king obtained for him, through the interference of the Pope, the primacy. In the confused story of the troubles of Edward II. it does not seem that the archbishop was faithful to his royal patron. He even consented to crown Edward III. in his father's lifetime.

Simon Mepeham.—Consecration, 1328; accession, 1328; death, 1333. A scholar, but of no great distinction; canon of Chichester. He obtained the primacy apparently through the influence of Isabella, queen of Edward II., before her fall. Simon Mepeham interfered rarely in state affairs. His blameless, studious life impressed his contemporaries, but, though anxious ever to do his duty, he was scarcely fitted for his high and difficult office.

John Stratford.—Consecration, 1323; accession, 1333; death, 1348. He was distinguished as a student of civil law at Oxford, became archdeacon of Lincoln, canon of York, and dean of the Court of Arches, and for a time represented the king at the Papal court at Avignon. The Pope appointed him bishop of Winchester

(1323). In the deposition of Edward II. bishop Stratford played a leading part. He became chancellor in 1330, and in 1333 was translated to Canterbury, and with brief interludes acted as chief minister of Edward III., retaining his confidence until his death in 1348.

Thomas Bradwardine. — Consecration, 1349 ; accession, 1349 ; death, 1349. One of the greatest scholars and writers of the age. Among the schoolmen he is known as "Doctor Profundus." He was a chaplain of Edward III. Bradwardine died of the Black Death, the year of his consecration.

Simon Islip.—Consecration, 1349 ; accession, 1349 ; death, 1366. A famous lawyer. He was appointed successively archdeacon of Stow, canon of Lincoln and of St. Paul's, and dean of the Court of Arches. He was private secretary and keeper of the privy seal to Edward III., who nominated him to the primacy (1349). Islip was throughout his primacy an earnest advocate of good government, was distinguished as an ecclesiastical legislator, and published useful constitutions in 1351, 1359, and 1362. He was earnest in the cause of education, and a diligent founder of schools. Among his educational establishments the foundation of Canterbury Hall, Oxford, now merged in Christ Church, is memorable. Anti-papal legislation began in good earnest in the course of his primacy, the first of the great Acts of "Provision" being passed in 1350, and the first statute of "Præmunire" in 1353.

Simon Langham.—Consecration, 1362 ; accession, 1366 ; death, 1376. Monk and abbot of Westminster, the friend of Edward III., who appointed him lord treasurer (1360), bishop of Ely (1362), chancellor (1363), archbishop (1366). Urban V. (residing at Avignon) named him cardinal in 1368. Vacating the archbishopric, Langham henceforth resided abroad, believing he could do good service to England at the Avignon court.

William Whittlesey.—Consecration, 1362; accession, 1368 ; death, 1374. He was the nephew of archbishop Islip ; master of Peterhouse (Cambridge), then archdeacon, and later, bishop of Rochester (1362) ; translated to Worcester (1364), and by king Edward III.'s wish was again translated to Canterbury (1368). Whittlesey was not a great primate, his rapid preferment having been largely owing to his connection with Islip. Continued ill-health, too, marred his work after his accession, and he was ever sensible of his want of power and energy.

Simon Sudbury.—Consecration, 1362 ; accession, 1375 ; death, 1381. An eminent canon lawyer, doctor of the university of Paris, chaplain to Pope Innocent VI. Through the influence of the Pope he was appointed chancellor of Salisbury, and in 1362 bishop of London, and probably through the same influence translated to Canterbury (1375). Wycliffe became prominent, and was publicly accused of error in this archiepiscopate. Appointed chancellor (1379) by the duke of Lancaster (Richard II. being king). In the riots headed by Wat Tyler the chancellor-archbishop was publicly murdered on Tower Hill at the same time as the lord treasurer, Hales

William Courtenay.—Consecration, 1370; accession, 1381 ; death, 1396. In 1367 he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, rather owing to his family interest

than to his scholarship. [He was a son of the earl of Devonshire and connected with the royal house of England.] For the same reason he was appointed bishop of Hereford in 1370, when only twenty-eight years of age ; translated to London (1375). He became archbishop in 1381, and for a brief space chancellor. The questions aroused by the words and writings of Wycliffe largely occupied the church all through Courtenay's tenure of office. The schism in the Roman Church at this time—the fact of there being two reigning Popes for a long period—divided and seriously weakened Western Christianity.

Thomas Arundel.—Consecration, 1374 ; accession, 1396 ; death, 1414. Like his predecessor, he owed his various preferments to his family connections, being the son of the earl of Arundel (one of the great soldiers of Edward III.) and a near relation of the royal house. The archdeaconry of Taunton was conferred on him when he was but twenty-one, and in the following year he was consecrated bishop of Ely (1374). For some forty years Thomas Arundel as bishop, archbishop, and chancellor was closely connected with most of the great events of that turbulent period, his public career commencing in the last years of Edward III., and continuing all through the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and the early days of the reign of Henry V. In 1388 Arundel was translated to York, and in 1397 to Canterbury. In 1398 he was driven into exile, and the Pope was induced by Richard II. to trans late the archbishop [but without Arundel's consent] to the Scotch see of St. Andrews. For two years Arundel remained in exile, and the arch-see was occupied by Roger Walden. Returning in 1399, Arundel resumed his position as primate, and was largely concerned in the dethronement of Richard II. and succession of Henry IV. Rather a statesman than an ecclesiastic, five times in the course of that brilliant troubled life of his he filled the position of chancellor. As a prelate he was distinguished ever by his lavish munificence. In the history of the church he will ever be remembered as the determined enemy of the Lollards and the followers of Wycliffe.

[*Roger Walden.*—Consecration, 1398 ; accession, 1398 ; death, 1406. Archdeacon of Winchester and dean of York. He was also entrusted with important foreign missions. In 1395 we find him appointed lord treasurer. Richard II., when Arundel was exiled and translated by Pope Boniface to the see of St. Andrews, caused him to be appointed by Papal provision to the primacy (1398). Walden was formally consecrated, and for about two years acted as archbishop. Upon Arundel's return—the exiled archbishop's party in the state being again in the ascendant—Walden withdrew from the position of primate. Arundel treated his supplanter with kindness, and caused him eventually to be appointed bishop of London (1405). He died, however, almost immediately.]

Henry Chichele.—Consecration, 1408 ; accession, 1414 ; death, 1443. Trained as a lawyer, his abilities soon attracted attention, and he was rapidly preferred. We find him archdeacon and chancellor of Salisbury and employed in the diplomatic service of the state. He became bishop of St. David's in 1408. He was one of the delegates to the Council of Pisa (1409), and

in 1414 by king Henry V.'s desire was chosen archbishop of Canterbury. He acted as the chief adviser of Henry V. and president of the council in his absence during the wars in France. As a prelate, so far as his ceaseless state cares allowed him, he was most diligent. While earnestly religious, he was a devoted patriot, and incurred the anger of the Pope by his policy in maintaining the independence of the Church of England. To Lollardism and its extravagances he was ever bitterly hostile Among the reforms which he inaugurated was the confiscation of the alien priories, considering them a source of danger to the state. As his life wore on, he more and more withdrew from state affairs, devoting himself entirely to his spiritual duties. It is said he presided over as many as eighteen synods of the clergy. In his latter years he was haunted by the fear of an interdict which Pope Martin V. threatened if the "execrable" anti-papal statutes of "præmunire" and "provisors" were not repealed. Worn out by some thirty-five years of ceaseless work, he was about to resign his great post when he passed away. Chichele was always a most diligent and generous patron of learning.

John Stafford.—Consecration, 1425; accession, 1443; death, 1452. As was so often the case with the prelates of the later mediæval period, the study of the law led up to high place and preferment. The great reputation of Stafford as a lawyer was the occasion of his rapid rise—successively archdeacon of Salisbury, dean of Wells, then of the Court of Arches. He attracted the notice of Henry V., who made him a minister of state and privy seal, and then lord treasurer. He became bishop of Bath and Wells in 1425, and chancellor, which high office he held for eighteen years. More of a statesman than an ecclesiastic, he preserved generally friendly relations with the Papal power. His public career continued all through that somewhat troublous period of the long minority of Henry VI. Preserving the reputation of a generally prudent ruler, though scarcely that of a statesman of the highest class, he died just before the outbreak of the "Roses" war.

John Kemp.—Consecration, 1419; accession, 1452; death, 1454. Another of those late mediæval famous ecclesiastical statesmen who through their erudition and skill in canon law made their way rapidly upward. Comparatively at an early period of his life, we find him archdeacon of Durham, then dean of the Court of Arches. In 1419 he was consecrated bishop of Rochester; a favourite of Chichele, he was brought under the notice of Henry V., who gave him the privy seal. In 1421 he was translated to Chichester, and the same year to London, being much employed in foreign diplomacy as well as in state affairs at home. From London he passed to the arch-see of York, and as chancellor he acted as chief adviser of the crown for the long period of six years. His ecclesiastical policy strongly favoured the pretensions of Rome, and in 1439 he was rewarded with a cardinal's red hat. In 1450 he again became chancellor, and in 1452 Pope Nicholas V. approved the choice of the English government and appointed Kemp to Canterbury by "Provision." The wording of archbishop Kemp's oath to the Pope*

* See vol. ii., p. 358.

is a strange monument of complete subservience to the most exaggerated Roman claims.

Thomas Bouchier.—Consecration, 1435; accession, 1454; death, 1486. This was another of these great statesmen-ecclesiastics of the fifteenth century. In Bouchier's case, however, his rapid rise was largely owing, in the first instance, to his powerful family connections. At an early age he obtained the deanery of St. Martin's-le-Grand (London), and when about thirty years old was appointed bishop of Worcester (1434). Some nine years later he was translated to Ely (1443) and in 1454 to Canterbury. In 1472 Pope Sixtus IV. bestowed on him the dignity of a cardinal. All through the stormy period of the Wars of the Roses, and then during the reign of Edward IV., Bouchier played a prominent part, and filled for some time the great office of chancellor. As a prelate, however, he was neglectful of his duties, being ever rather the statesman than the ecclesiastic.

John Morton.—Consecration, 1479; accession, 1486; death, 1500. Morton was one of the most distinguished of the pre-Reformation prelates. He commenced his career, as was then so usual, by a long course of legal study. His advance was checked for many years by his devotion to the Lancastrian cause and to the fortunes of the ill-fated queen of Henry VI., Margaret. Under Edward IV. his great talents and industry caused him to be received into partial favour, and he was mixed up with many of the political intrigues of that period. A long list of preferments were in succession bestowed upon him. Not, however, till nearly the end of the reign was he raised to the episcopate. He became bishop of Ely in 1479. Henry VII. made him chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury in 1486, and he received the honour of the cardinalate, as Rome desired the friendship of the great chancellor. Till his death, in 1500, Morton was the minister of the reign. He was a distinguished lawyer, a successful financier, and assisted, perhaps guided the king, who trusted him, in that wise policy which restored peace and prosperity to England, so long rent asunder by dynastic disputes and ruinous civil wars. Among other works connected with ecclesiastical reformation he commenced that visitation of the monasteries, which Wolsey took up with yet greater energy for a time.

Henry Dean.—Consecration, 1496; accession, 1501; death, 1503. An Augustinian canon and prior of Llanthony (Gloucester), chancellor of Ireland (1494), bishop of Bangor (1496), translated to Salisbury (1499). He was made lord keeper of the great seal (1500); by king Henry VII.'s desire was chosen as archbishop in succession to Morton in 1501. His health, however, soon failed him, and he died in the early part of 1503.

William Warham.—Consecration, 1502; accession, 1503; death, 1532. A successful lawyer and favourite of Morton. Warham was employed in various foreign missions, and won the confidence of Henry VII. He became Master of the Rolls, archdeacon of Huntingdon (1496), bishop of London (1502), chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury (1503). He resigned the chancellorship in 1515, and devoted himself to his ecclesiastical duties. Wolsey succeeded him as chancellor and minister of Henry VIII. Warham was the friend

and patron of the great pioneer reformers —Erasmus, Colet, and others. His last public act was a solemn protest against the arbitrary legislation of Henry VIII.

Thomas Cranmer.—Consecration, 1533; accession, 1533; death, 1556. Cranmer was a diligent student of law at Cambridge, but did not attain any special early distinction. It was by chance he came under the notice of Henry VIII. in the burning question of the divorce. His appointment to the primacy in 1533 was a surprise to the church. It was, however, largely justified by his subsequent career. His vast services to the Church of England, especially in the matter of her noble formularies, in the matter of breaking the bonds of Rome, in the matter of preserving her unbroken continuity, are generally now gratefully acknowledged. Emphatically he towered high above all his contemporaries. His conduct has been curiously and disadvantageously compared with that of archbishop Arundel, who in the preceding century resisted a formidable attack on the church; but it must be remembered Henry VIII. was a very different master to Henry IV; it must be remembered, too, that when Arundel and Henry IV. lived, the terrible indictment against Rome and mediæval corruptions had not been formulated by the pioneers of the Reformation—Erasmus, Colet, and the company of early reformers.

Reginald Pole (*Cardinal*).—Consecration, 1556; accession, 1556; death, 1558. Through his mother, Margaret, countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, duke of Clarence (brother of Edward IV.), Pole was a near relation of the royal house of England. Educated by Henry VIII., he was destined for the highest post in the church, and was actually offered the archsee of York on the death of Wolsey. But his conscience forbade his approval of the "divorce" of Henry VIII., and the result of his strong feeling on this point was that he spent most of his years in exile—ever the bitter opponent of Henry VIII. Created a cardinal by Pope Paul III. in 1538, his life was largely spent in intrigues against his native land. Some time after Mary became queen, he was recalled as legate, and restored England to the Papal obedience, becoming archbishop of Canterbury after Cranmer's death. During the latter years of Mary he was the queen's chief minister, friend, and adviser, and the cruelties which have given Mary her terrible epithet of "bloody" were in a great measure prompted by Pole. "Carnifex et flagellum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ" he is styled by archbishop Parker, his successor. He was a man of stainless character, and in his woeful policy he thought he was doing God true service. He died within a few hours of his unhappy royal mistress.

Matthew Parker.—Consecration, 1559; accession, 1559; death, 1575. A distinguished Cambridge student, fellow, and then master, of Corpus Christi College, a friend and pupil of Bucer, chaplain to Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII., he was known as a moderate and learned reformer, was appointed dean of Lincoln, but declined a bishopric. Under queen Mary he was deprived of his deanery, but was left unmolested. When Elizabeth came to the throne, Parker was selected by the queen and her secretary of state Cecil, partly owing to his former connection

with Anne Boleyn, partly owing to his known great learning, moderation, and prudence, as the chief adviser in ecclesiastical matters, and was chosen, against his personal wishes, for the vacant arch-see of Canterbury (1559). His wisdom was conspicuously shown in his choice of suffragans. The Elizabethan compromise, with its careful preservation of the doctrines and customs of the primitive church, was largely owing to his advice. The archbishop may be considered as the pioneer of the great Elizabethan revival in letters.

Edmund Grindal.—Consecration, 1559; accession, 1576; death, 1583. A fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, pupil and chaplain of bishop Ridley, chaplain of Edward VI. During the Marian persecution he was among the more prominent of the English exiles, and mostly dwelt and studied at Strasburg. His intercourse with the foreign reformers at this time gave his opinions that Calvinistic colour which subsequently brought him into collision with Elizabeth. After the death of Mary, Grindal returned home, and was chosen master of Pembroke Hall, and soon after was selected by Parker for the see of London. His sympathy with the Puritans became marked. He was translated to the arch-see of York (1570), and on Parker's death to Canterbury (1576), Cecil desiring at that time especially to conciliate the Puritan party. His policy, however, gravely offended the queen, and he was sequestered for five years. His health failed him, and he appointed Whitgift bishop of Worcester, a favourite with the queen, as his deputy. For some time before his death, in 1583, he was afflicted with blindness.

John Whitgift.—Consecration, 1577; accession, 1583; death, 1604. A pupil of the reformer, John Bradford, and friend of Ridley. During the reign of Mary he remained in retirement. On the accession of Elizabeth he was elected a Professor of Divinity (Cambridge), and successively master of Pembroke Hall and of Trinity College. He came under the queen's favourable notice, and in 1573 was appointed dean of Lincoln and in 1576 bishop of Worcester. He continued to rise in Elizabeth's favour, and, after acting as coadjutor to Grindal, succeeded him in the primacy (1583). The disloyalty of the Romanists—the long-continued plots in favour of Mary, queen of Scots—had given the Puritan party a strong position in England. Whitgift's policy sternly repressed them, and the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign was a period of something akin to persecution. He was a stern disciplinarian, though, on the whole, a just ruler of the church, which under his government acquired power and stability. But the discontent among the Puritan party grew, and the seeds of the eventual fatal schism which overthrew church and throne, were sown largely during his tenure of the archiepiscopate.

Richard Bancroft.—Consecration, 1597; accession, 1604; death, 1610. Bancroft was early distinguished as a tutor at Cambridge, and was known as an eloquent preacher. Cox, bishop of Ely, and archbishop Whitgift were attracted by his talents and learning. Whitgift employed him as his assistant and friend for some years, and in 1597 procured his nomination to the great see of London. He followed his patron at Canterbury, and faithfully

developed his predecessor's policy, which may be fairly described by the term, in after times so well known, of High Anglicanism. Bancroft's influence at the Hampton Court Conference contributed to the stern rejection of all the Puritan demands. He was throughout his career a painstaking and indefatigable churchman — feared rather than loved. His policy, however, widened the breach, yearly growing wider, between the Anglican and Puritan parties.

George Abbot—Consecration, 1609 ; accession, 1611 ; death, 1633. Abbot attained considerable distinction at Oxford, and was elected master of University College. He was known at the university as an eloquent preacher, and was strongly influenced by Puritan theology. In 1599 he became dean of Winchester and subsequently (1603 and 1605) vice-chancellor of his university, where his power and influence were very great. In 1609 he was nominated to the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry, and almost immediately after translated to the see of London (1610). He had powerful friends at the court of James I.—amongst others prince Henry of Wales—and on the death of Bancroft, to the surprise and indignation of churchmen generally, the Puritan bishop Abbot was nominated to the primacy. The Church of England expected and hoped that the arch-see of Canterbury would have been bestowed upon Lancelot Andrewes, whose profound scholarship, devoted piety, and beautiful life had apparently marked him out for the high and responsible dignity. After the death of the prince of Wales the power of Abbot waned, and after an unfortunate mischance (Abbot shot accidentally a keeper in Bramyil Park) his influence was completely lost.

William Laud.—Consecration, 1621 ; accession, 1611 ; death, 1633. Laud acquired distinction very early at Oxford. Elected a fellow of St. John's College, his divinity lectures soon attracted attention, as containing teaching on church matters absolutely opposed to the prevailing Puritan tone of the university. He at Oxford began his lifelong opposition to George Abbot, afterwards the archbishop, who was the most influential teacher on the Puritan side. In 1611 he was elected president of St. John's, and under the powerful patronage of bishop Neile was brought under king James I.'s notice, who appointed him a royal chaplain, and in 1616 gave him the deanery of Gloucester. His energy and determination to correct the carelessness and often slovenly character too often visible in the Anglican services became widely known, while his scholarship in ecclesiastical literature was generally acknowledged. In 1621 he was consecrated bishop of St. David's. Laud rose rapidly higher in public estimation. His famous controversy with the Jesuit Fisher placed him in the front rank of theologians, and he stood high in favour with James I. and yet higher with prince Charles of Wales. In 1626 we find him translated to the see of Bath and Wells ; successively dean of the Chapel Royal in succession to Andrewes, bishop of London, and archbishop of Canterbury, the last promotion bearing the date of 1633, and gradually king Charles I.'s trusted and intimate counsellor. All through the eleven years of the despotic rule of Charles, Laud shared with Wentworth (earl of Strafford)

the odium of being the chief ministers and advisers of Charles I. In 1640–41 the hated ministers fell. Strafford was executed in 1641, and Laud, after a lengthened imprisonment, in 1645.

William Juxon.—Consecration, 1633; accession, 1660; death, 1663. Juxon was the friend and confidant of Laud; fellow of St. John's, Oxford, president of St. John's in succession to Laud (1621), dean of Worcester, bishop of Hereford, and, again in succession to Laud, was translated to London (1633). In 1636 Charles I. was induced by Laud to give the white staff of treasurer to bishop Juxon. Thus in the persons of Laud and Juxon was revived the old mediæval practice of entrusting the highest offices and the positions of the greatest influence to ecclesiastics. In his administration of the treasury Juxon, while, of course, pursuing strictly the policy of Charles I. and Laud, was prudent, conciliatory, and stainlessly honest. Of course, he fell when the policy of absolutism was shattered; but on the part of the Puritans a gentler feeling was displayed towards bishop Juxon than towards any of the old ministers of Charles I. He ministered to the condemned king on the scaffold, and in the dark period through which in the days of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, the Church of England passed, he was unmolested, and able to bear his part in keeping alight the feebly-burning torch of the church. On the Restoration, naturally bishop Juxon was chosen primate, and for the last time in life followed his master Laud and officiated as archbishop of Canterbury at the coronation of Charles II. But Juxon was an old man and worn out, and very soon passed away amidst general respect and mourning (1663).

TABLE OF ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY SINCE THE RESTORATION AND DEATH OF JUXON.*

	ACCESSION. A.D.
Gilbert Sheldon	1663
William Sancroft	1678
John Tillotson	1691
Thomas Tenison	1695
William Wake	1716
John Potter	1737
Thomas Herring	1747
Matthew Hutton	1757
Thomas Secker	1758
Frederick Cornwallis ...	1768
John Moore	1783
Charles Manners Sutton ...	1805
William Howley	1828
John Bird Sumner	1848
Charles Thomas Longley ..	1862
Archibald Campbell Tait ...	1868
Edward White Benson ...	1883
Frederick Temple	1896

* From the "Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum" of Bishop Stubbs (Appendix VIII.), as far as 1848.

EXCURSUS G.

MISSIONARY EFFORT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The earliest recorded effort of the Church of England, after the separation from communion with Rome, to provide religious teaching beyond the seas, was probably archbishop Cranmer's appointment of two chaplains for Calais, at that time England's only foreign possession. "To discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in places convenient" was the object specified in the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, when he took possession of Newfoundland. But for a long period there seems to have been no organised effort either to provide religious instruction or Christian ministration among the English colonists, or the native races of the newly-discovered lands. Sporadic mission efforts we catch sight of here and there, but nothing more. In 1646 John Eliot, "the apostle," as he has been well termed, "of the North American Red Men," began to labour in New England, and he worked on unweariedly until his death in 1690. The tracts and writings of this devoted servant of God made a great impression in England, and in 1649 the Long Parliament passed an ordinance establishing "A Corporation for Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." Under Oliver Cromwell's direction a general collection for missionary purposes was made throughout England, which produced the sum of £12,000, a considerable amount, considering the then value of money. This was expended in the maintenance of missionaries in New England and in the New York states. This Corporation was revived in 1662 after the Restoration, and was generally known as the "New England Company."

Out of the movement which originated the religious societies in England for the correction of vice, immorality, and irreligious living, alluded to in our history in the days of queen Anne, and even earlier, arose the venerable "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" (1699). One important branch of this association was "the fixing parochial libraries throughout the plantations," especially in North America. As a supplement to this, to secure the employment of living missionary agents "The Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was established (1701). This organised missionary work was a somewhat novel idea, but it worked quietly and faithfully on, and in 1741, after about forty years, we meet with the following dispassionate but no doubt strictly accurate and careful summary of the results of this early missionary endeavour on the part of the noble pioneer society by bishop Secker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury:—"In less than forty years, under many discouragements, and with an income very disproportionate to the vastness of the undertaking, a great deal hath been done, though little notice may have been taken of it by persons unattentive to these things, or backward to acknowledge them. Near a hundred churches have been built; above ten thousand Bibles and Common Prayers, above a hundred thousand other pious tracts distributed; great multitudes, upon the whole, of negroes and Indians brought over to the Christian faith; many numerous congregations have been set up, which now support the worship of God at their own expense, where it was not known before; and seventy persons are constantly employed, at the expense of the Society, in the farther service of the Gospel."

Bishop Secker's modest *résumé* of foreign mission work is dated 1741. But a marvellous change was about to pass over the "plantations" and colonies of England. In the next half century the story of the progress of the English-speaking races beyond the seas reads like a romance. In the great western continent vast countries were ever opening to the view of the amazed colonists. The narrow seaboard known to the pilgrims of the *Mayflower* became a continent far greater than the whole of Europe; new and vast countries seemed ever opening to men's bewildered gaze; while in the east, in Hindostan, the factories and settlements of the original Anglo-Indian adventurers, with a territory consisting of a few square miles, thanks to the splendour of the exploits of a young English official, Robert Clive,

had developed in a few years into a magnificent empire. "Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. . . . The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one half of a Roman legion."* This strange and wonderful transference of Hindostan, one of the greatest and wealthiest empires of the world, from the sceptre of eastern princes to England, may be roughly dated between 1744 and 1772, when lord Clive closed his brilliant, unhappy life. In the last years of the last quarter of the eighteenth century we again take up the thread of our missionary story. It was in the little religious club, the "Eclectic," where the chief evangelicals were wont to meet together, that Wilberforce, Thornton, Venn, Simeon of Cambridge, and the other members of the Clapham sect, taking counsel how they could best help their brothers, cast their eyes over the Greater Britain which had arisen in their lifetime, and amongst other lands they saw the teeming nationalities of Hindostan with its vast territories and magnificent cities in the hands of England, *but practically untouched by Christianity*.

Out of these little meetings of the evangelical "Eclectic" Society sprang "the Church Missionary Society," the greatest of these famous associations which are at once the glory and the shame of the nineteenth century—the *glory*, because they were the first real effort of the church, after a long period of missionary silence, save for those efforts above detailed, in which the S.P.G. holds the foremost place, to carry out the command of the Risen Master; the *shame*, because after the great awakening to the recognition of an inescapable duty, the effort, mighty though it seems to have been, has not been ten times as great!

Well-nigh a hundred years have come and gone since Wilberforce and Thornton, Venn and Simeon, in the little "Eclectic" club in the busy city, or in the now famous house at Clapham, looked out over the plains of Hindostan all white for a harvest of souls no one as yet had dreamed of reaping. In that hundred years have arisen, mainly the result of the prayerful counsels of that group of good and earnest men, the vast Protestant missionary associations for which the present century (the nineteenth) now closing will be for ever celebrated, associations connected with the Church of England and nobly supplemented with Nonconformist effort.

To take as an example the largest of these, "the Church Missionary Society," its revenue in 1801–2, 1802–3, 1803–4, respectively was £373, £566, £611. Its revenue in 1894–5 amounted to £264,538, and the figures increase considerably as year succeeds year, the later years showing the most astounding progress not only in the amounts contributed* and expended, but in the number and character of the devoted and earnest workers in the cause.

But the C.M.S., although the greatest, is only one among these groups of toilers for God in distant lands. We must in this brief sketch just quote the figures of the sister societies of the Church of England to complete our little outline missionary picture.

Taking here the figures of 1894, and adding all together the income of the C.M.S., the S.P.G.,† and the annual revenues of the smaller societies of the Church of England, we arrive at the grand total of £572,712 spent in that year upon foreign mission work.

To these large sums must be added the annual income of joint missionary societies of churchmen and Nonconformists, £211,486. English and Welsh Nonconformists (including Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, and various other Dissenting bodies) annually expend £379,550, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians £195,944, while Roman Catholics are credited with £15,879.‡

Surely the blessing of Almighty God rests upon these puny efforts of ours to spread abroad the kingdom of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!

* Macaulay: "Essay on Lord Clive."

* In the C.M.S. Report for 1896–7 the receipts of the year available for the Society's general purposes, reached the total of £297,625.

† In the S.P.G. Report for 1896—pages 9 and 222—the *gross* income of the Society is put down as £133,515.

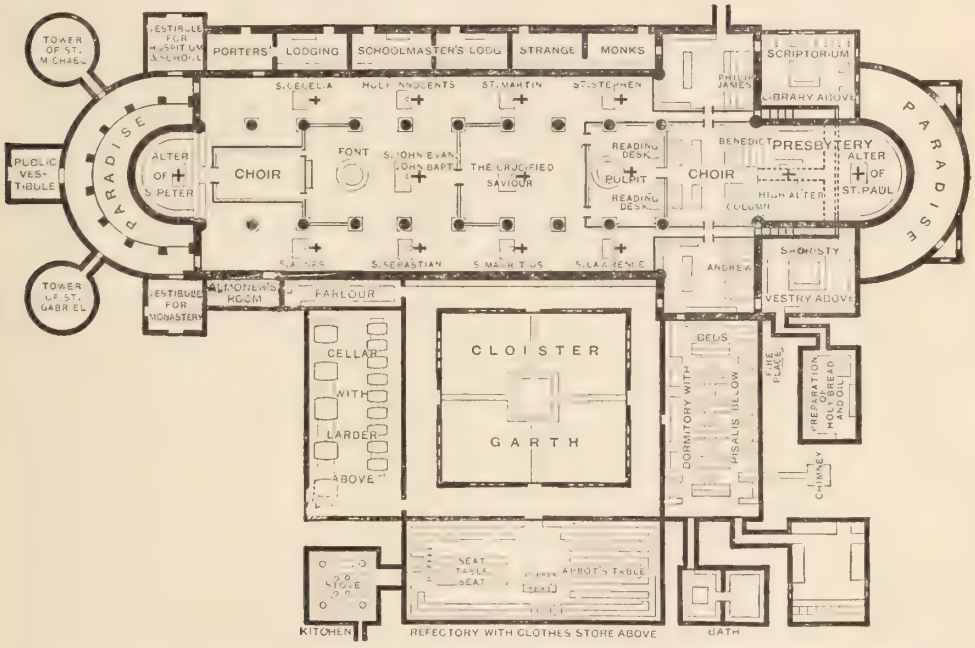
‡ The figures here given are quoted from the C.M.S. official Report for 1895–6, the latter totals being according to Canon Scott Robertson's annual analysis of British contributions to foreign missions (C.M.S. Report, 1895–6, pages 59–60).

EXCURSUS H.

THE ORIENTATION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

It is a fact well known to the archæologist that it is the peculiarity of the Basilican plan that its "orientation" is almost always *the reverse* of that adopted in the mediæval period, and which is the custom in modern churches. [The "Basilica" was the name given by the Romans to their public halls, used for the administration of justice or as "exchanges." Some few of these were probably actually converted into churches in the time of, or after the period of, the Emperor Constantine. But the ground plan of these buildings was, with some necessary changes, generally followed in a large proportion of the early churches of the fourth and following centuries, when Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire.]

Now in these Basilicas there appears to have been no fixed principle of orientation. In the early Roman churches the practice of placing the porch in the east, and the altar and the apse at the western extremity, was usually though not universally adopted. Among the churches of the early centuries in the city of Rome only seven can be reckoned, which are an exception to what may be almost termed the primitive rule of the *western* sanctuary. As many as forty, on the other hand, have been enumerated, which possessed a western sanctuary, three of the five great Basilicas at Rome—the Vatican (St. Peter's), the Lateran (St. John, Lateran), and the Liberian (St. Mary Major)—being constructed with a *western* sanctuary. The



PLAN OF THE ABBATICAL CHURCH OF ST. GALL. (ASCRIBED BY MABILLON TO EGINHARD, EARLY IN NINTH CENTURY.)

(*From G. G. Scott's "English Church Architecture."*)

great Basilica at Tyre, burned in the Diocletian persecution, A.D. 303, and restored by Constantine, is described by Eusebius [H.E. viii. 2] as having its *entrance* at the east, and as a necessary consequence its sanctuary and altar at the west end. In like manner the Basilica built by Constantine at Jerusalem hard by the Holy Sepulchre had its three principal doors facing the rising sun; opposite at the *west* end was the apse and the altar. As time went on, in many of the more important churches we find an apse and a sanctuary *with* an altar at *both* ends of the sacred edifice. The celebrated plan of the abbey of St. Gall, supposed by Dom Mabillon to have been drawn by Eginhard, son-in-law of Charlemagne, early in the ninth century, shows us a vast abbey church with this double apse—the one at the west, the other at the east end of the church—each containing an altar and partially surrounded with an exedra, or bench of stone for ecclesiastical personages, the western altar being dedicated to St. Peter, the eastern to St. Paul.

This double apse was not uncommon in the more important churches of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, especially in the Rhine district of Germany. The ancient cathedrals of Trèves and Mayence, and the abbey of Laach, may be cited as well-known examples.

In England the metropolitan church of Canterbury, as described by Eadmer the Precentor (eleventh century), had a double apse, the western altar being dedicated to St. Mary. But it is in the *western* apse of Canterbury that we find the throne of the archbishop, while the monastic choir was placed at the eastern end of the church. This shows that the altar in the *western* apse, adjacent to the archiepiscopal throne, was undoubtedly in early times the great altar of the church. The recently-discovered Roman-British church at Silchester, destroyed probably by the Saxon invaders in the sixth century, was entered at the east end, and had its sanctuary and altar at the western extremity of the building. This church, being built evidently by Roman builders, followed the favourite Roman primitive plan of a western sanctuary.

It has been suggested, with high probability, that this arrangement of the double sanctuary grew out of the development of the monastic system. The monks requiring for their constant service an altar and sanctuary of their own, the original western sanctuary and altar being left for the people, gradually the monks' altar became the chief or high altar, and the western apse and sanctuary was done away with; and thus the eastern sanctuary in the churches of the Roman obedience, very generally in the mediæval cathedrals, abbeys, and churches, took the place of the primitive Basilican sanctuary, which, as we have seen, was, as a general rule, at the western end.

While, however, it is indisputable that the "west-end" sanctuaries and altars were the prevailing though not the invariable type of the widely-spread primitive churches built in all parts of Christendom upon the Roman-Basilican plan, there was another and perhaps an equally ancient type which preferred invariably the east end of the church for the sanctuary and altar. We find the Irish oratories and churches, of which a considerable number remain still with us, lie always east and west. The entrance of these ancient churches and oratories is ever on the west, and a little in advance of the east wall stands a stone altar in front of a stone bench.

Ireland received its Christianity from Britain early in the fifth century. These churches, then, without doubt roughly represent the plan usual in Christian Britain in the fourth and fifth centuries. There was therefore another primitive type of church different from the Roman-Basilican above described. Other peculiarities, too, belong to these early British churches; notably the eastern termination, which, different to the Basilican, was always *square*. This pointed to Britain having originally received the Faith not from Rome, but from some Oriental missionaries. (One favourite, though apparently baseless, tradition, we know, suggests Joseph of Arimathæa as the founder of the church at Glastonbury; another ascribes its foundation to the apostles SS. Philip and James.) The instance above quoted of the Silchester church, with its western sanctuary, is at once explained by the fact that as Silchester was a Roman city, its church or churches would naturally follow the Roman, not the primitive British, type.

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